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PREFACE.

In this volume are presented English Translations of the three Roman Historians, Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus.

"Sallust," an eminent scholar once remarked to me, "it is more easy *to dilute* than to *transmute*." It is hoped that in the following pages the reader will find Sallust's Latin transmuted into English without any unnecessary dilution.

Some minor liberties have been taken with his expressions, n order to avoid stiffness, and to represent the author fairly n an English dress; but none inconsistent with a faithful dherence to his sense.

On all difficult or disputed passages the commentators ave been carefully consulted. References have been given he notes, wherever they appeared necessary, as well e older critics, of whom Cortius is the chief, as to the e recent, among whom the principal are Gerlach, Kritz, d Dietsch.

All the Fragments of Sallust that can be of any inte-st to the English reader, have been translated; and that thing might be wanting to render the work complete, sions of the spurious Epistles to Cæsar, which present a l imitation of Sallust's style, and of the Declamations pass under the names of Sallust and Cicero, have been

text at first intended to be followed was that of C the readings given by later critics appear r, that they were adopted in prefere ersion approaches nearer to the ther edit

Florus, whose work has come down to us entire, is rendered with similar care and fidelity. The text chiefly followed is that of Duker.

What remains of Velleius Paterculus, with whom time has dealt hardly, had been so well translated, in many places, by Baker, that much of his phraseology has been adopted in the present version. The text followed is that of Krause, whose corrections and comments, had they appeared earlier, might have saved Baker from the commission of some extraordinary blunders.

J. S. W.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF SALLUST.

SALLUST was born at Amiternum, a town in the Sabine territory, on the first of October[1], in the year six hundred and sixty-six[2] from the foundation of Rome, eighty-seven years before Christ, and in the seventh consulship of Marius.

The name of his father was Caius Sallustius[3]; that of his mother is unknown. His family was thought by Crinitus, and some others, to have been patrician, but by Gerlach, and most of the later critics, is pronounced to have been plebeian, because he held the office of tribune of the people, because he makes observations unfavourable to the nobility in his writings, and because his grandson, according to Tacitus[4], was only of equestrian rank.

The ingenuity of criticism has been exercised in determining whether his name should be written with a double or single *l*. Jerome Wolfius[5], and Gerlach, are in favour of the single letter, depending chiefly on inscriptions, and on the presumption that the name is derived from *salus* or *sal*. But inscriptions vary; the etymology of the word is uncertain; and to derive it from *sal* would authorise either mode of spelling. All the Latin authors, both in prose and poetry, have the name with the double letter, and it seems better, as Vossius[6] remarks, to adhere to their practice. Among the Greeks, Dion and Eusebius have the single letter; in some other writers it is found doubled.

Another question raised respecting his name, is whether he should be called *Sallustius Crispus*, or *Crispus Sallustius*. The latter mode is adopted by Le Clerc, Cortius, Havercamp, and some other critics; but De Brosses[7] argues conclusively in favour of the former method; as Sallustius, from its termination, is evidently the name of the family or *gens;* and Crispus, which denotes *quelque habitude du corps*, only a surname to distinguish one of its branches. *Crispus Sallustius* is found, indeed, in manuscripts; and, according to Cortius, in the best; but on what reasonable grounds can it be justified? It was

[1] Euseb. Chron.
[2] Clinton, Fast. Rom.
[3] De Brosses, Vie de Sall., § 2; Glandorp. Onomast.
[4] Ann., iii., 30.
[5] Apud Voss.
[6] Vit. Sall.
[7] Vie de Sall., § 1.

perhaps adopted by some copyist from the ode of Horace[1] addressed to Sallust's nephew, and inconsiderately continued by his successors.

He was removed early in life to Rome, that he might be educated under Atteius Prætextatus, a celebrated grammarian of that age, who styled himself Philologus, and who was afterwards tutor to Asinius Pollio[2]. Atteius treated Sallust with very great distinction[3].

He may be supposed to have soon grown conscious of his powers[4]; and appears at an early period of his life to have devoted himself to study, with an intention to distinguish himself in history[5].

His devotion to literature, however, was not so great as to detain him from indulgence in pleasure; for he became, if we allow any credit to the old declaimer, infamous, *ætatis tirocinio*, for debauchery and extravagance. He took possession of his father's house in his father's lifetime, and sold it; an act by which he brought his father to the grave; and he was twice, for some misconduct, arraigned before the magistrates, and escaped on both occasions only through the perjury of his judges[6].

When we cite this rhetorician, we must not forget that we cite an anonymous reviler, yet we must suppose with Gerlach, and with Meisner, the German translator of Sallust, that we quote a writer who grounded his invectives on reports and opinions current at the time in which he lived.

Sallust next thought of aspiring to political distinction[7]; but "the usual method of attaining notice," says De Brosses[8], "which was to secure friends and clients by pleading the causes of individuals at the bar, he seems not to have adopted;" since, as is known, no orations spoken by him are in existence, and, as is thought, no mention is made of such orations in any other author.

Mention, however, is made of orations of Sallust, at whatever time delivered, in the well-known passage of Seneca the rhetorician[9]. When Seneca inquired of Cassius Severus, why he, who was so eminent in pleading important causes, displayed so little talent in pronouncing fictitious declamations, the orator replied, *Quod in me miraris, pene omnibus evenit, &c. Orationes Sallustii in honorem historiarum leguntur.* "What you think extraordinary in me, is common to all men of ability. The greatest geniuses, to whom I am conscious of my great inferiority, have generally excelled only in one species of composition. The felicity of Virgil in poetry deserted him in prose; the eloquence of Cicero's orations is not to be found in his verses; and the speeches of Sallust are read only as a foil to his histories." The speeches which are here

[1] Od., ii., 2, 3. [2] Suet. de Ill. Gramm., c. 10.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Pseudo-Sall. Ep. to Cæs., i., 10. [5] Cat., c. 4.
[6] Pseudo-Cic. in Sall., c. 5. [7] Cat., c. 3. [8] Vie de Sall., c. 3.
[9] Præf. in Controv., l. iii., p. 231, ed. Par. 1607.

meant, are not, as has been generally imagined, those inserted in the histories, but others, which Sallust *had spoken*. This view of the passage was first taken by Antonius Augustinus, and communicated by him to Schottus, who mentioned it in his annotations on Seneca[1].

But by whatever means he secured support, he had at length sufficient interest to obtain a quæstorship[2]; the tenure of which gave him admission into the senate. It would appear that he was about thirty-one years of age when he attained this honour[3].

It must have been about this period that his adventure with Fausta, the daughter of Sylla and wife of Milo, occurred, of which a short account is given by Aulus Gellius[4] in an extract from Varro. The English reader may take it in the version of Beloe: "Marcus Varro, a man of great authority and weight in his writings and life, in his publication entitled 'Pius,' or 'De Pace,' records that Caius Sallust, the author of that grave and serious composition, (*seriæ illius et severæ orationis,*) in which he has exercised the severity of the censorial office in taking cognisance of crimes, being taken by Annæus Milo in adultery, was well scourged, and, after paying a sum of money, dismissed." The same story is told, on the authority of Asconius Pedianus the biographer of Sallust, by Acro and Porphyrio, the scholiasts on Horace, who, they think, had it in his mind when he wrote the words, *Ille flagellis ad mortem cæsus*[5]. Servius, also, in his note on *Quique ob adulterium cæsi*, in the sixth book of the Æneid[6], tells a like tale, adding that Sallust entered the house in the habit of a slave, and was caught in that disguise by Milo.

Such being the case, it is not wonderful that when Sallust entered on his tribuneship of the people, to which he was elected in the year of the city seven hundred, he seized an opportunity which occurred of being revenged on Milo, who had shortly before killed Clodius. He joined with his colleagues, Pompeius Rufus and Plancus, in inflaming the populace, and charging Milo with premeditated hostility[7]. They intimidated Cicero, Milo's advocate, insinuating that he had planned the assassination[8]; and the matter ended in Milo's banishment[9]. During the progress of the trial, however, it is said that Sallust abated his hostility to Milo and Cicero, and even became friendly with them[10]. How this reconciliation was effected, does not appear; but it seems certain that Cicero, when he attacked Plancus, Sallust's colleague, for exciting the populace to turbulence, left Sallust himself unmolested[11].

[1] P. 234, ed. Par. 1607.
[2] Pseudo-Cic., in Sall., c. 5.
[3] Adam's Rom. Antiquities, p. 4.
[4] xvii., 18.
[5] Sat., i., 2, 41.
[6] Ver. 612.
[7] Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Orat. pro Milo., c. 17; Cic. Mil., c. 5.
[8] Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Mil., c. 18.
[9] Dion. Cap., lib. xl.
[10] Ascon. Ped., *ubi supra.*
[11] Ascon. Ped. in Cic. Mil., c. 35.

Unmolested, however, he did not long remain; for in the year of the city seven hundred and four, in the censorship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Appius, actuated by two motives, one of which was to serve Pompey, by excluding from the senate such as were hostile to him[1], and the other to throw into the shade his own private irregularities by an ostentatious discharge of his public duties[2], expelled Sallust from the senate on pretence that he was a flagrantly immoral character[3].

But Appius, by this proceeding, instead of serving Pompey, served Cæsar; for many who had previously been favourable to Pompey, or had continued neutral, betook themselves immediately to Cæsar's camp; in the number of whom was Sallust[4].

His attendance on Cæsar did not go unrewarded; for when Cæsar returned from Spain, after his victory over Afranius and Petreius, he restored Sallust, with others under similar circumstances[5], to his seat in the senate; and as it was not usual for a senator, who had been degraded from his rank, to be reinstated in it without being at the same time elected to an office, he was again made quæstor[6], or, as Dion thinks, prætor.

He was then intrusted with some military command, and sent into Illyria, where, as Orosius[7] states, he was one of those that were defeated by the Pompeian leaders Octavius and Libo.

Afterwards, when the war in Egypt and Asia was finished, but while the remains of Pompey's army, headed by Scipio and Cato, were still menacing hostilities in Africa, Sallust, with the title of prætor, was directed to conduct against them a body of troops from Campania[8]. But Sallust was intrusted with more than he was able to perform. The soldiers mutinied on the coast, compelled him to flee, and hurried away to Rome, putting to death two senators in their way. It was on this occasion that Cæsar humbled them by addressing them as *Quirites* instead of *commilitones*[9].

Sallust was then reinstated in command, and was sent, during the African war, to the island of Cercina, to bring off a quantity of corn that had been deposited there by the enemy; a commission which he successfully executed[10].

Whether he performed any other service for Cæsar in this war, we have no account; but Cæsar, when it was ended, thought him a person of such consequence, that he gave him the government of Nu-

[1] Dion. Cap., xl., 63. [2] Cic. Ep. ad Fam., viii., 14.
[3] Dion., *ib.* [4] Pseudo-Cic. in Sall., c. 6. Gerlach, Vit. Sall., p. 7.
[5] Suet. J. Cæs., c. 41. [6] Pseudo-Cic., c. 6, 8.
[7] Lib. vi. 15. Gerlach, Vit. Sall., p. 7. [8] Dion. Cass., xlii., 52.
[9] Dion., *ib.* Appian. B. C., ii., 92. Plut. in Cæs. Suet. J. Cæs., c. 10.
[10] Hirt. B. A., c. 8, 24.

midia, with the title of pro-consul. "He received the province from Cæsar," says Dion, "nominally to govern it, but in reality to ravage and plunder it." Whether such was Cæsar's intention or not, it is generally believed that he enriched himself by the spoil of it to the greatest possible extent[1].

When his term of office, which seems to have been only a year, was expired, he "appeared at Rome," says the declaimer, "like a man enriched in a dream." But the Numidians followed him, and accused him of extortion; a charge from which he was only acquitted through the interposition of Cæsar[2], to whom he is said to have presented a bribe[3].

The trial had not been long concluded when Cæsar was assassinated, and Sallust, being thus deprived of his patron, seems to have withdrawn entirely from public life. He purchased a large tract of ground on the Quirinal hill, where he erected a splendid mansion, and laid out those magnificent gardens of which so much has been related. Their extent must have been vast, if De Brosses, who visited the spot in 1739, obtained any just notion of it[4]. But some have thought them much smaller. He had also a country-house at Tibur, which had belonged to Julius Cæsar[5].

It was during this period of retirement, as is supposed, that he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero, if, indeed, he married her at all; for their union rests on no very strong testimony[6].

It was at this time, too, it would appear, that he commenced the composition of history, with a view to the perpetuation of his name; for he entered on it, he says, when his mind was free from "hope, fear, or political partisanship;" and to no other time of his life are such expressions applicable. Dion seems to have supposed that he appeared as a historian before he went to Numidia, but is in all probability mistaken.

Sallust died on the thirteenth of May, in the year of the city seven hundred and eighteen, in the fifty-second year of his age[8], leaving his grand-nephew, Caius Sallustius Crispus, whom want of children had induced him to adopt, heir to all his possessions. His gardens, some years after his death, became imperial property[9].

Such were the events, as far as we learn, of the life of Sallust; and such is the notion which the voice of antiquity teaches us to form of

[1] Dion., xliii., 9. Pseudo-Cic., c. 7. [2] Dion., xliii., 9.
[3] Pseudo-Cic., c. 7. [4] De Brosses, Œuv. de Sall., vol. iii., p. 368.
[5] Pseudo-Cic., c. 7.
[6] Hieronym. adv. Jovin., i., 48. Gerlach, vol. ii., p. 8. De Brosses, tom. iii., p. 355. Le Clerc, Vit. Sall.
[7] Cat., c. 4.
[8] Euseb. Chron. Clinton, Fasti. [9] See De Brosses, tom. iii., p. 368.

his moral character. In modern times, some attempts have been made to prove that he was less vicious than he was anciently represented.

Among those who have attempted to clear him of the charges usually brought against him, are Müller[1], Wieland[2], and Roos[3]; who are strenuously opposed by Gerlach[4] and Loebell[5]. The points on which his champions chiefly endeavour to defend him, are the adventure with Fausta, and the spoliation of Numidia. Of the three, Müller is the most enterprising. With regard to the affair of Fausta, he sets himself boldly to impugn the authority of Varro or Gellius, on which it chiefly rests; and his reasoning is as follows: That such writers as Gellius are not always to be trusted; that Gellius often quoted from memory; that he cites older authors on the testimony of later authors; that he speaks of Varro, *fide homo multâ et gravis*, as if he were a contemporary that needed commendation, not the well-known Varro whose character was established; that the Varro of Gellius may therefore be a later Varro, whose book, "Pius," or "De Pace," may have been about Antoninus Pius, under whom Gellius lived, and who may have been utterly mistaken in what he said of Sallust; and that, consequently, the passage in Gellius is to be suspected. Respecting the plunder of Numidia, his arguments are, that the province was given to Sallust to spoil, not for himself, but for Cæsar; that of the money obtained from it, the chief part was given to Cæsar; and that, consequently, Cæsar, not Sallust, is to bear the blame for what was done.

But such conjectures produce no more impression on the mind of a reader than Walpole's "Historic Doubts" concerning Richard the Third. They suggest something that may have been, but bring no proof of what actually was; they may be allowed to be ingenious, but the general voice of history is still believed. To all Müller's suggestions Gerlach exclaims, *Credat Judæus!* Were there, in the pages of antiquity, a single record or remark favourable to the moral character of Sallust, there would then be a *point d'appui* from which to commence an attack on what is said against him; but the case, alas! is exactly the reverse; wherever Sallust is characterised as a man, he is characterised unfavourably.

His writings consisted of his narratives of the Conspiracy of Catiline and the War with Jugurtha, and of a History of Rome in five books, extending from the death of Sylla to the beginning of the Mithridatic war. The Catiline and Jugurtha have reached us entire; but of the History there now remain only four speeches, two letters, and a number of smaller fragments preserved among the grammarians.

[1] C. Sallustius Crispus, Leipzig, 1817. [2] Ad. Hor. Sat., i., 2, 48.

[3] Einige Bemerk. ub. den Moral Char. des Sallust. *Prog. Giessen.*, 1788, 4to. See Frotscher's note on Le Clerc's Life of Sall., *init.*

Vit. Sall., p. 9, *seq.* [5] Zur Beurtheilung des Sall., Breslau, 1818.

That he was not the author of the Epistles to Cæsar, the reader will find satisfactorily shown in the remarks prefixed to the translation of them in the present volume.

Sallust is supposed to have formed his style on that of Thucydides[1]; but he has far excelled his model, if not in energy, certainly in conciseness and perspicuity of expression. "The speeches of Thucydides," says Cicero[2], "contain so many dark and intricate passages, that they are scarcely understood." No such complaint can be made of any part of the writings of Sallust. "From any sentence in Thucydides," says Seneca the rhetorician[3], "however remarkable for its conciseness, if a word or two be taken away, the sense will remain, if not equally ornate, yet equally entire; but from the periods of Sallust nothing can be deducted without detriment to the meaning." *Apud eruditas aures*, says Quintilian[4], *nihil potest esse perfectius.*

The defects of his style are, that he wants the *flumen orationis* so much admired in Livy and Herodotus[5]; that his transitions are often abrupt; and that he too much affects antique phraseology[6]. But no writer can combine qualities that are incompatible. He is justly preferred by Quintilian[7] to Livy, and well merits the praise given him by Tacitus[8] and Martial[9], of being *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*, and *Romanâ primus in historiâ*.

Of the numerous editions of Sallust, that of Cortius, which appeared at Leipsic in 1724, and has been often reprinted, long indisputably held the first rank. But Cortius, as an editor, was somewhat too fond of expelling from his text all words that he could possibly pronounce superfluous; and succeeding editors, as Gerlach, (Basil. 1823,) Kritz, (Leipsic, 1834,) and Dietsch, (Leipsic, 1846,) have judiciously restored many words that he had discarded, and produced texts more acceptable in many respects to the generality of students.

Sallust has been many times translated into English. The versions most deserving of notice are those of Gordon, (1744,) Rose, (1751,) Murphy, (1807,) and Peacock, (1845). Gordon has vigour, but wants polish; Rose is close and faithful, but often dry and hard; Murphy is sprightly, but verbose and licentious, qualities in which his admirer, Sir Henry Steuart, (1806,) went audaciously beyond him; Mr. Peacock's translation is equally faithful with that of Rose, and far exceeds it in general ease and agreeableness of style.

[1] Vell. Pat., ii., 36. [2] Orat., c. 9. [3] Controvers., iv., 24.
[4] Inst. Or., x., 1. [5] Monboddo, Origin and Prog. of Language, vol. ii., p. 200.
[6] Quint. Inst. Or., viii., 3. [7] Inst. Or., ii., 5.
[8] Ann., iii., 30. [9] xiv., 191.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF FLORUS.

CONCERNING Florus scarcely anything is known. That he lived in the reign of Trajan is apparent from the end of his Preface, where he says that the Roman empire *sub Trojano principe movet lacertos*, "raises its arms under the emperor Trajan." He there reckons, according to the common reading, CC years from the reign of Augustus to his own times, but as the period between the reign of Augustus and the end of that of Trajan included only CXLIII years, Vossius[1] is of opinion that we ought to read CL.

The same critic, following Salmasius, supposes that he survived Trajan, and that he is the Florus to whom Spartianus alludes in his life of Hadrian, Trajan's successor. But the identity of the two is extremely uncertain. Indeed, it has been doubted whether the author of the Epitome has any right to the name of Florus, for in some manuscripts he is called only Lucius Annæus, and Lactantius was accordingly disposed to attribute the work to Lucius Annæus Seneca, the philosopher. But Salmasius[2], in a manuscript of great accuracy, which he considered to be more than eight hundred years old, found the name written *Lucius Annæus Florus*, and Florus he will probably continue to be called.

From his name Annæus, he is generally supposed to have been a native of Spain, and of the same descent as Seneca and Lucan[3]. In commencing his work, he seems to have purposed to write as a foreigner; for through the whole of the first book he makes no use of the pronouns *nos* and *noster*, which appear for the first time in the second chapter of the second book.

As a historian, he is of little authority. His work, it has been ob-

[1] De Historicis Latinis. [2] Pref. to Florus. [3] Burm. ad Quintil., x., 3.

served, is rather a panegyric on the Romans, than an accurate history of their actions. "He commits," says Rupertus[1], "many a metachronism, and many a prochronism." His geography is not much better than his chronology. He seems to have been far more studious about his style than his matter.

His style is, indeed, far too much studied. It is all floridity and affectation, and can please no reader of good taste. There is in it, as has been remarked[2], a poetical tumour, of which a judicious historian would be ashamed. His pages are full of laboured conceits, such as all students, ambitious of a good style, must avoid. He is childishly fond of parenthetical exclamations, as, *O nefas! O pudor! Horribile dictu!* which can be regarded only with derision. His love of brevity has rendered his meaning sometimes obscure. Were a person to come to the perusal of Florus, without having previously learned anything of Roman history, he would be sadly puzzled to ascertain his meaning in many places.

Of his conceits the following are specimens. When he relates the prodigy of the statue of Apollo perspiring at Cumæ, he says that the exsudation proceeded from the concern of the god for his dear Asia[3]. When he speaks of the head of Cicero being set on the Rostra, he observes that the people went to see him in no smaller numbers than they had previously gone to hear him[4]. When he describes the large ships of Antony, he remarks that they moved not without groaning on the part of the sea, and fatigue on that of the winds[5]. When he states that Cæsar returned from Britain over a calm sea, he adds that the ocean seemed to acknowledge itself unequal to cope with him[6]. When he tells of Fabius Maximus attacking the enemy from a higher ground, he says that the aspect of the battle was as if weapons had been hurled on giants from the sky[7]. When he mentions that the Gauls were constant enemies of Rome, he speaks of them as a whetstone on which the Romans might sharpen their swords[8]. Abundance of other examples might be given, but something of the exquisiteness of the conceits is lost in a translation.

Of his character as a man nothing can be gathered from his writings, except that he was not free from superstition[9].

Whether he was the author of the arguments to the books of Livy, which are printed with his History in some editions, it would be useless to attempt to discover.

Translations of Florus are not numerous. In English I have seen

[1] Ad Flori Procem., *init.* [2] Rupert. ad Flor., i., 13, 17. [3] Lib. ii., c. 8.
[4] Lib. iv., c. 7. [5] Lib. iv., c. 11. [6] Lib. iii., c. 10.
[7] Lib. i., c. 17. [8] Lib. ii, c. 3. [9] Lib. iv., c. 2., *fin. atque alibi.*

three; an anonymous one, printed at Oxford in 1636, which was full of mistakes, but was afterwards revised by Meric Casaubon, and reprinted in 1658; another by John Davies, published in 1672, which is neither very faithful to the sense, nor elegant in language, even for the time at which it was written; and a third by John Clarke, the translator of Suetonius and other Latin authors, which is sufficiently true to the sense, but utterly contemptible in style.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF CAIUS VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

Of Velleius Paterculus, as of Florus, we obtain no information but from his own pages. He is not even named, as far as we know, by any ancient writer, unless he be the *Marcus* Velleius, from whom Priscian quotes a few words in his sixth book; for what his prænomen was is not at all certain; since Rhenanus, who published the *editio princeps* from the only manuscript which was then extant, and which has since been lost, calls him *Caius* in his title, and *Publius* in his index.

The year of his birth is uncertain, but he is conjectured by Dodwell to have been born in the seven hundred and thirty-fifth year from the foundation of Rome, or the nineteenth before Christ; the same year in which Virgil died.

He was of an equestrian family in Campania, one of the distinguished members of which was Decius Magius[1], who adhered to the Romans in the second Punic war. His grandfather served in the army, under Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards under Claudius Nero, as *præfectus fabrûm*, captain of the artificers or engineers[2]. His father, whom he does not name, was præfect of cavalry; an office in which his son succeeded him, and served for nine years under Tiberius Cæsar in Germany[3]. He had previously been a military tribune[4], and was afterwards quæstor[5] and prætor[6].

He wrote his book, in or after the year A.U.C. 783, when Marcus Vinicius, to whom he dedicates it, was consul. He composed it in great haste, being hurried on, he says, with the rapidity of a wheel or torrent[7]; but the cause of such haste does not appear. It is called by his editors a *Roman History*, but the fragment of the first book shows that it also contained a large portion of the History of Greece. The manuscript of his work, which I have mentioned above, was found by Rhenanus in the convent of Murbach in Alsace; a collation of it, appended to the

[1] Vell. Pat., ii., 16. [2] ii., 76. [3] ii., 104. [4] ii., 101. [5] ii., 111. [6] ii., 124. [7] i., 16.

edition of 1546, was made by Burer before it was returned to the convent[1].

He intended to write a larger history[2], but whether he executed his intention is unknown.

His philosophical tenets seem to have been, or to have resembled, those of Epicurus[3].

The time of his death is uncertain; but Lipsius conjectures that he may have been involved in the ruin of Sejanus, to whom he seems to have attached himself, and whom, as well as Tiberius, he is censured for having grossly flattered. His flattery, however, seems to have consisted rather in concealing their faults, than in attributing to them imaginary virtues.

His style is animated and energetic, but rough and unpolished; his sentences are too long, and often clogged with parentheses.

He has twice before been translated into English; by Newcomb, 1721, a rude and unfaithful version; and by Baker, 1814, a performance resembling in style the Livy of the same writer.

[1] Krause, p. 48, 49. [2] ii., 48, 96, 99, *atque alibi.* [3] ii., 66, 123.

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE INTRODUCTION, I.—IV. The character of Catiline, V. Virtues of the ancient Romans, VI.—IX. Degeneracy of their posterity, X.—XIII. Catiline's associates and supporters, and the arts by which he collected them, XIV. His crimes and wretchedness, XV. His tuition of his accomplices, and resolution to subvert the government, XVI. His convocation of the conspirators, and their names, XVII. His concern in a former conspiracy, XVIII., XIX. Speech to the conspirators, XX. His promises to them, XXI. His supposed ceremony to unite them, XXII. His designs discovered by Fulvia, XXIII. His alarm on the election of Cicero to the consulship, and his design in engaging women in his cause, XXIV. His accomplice, Sempronia, characterised, XXV. His ambition of the consulship, his plot to assassinate Cicero, and his disappointment in both, XXVI. His mission of Manlius into Etruria, and his second convention of the conspirators, XXVII. His second attempt to kill Cicero; his directions to Manlius well observed, XXVIII. His machinations induce the Senate to confer extraordinary power on the consuls, XXIX. His proceedings are opposed by various precautions, XXX. His effrontery in the Senate, XXXI. He sets out for Etruria, XXXII. His accomplice, Manlius, sends a deputation to Marcius, XXXIII. His representations to various respectable characters, XXXIV. His letter to Catulus, XXXV. His arrival at Manlius's camp; he is declared an enemy by the Senate; his adherents continue faithful and resolute, XXXVI. The discontent and disaffection of the populace in Rome, XXXVII. The old contentions between the patricians and plebeians, XXXVIII. The effect which a victory of Catiline would have produced, XXXIX. The Allobroges are solicited to engage in the conspiracy, XL. They discover it to Cicero, XLI. The incaution of Catiline's accomplices in Gaul and Italy, XLII. The plans of his adherents at Rome, XLIII. The Allobroges succeed in obtaining proofs of the conspirators' guilt, XLIV. The Allobroges and Volturcius are arrested by the contrivance of Cicero, XLV. The principal conspirators at Rome are brought before the Senate, XLVI. The evidence against them, and their consignment to custody, XLVII. The alteration in the minds of the populace, and the suspicions entertained against Crassus, XLVIII. The attempts of Catulus and Piso to criminate Cæsar, XLIX. The plans of Lentulus and Cethegus for their rescue, and the deliberations of the Senate, L. The speech of Cæsar on the mode of punishing the conspirators, LI. The speech of Cato on the same subject, LII. The condemnation of the prisoners; the causes of Roman great-

ness, LIII. Parallel between Cæsar and Cato, LIV. The execution of the criminals, LV. Catiline's warlike preparations in Etruria, LVI. He is compelled by Metellus and Antonius to hazard an action, LVII. His exhortation to his men, LVIII. His arrangements, and those of his opponents, for the battle, LIX. His bravery, defeat, and death, LX., LXI.

I. It becomes all men, who desire to excel other animals[1], to strive, to the utmost of their power[2], not to pass through life in obscurity[3], like the beasts of the field[4], which nature has formed grovelling[5] and subservient to appetite.

[1] I. Desire to excel other animals] *Sese student præstare cæteris animalibus.* The pronoun, which was usually omitted, is, says Cortius, not without its force; for it is equivalent to *ut ipsi*: student *ut ipsi præstent.* In support of his opinion he quotes, with other passages, Plaut. Asinar. i., 3, 31: Vult placere sese amicæ, i. e. vult *ut ipse amicæ placeat;* and Cœlius Antipater apud Festum in "Topper:" Ita uti sese quisque vobis studeat æmulari, i. e. *studeat ut ipse æmuletur.* This explanation is approved by Bernouf. Cortius might have added Cat. 7: *sese* quisque hostem *ferire—properabat.* "Student," Cortius interprets by "cupiunt."

[2] To the utmost of their power] *Summâ ope,* with their utmost ability. "A Sallustian mode of expression. Cicero would have said *summâ operâ, summo studio, summâ contentione.* Ennius has '*Summa nituntur opum vi.*'" Colerus.

[3] In obscurity] *Silentio.* So as to have nothing said of them, either during their lives or at their death. So in c. 2: *Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstumo, quoniam de utrâque siletur.* When Ovid says, *Bene quī latuit, bene vixit,* and Horace, *Nec vixit malè, qui vivens moriensque fefellit,* they merely signify that he has some comfort in life, who, in ignoble obscurity, escapes trouble and censure. But men thus undistinguished are, in the estimation of Sallust, little superior to the brute creation. "Optimus quisque," says Muretus, quoting Cicero, "honoris et gloriæ studio maximè ducitur;" the ablest men are most actuated by the desire of honour and glory, and are more solicitous about the character which they will bear among posterity. With reason, therefore, does Pallas, in the Odyssey, address the following exhortation to Telemachus:

> "Hast thou not heard how young Orestes, fir'd
> With great revenge, immortal praise acquir'd?
> * * * * *
> O greatly bless'd with ev'ry blooming grace,
> With equal steps the paths of glory trace!
> Join to that royal youth's your rival name,
> And shine eternal in the sphere of fame."

[4] Like the beasts of the field] *Veluti pecora.* Many translators have rendered *pecora* "brutes" or "beasts;" *pecus,* however, does not mean brutes in general, but answers to our English word *cattle.*

[5] Grovelling] *Prona.* I have adopted *grovelling* from Mair's old translation.

All our power is situate in the mind and in the body[1]. Of the mind we rather employ the government[2]; of the body,

Pronus, stooping *to the earth*, is applied to *cattle*, in opposition to *erectus*, which is applied to *man*; as in the following lines of Ovid, Met. i., 76:

"*Prona*que cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et *erectos* ad sidera tollere vultus."

"——— while the mute creation downward bend
Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,
Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary skies." *Dryden.*

Which Milton (Par. L. vii., 502) has paraphrased:

"There wanted yet the master-work, the end
Of all yet done; a creature, who not *prone*
And brute as other creatures, but endued
With sanctity of reason, might *erect*
His stature, and *upright with front serene*
Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence
Magnanimous to correspond with heaven."

So Silius Italicus, xv., 84:

"Nonne vides hominum ut celsos ad sidera vultus
Sustulerit Deus, et sublimia finxerit ora,
Cùm pecudes, volucrumque genus, formasque ferarum,
Segnem atque obscœnam passim stravisset in alvum."

"See'st thou not how the Deity has rais'd
The countenance of man erect to heav'n,
Gazing sublime, while prone to earth he bent
Th' inferior tribes, reptiles, and pasturing herds,
And beasts of prey, to appetite enslav'd?"

"When N[illegible]," says Cicero de Legg. i., 9, "had made other animals abject, and consig[illegible] them to the pastures, she made man alone upright, and raised him to the [illegible] templation of heaven, as of his birthplace and former abode;" a passage wh[illegible] Dryden seems to have had in his mind when he translated the lines of Ovid cited above. Let us add Juvenal, xv., 146:

"Sensum à cœlesti demissum traximus arce,
Cujus egent prona et terram spectantia."

"To us is reason giv'n, of heav'nly birth,
Denied to beasts, that prone regard the earth."

[1] All our power is situate in the mind and in the body] *Sed omnis nostra vis in animo et corpore sita.* All our power is placed, or consists, in our mind and our body. The particle *sed*, which is merely a connective, answering to the Greek δέ, and which would be useless in an English translation, I have omitted.

[2] Of the mind we—employ the government] *Animi imperio—utimur.* "What the Deity is in the universe, the mind is in man; what matter is to the universe, the body is to us; let the worse, therefore, serve the better."—Sen. Epist. lxv.

the service[1]. The one is common to us with the gods; the other with the brutes. It appears to me, therefore, more reasonable[2] to pursue glory by means of the intellect than of bodily strength, and, since the life which we enjoy is short, to make the remembrance of us as lasting as possible. For the glory of wealth and beauty is fleeting and perishable; that of intellectual power is illustrious and immortal[3].

Yet it was long a subject of dispute among mankind,

Dux et imperator vitæ mortalium animus est, the mind is the guide and ruler of the life of mortals.—Jug. c. 1. "An animal consists of mind and body, of which the one is formed by nature to rule, and the other to obey."—Aristot. Polit. i., 5. Muretus and Graswinckel will supply abundance of similar passages.

[1] Of the mind we rather employ the government; of the body, the service] *Animi imperio, corporis servitio, magis utimur.* The word *magis* is not to be regarded as useless. "It signifies," says Cortius, "that the mind rules, and the body obeys, *in general*, and *with greater reason*." At certain times the body may *seem to have the mastery*, as when we are under the irresistible influence of hunger or thirst.

[2] It appears to me, therefore, more reasonable, *&c.*] *Quo mihi rectius videtur, &c.* I have rendered *quo* by *therefore*. "*Quo*," observes Cortius, "is *propter quod*; with the proper force of the ablative case. So Jug. c. 84: *Quo* mihi acrius adnitendum est, &c.; c. 2, *Quo* magis pravitas eorum admiranda est. Some expositors would force us to believe that these ablatives are inseparably connected with the comparative degree, as in *quo minus, eo major*, and similar expressions; whereas common sense shows that they cannot be so connected." Kritzius is one of those who interprets in the way to which Cortius alludes, as if the drift of the passage were, *Quanto magis animus corpori præstat, tanto rectius ingenii opibus gloriam quærere.* But most of the commentators and translators rightly follow Cortius. "*Quo*," says Pappaur, "is for *quocirca*."

[3] *That of* intellectual power is illustrious and immortal] *Virt[illegible]ara æternaque habetur.* The only one of our English translators who has [illegible]n the right sense of *virtus* in this passage, is Sir Henry Steuart, who was guid[illegible] to it by the Abbé Thyvon and M. Beauzée. "It appears somewhat singular," [illegible]s Sir Henry, "that none of the numerous translators of Sallust, whether among ourselves or among foreign nations—the Abbé Thyvon and M. Beauzée excepted—have thought of giving to the word *virtus*, in this place, what so obviously is the meaning intended by the historian; namely, 'genius, ability, distinguished talents.'" Indeed, the whole tenor of the passage, as well as the scope of the context, leaves no room to doubt the fact. The main objects of comparison, throughout the three first sections of this Procemium, or introductory discourse, are not vice and virtue, but body and mind; a listless indolence, and a vigorous, honourable activity. On this account it is pretty evident, that by *virtus* Sallust could never mean the Greek ἀρετή, 'virtue or moral worth,' but that he had in his eye the well-known interpretation of Varro, who considers it *ut viri vis* (De Ling. Lat. iv.), as denoting the useful energy which ennobles a man, and should chiefly distinguish him among his fellow-creatures. In order to be convinced of the justice of this

whether military efforts were more advanced by strength of body, or by force of intellect. For, in affairs of war, it is necessary to plan before beginning to act[1], and, after planning, to act with promptitude and vigour[2]. Thus, each[3] being insufficient of itself, the one requires the assistance of the other[4].

II. In early times, accordingly, kings (for that was the first title of sovereignty in the world) applied themselves in different ways[5]; some exercised the mind, others the body. At that period, however[6], the life of man was passed without covetousness[7]; every one was satisfied with his own.

rendering, we need only turn to another passage of our author, in the second section of the Prœemium to the Jugarthine War, where the same train of thought is again pursued, although he gives it somewhat a different turn in the piece last mentioned. The object, notwithstanding, of both these Dissertations is to illustrate, in a striking manner, the pre-eminence of the mind over extrinsic advantages or bodily endowments, and to show that it is by genius alone that we may aspire to a reputation which shall never die. *Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, adhuc vis corporis, et alia hujusmodi omnia, brevi dilabuntur: at ingenii egregia facinora, sicut anima, immortalia sunt.*"

[1] It is necessary to plan before beginning to act] *Priusquam incipias, consulto—opus est.* Most translators have rendered *consulto* "deliberation," or something equivalent; but it is *planning* or *contrivance* that is signified. Demosthenes, in his Oration *de Pace*, reproaches the Athenians with acting without any settled plan: Ὁι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ὑμεῖς ὀυδὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.

[2] To act with promptitude and vigour] *Maturè facto opus est.* "Maturè facto" seems to include the notions both of promptitude and vigour, of force as well as speed; for what would be the use of acting expeditiously, unless expedition be attended with power and effect?

[3] Each] *Utrumque.* The corporeal and mental faculties.

[4] The one requires the assistance of the other] *Alterum alterius auxilio eget.* "*Eget,*" says Cortius, "is the reading of all the MSS." *Veget,* which Havercamp and some others have adopted, was the conjecture of Palmerius, on account of *indigens* occurring in the same sentence. But *eget* agrees far better with *consulto et—maturè facto opus est,* in the preceding sentence.

[5] II. Applied themselves in different ways] *Diversi.* "Modo et instituto diverso, diversa sequentes." *Cortius.*

[6] At that period, however] *Et jam tum.* "Tunc temporis *præcisè,* at that time *precisely,* which is the force of the particle *jam,* as Donatus shows. * * * I have therefore written *et jam* separately. * * * Virg. Æn. vii., 737. Late *jam tum* ditione premebat Sarrastes populos." *Cortius.*

[7] Without covetousness] *Sine cupiditate.* "As in the famous golden age. See Tacit. Ann. iii., 26." *Cortius.* See also Ovid. Met. i., 89, *seq.* But "such times were never," as Cowper says.

But after Cyrus in Asia[1], and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subjugate cities and nations, to deem the lust of dominion a reason for war, and to imagine the greatest glory to be in the most extensive empire, it was then at length discovered, by proof and experience[2], that mental power has the greatest effect in military operations. And, indeed[3], if the intellectual ability[4] of kings and magistrates[5] were exerted to the same degree in peace as in war, human affairs would be more orderly and settled, and you would not see governments shifted from hand to hand[6], and things universally changed and confused. For dominion is easily secured by those qualities by which it was at first obtained. But when sloth has introduced itself in the place of industry, and covetousness and pride in that of moderation and equity, the fortune of a state is

[1] But after Cyrus in Asia, *&c.*] *Postea verò quàm in Asiâ Cyrus, &c.* Sallust writes as if he had supposed that kings were more moderate before the time of Cyrus. But this can hardly have been the case. "The Romans," says De Brosses, whose words I abridge, "though not learned in antiquity, could not have been ignorant that there were great conquerors before Cyrus; as Ninus and Sesostris. But as their reigns belonged rather to the fabulous ages, Sallust, in entering upon a serious history, wished to confine himself to what was certain, and went no farther back than the records of Herodotus and Thucydides." Ninus, says Justin. i., 1, was the first to change, through inordinate ambition, the *veterem et quasi avitum gentibus morem*, that is, to break through the settled restraints of law and order. Gerlach agrees in opinion with De Brosses.

[2] Proof and experience] *Periculo atque negotiis.* Gronovius rightly interprets *periculo* "experiundo, experimentis," by experiment or trial. Cortius takes *periculo atque negotiis* for *periculosis negotiis*, by hendyadys; but to this figure, as Kritzius remarks, we ought but sparingly to have recourse. It is better, he adds, to take the words in their ordinary signification, understanding by *negotia* "res graviores." Bernouf judiciously explains *negotiis* by "ipsâ negotiorum tractatione," i.e. by the management of affairs, or by experience in affairs. Dureau Delamalle, the French translator, has "l'expérience et la pratique." Mair has "trial and experience," which, I believe, faithfully expresses Sallust's meaning. Rose gives only "experience" for both words.

[3] And, indeed, if the intellectual ability, *&c.*] *Quod si—animi virtus, &c.* "Quod si" cannot here be rendered *but if;* it is rather equivalent to *quapropter si*, and might be expressed by *wherefore if, if therefore, if then, so that if.*

[4] Intellectual ability] *Animi virtus.* See the remarks on *virtus*, above cited.

[5] Magistrates] *Imperatorum.* "Understand all who govern states, whether in war or in peace." *Bernouf.* Sallust calls the consuls *imperatores*, c. 6.

[6] Governments shifted from hand to hand] *Aliud aliò ferri.* Evidently alluding to changes in government.

altered together with its morals; and thus authority is always transferred from the less to the more deserving[1].

Even in agriculture[2], in navigation, and in architecture, whatever man performs owns the dominion of intellect. Yet many human beings, resigned to sensuality and indolence, uninstructed and unimproved, have passed through life like travellers in a strange country[3]; to whom, certainly, contrary to the intention of nature, the body was a gratification, and the mind a burden. Of these I hold the life and death in equal estimation[4]; for silence is maintained concerning both. But he only, indeed, seems to me to live, and to enjoy life, who, intent upon some employment, seeks reputation from some ennobling enterprise, or honourable pursuit.

But in the great abundance of occupations, nature points out different paths to different individuals. III. To act well for the Commonwealth is noble, and even to speak well for it is not without merit[5]. Both in peace and in war it is possible to obtain celebrity; many who have acted, and many who have recorded the actions of others, receive their tribute of praise. And to me, assuredly, though by no means equal glory attends the narrator and the performer of illustrious

[1] Less to the more deserving] *Ad optimum quemque à minus bono.* "From the less good to the best."

[2] Even in agriculture, *&c.*] *Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent.* Literally, *what men plough, sail, &c.* Sallust's meaning is, that agriculture, navigation, and architecture, though they may seem to be effected by mere bodily exertion, are as much the result of mental power as the highest of human pursuits.

[3] Like travellers in a strange country] *Sicuti peregrinantes.* "Vivere nesciunt; igitur in vitâ quasi hospites sunt:" they know not how to use life, and are therefore, as it were, strangers in it. *Dietsch.* "*Peregrinantes*, qui, quâ transeunt, nullum sui vestigium relinquunt:" they are as travellers, who do nothing to leave any trace of their course. *Pappaur.*

[4] Of these I hold the life and death in equal estimation] *Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstimo.* I count them of the same value dead as alive, for they are honoured in the one state as much as in the other. "Those who are devoted to the gratification of their appetites, as Sallust says, let us regard as inferior animals, not as men; and some, indeed, not as living, but as dead animals." Seneca, Ep. lx.

[5] III. Not without merit] *Haud absurdum.* I have borrowed this expression from Rose, to whom Muretus furnished "suâ laude non caret." "The word *absurdus* is often used by the Latins as an epithet for sounds disagreeable to the ear; but at length it came to be applied to any action unbecoming a rational being." *Kunhardt.*

deeds, it yet seems in the highest degree difficult to write the history of great transactions; first, because deeds must be adequately represented[1] by words; and next, because most readers consider that whatever errors you mention with censure, are mentioned through malevolence and envy; while, when you speak of the great virtue and glory of eminent men, every one hears with acquiescence[2] only that which he himself thinks easy to be performed; all beyond his own conception he regards as fictitious and incredible[3].

I myself, however, when a young man[4], was at first led by inclination, like most others, to engage in political affairs[5]; but in that pursuit many circumstances were unfavourable to me; for, instead of modesty, temperance, and integrity[6], there prevailed shamelessness, corruption, and rapacity. And although my mind, inexperienced in dishonest practices, detested these vices, yet, in the midst of so great corruption,

[1] Deeds must be adequately represented, *&c.*] *Facta dictis sunt exæquanda.* Most translators have regarded these words as signifying *that the subject must be equalled by the style.* But it is not of mere style that Sallust is speaking. "He means that the matter must be so represented by the words, that honourable actions may not be too much praised, and that dishonourable actions may not be too much blamed; and that the reader may at once understand what was done, and how it was done." *Kunhardt.*

[2] Every one hears with acquiescence, *&c.*] *Quæ sibi—æquo animo accipit, &c.* This is taken from Thucydides, ii., 35. "For praises spoken of others are only endured so far as each one thinks that he is himself also capable of doing any of the things he hears; but that which exceeds their own capacity men at once envy and disbelieve." Dale's Translation: Bohn's Classical Library.

[3] Regards as fictitious and incredible] *Veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Ducit pro falsis*, he considers as false or incredible, *veluti ficta*, as if invented.

[4] When a young man] *Adolescentulus.* "It is generally admitted that all were called *adolescentes* by the Romans, who were between the fifteenth or seventeenth year of their age and the fortieth. The diminutive is used in the same sense, but with a view to contrast more strongly the ardour and spirit of youth with the moderation, prudence, and experience of age. So Cæsar is called *adolescentulus*, in c. 49, at a time when he was in his thirty-third year." *Dietsch.* And Cicero, referring to the time of his consulship, says, *Defendi rempublicam adolescens*, Philipp. ii., 46.

[5] To engage in political affairs] *Ad rempublicam.* "In the phrase of Cornelius Nepos, *honoribus operam dedi*, I sought to obtain some share in the management of the Republic. All public matters were comprehended under the term *Respublica.*" *Cortius.*

[6] Integrity] *Virtute.* Cortius rightly explains this word as meaning *justice, equity*, and all other virtues necessary in those who manage the affairs of a state. Observe that it is here opposed to *avaritia*, not, as some critics would have it, to *largitio.*

my tender age was ensnared and infected[1] by ambition; and, though I shrunk from the vicious principles of those around me, yet the same eagerness for honours, the same obloquy and jealousy[2], which disquieted others, disquieted myself.

IV. When, therefore, my mind had rest from its numerous troubles and trials, and I had determined to pass the remainder of my days unconnected with public life, it was not my intention to waste my valuable leisure in indolence and inactivity, or, engaging in servile occupations, to spend my time in agriculture or hunting[3]; but, returning to those studies[4] from which, at their commencement, a corrupt ambition had allured me, I determined to write, in detached portions[5], the transactions of the Roman people, as any occurrence

[1] Was ensnared and infected] *Corrupta tenebatur.* As *obsessus tenetur*, Jug., c. 24.

[2] The same eagerness for honours, the same obloquy and jealousy, *&c.*] *Honoris cupido eadem quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.* I follow the interpretation of Cortius: "Me vexabat honoris cupido, et vexabat *propterea* etiam eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia." He adds, from a gloss in the Guelferbytan MS., that it is a *zeugma.* "*Fama atque invidia,*" says Gronovius, "is *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*, for *invidiosa et maligna fama.*" Bernouf, with Zanchius and others, read *famâ atque invidiâ* in the ablative case; and the Bipont edition has *eadem quâ—famâ, &c.*; but the method of Cortius is, to me, by far the most straightforward and satisfactory. Sallust, observes De Brosses, in his note on this passage, wrote the account of Catiline's conspiracy shortly after his expulsion from the Senate, and wishes to make it appear that he suffered from calumny on the occasion; though he took no trouble, in the subsequent part of his life, to put such calumny to silence.

[3] IV. Servile occupations—agriculture or hunting] *Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum.* By calling agriculture and hunting *servilia officia*, Sallust intends, as is remarked by Graswinckelius, little more than was expressed in the saying of Julian the emperor, *Turpe est sapienti, cum habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore.* "Ita ergo," adds the commentator, "agricultura et venatio servilia officia sunt, quum in solo consistant corporis usu, animum, verò nec meliorem nec prudentiorem reddant. Qui labor in se certè est illiberalis, ei præsertim cui facultas sit ad meliora." Symmachus (l. v. Ep. 66) and some others, whose remarks the reader may see in Havercamp, think that Sallust might have spoken of hunting and agriculture with more respect, and accuse him of not remembering, with sufficient veneration, the kings and princes that have amused themselves in hunting, and such illustrious ploughmen as Curius and Cincinnatus. Sallust, however, is sufficiently defended from censure by the Abbé Thyvon, in a dissertation much longer than the subject deserves, and much longer than most readers are willing to peruse.

[4] Returning to those studies, *&c.*] *A quo incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eòdem regressus.* "The study, namely, of writing history, to which he signifies that he was attached in c. 3." *Cortius.*

[5] In detached portions] *Carptim.* "Plin. Ep. viii., 47: Respondebis non posse

should seem worthy of mention; an undertaking to which I was the rather inclined, as my mind was uninfluenced by hope, fear, or political partisanship. I shall accordingly give a brief account, with as much truth as I can, of the Conspiracy of Catiline; for I think it an enterprise eminently deserving of record, from the unusual nature both of its guilt and of its perils. But before I enter upon my narrative, I must give a short description of the character of the man.

V. Lucius Catiline was a man of noble birth[1], and of eminent mental and personal endowments; but of a vicious and depraved disposition. His delight, from his youth, had been in civil commotions, bloodshed, robbery, and sedition[2]; and in such scenes he had spent his early years[3]. His constitution could endure hunger, want of sleep, and cold, to a degree surpassing belief. His mind was daring, subtle, and versatile, capable of pretending or dissembling whatever he wished[4]. He was covetous of other men's property, and

perinde *carptim*, ut *contexta* placere: et vi., 22: Egit *carptim* et *κατὰ κεφάλαια*." *Dietsch.*

[1] V. Of noble birth] *Nobili genere natus.* His three names were Lucius *Sergius* Catilina, he being of the family of the Sergii, for whose antiquity Virgil is responsible, Æn. v., 121: *Sergestusque, domus tenet à quo Sergia nomen.* And Juvenal says, Sat. viii., 321: *Quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi Inveniet quisquam sublimius?* His great grandfather, L. Sergius Silus, had eminently distinguished himself by his services in the second Punic war. See Plin. Hist. Nat. vii., 29. "Catiline was born A.U.C. 647, A.C. 107." *Dietsch.* Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxv.) says that he was the last of the Sergii.

[2] *Sedition*] *Discordia civilis.*

[3] And in such scenes he had spent his early years] *Ibique juventutem suam exercuit.* "It is to be observed that the Roman writers often used an adverb, where we, of modern times, should express ourselves more specifically by using a noun." *Dietsch* on c. 3, *ibique multa mihi advorsa fuere.* *Juventus* properly signified the time between thirty and forty-five years of age; *adolescentia* that between fifteen and thirty. But this distinction was not always accurately observed. Catiline had taken an active part in supporting Sylla, and in carrying into execution his cruel proscriptions and mandates. "Quis erat hujus (Syllæ) imperii minister? Quis nisi Catilina, jam in omne facinus manus exercens?" Sen. de Irâ, iii., 18.

[4] Capable of pretending or dissembling whatever he wished] *Cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator.* "Dissimulation is the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is;—simulation is the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not." Bacon, Essay vi

prodigal of his own. He had abundance of eloquence[1], though but little wisdom. His insatiable ambition was always pursuing objects extravagant, romantic, and unattainable.

Since the time of Sylla's dictatorship[2], a strong desire of seizing the government possessed him, nor did he at all care, provided that he secured power[3] for himself, by what means he might arrive at it. His violent spirit was daily more and more hurried on by the diminution of his patrimony, and by his consciousness of guilt; both which evils he had increased by those practices which I have mentioned above. The corrupt morals of the state, too, which extravagance and selfishness, pernicious and contending vices, rendered thoroughly depraved[4], furnished him with additional incentives to action.

Since the occasion has thus brought public morals under my notice, the subject itself seems to call upon me to look back, and briefly to describe the conduct of our ancestors[5] in

[1] Abundance of eloquence] *Satis eloquentiæ.* Cortius reads *loquentiæ.* "*Loquentia* is a certain facility of speech not necessarily attended with sound sense; called by the Greeks λαλία." *Bernouf.* "Julius Candidus used excellently to observe that *eloquentia* was one thing, and *loquentia* another; for eloquence is given to few, but what Candidus called *loquentia*, or fluency of speech, is the talent of many, and especially of the most impudent." Plin. Ep. v., 20. But *eloquentiæ* is the reading of most of the MSS., and *loquentiæ*, if Aulus Gellius (i., 15) was rightly informed, was a correction of Valerius Probus, the grammarian, who said that Sallust *must* have written so, as *eloquentiæ* could not agree with *sapientiæ parum.* This opinion of Probus, however, may be questioned. May not Sallust have written *eloquentiæ*, with the intention of signifying that Catiline had abundance of eloquence to work on the minds of others, though he wanted prudence to regulate his own conduct? Have there not been other men of whom the same may be said, as Mirabeau, for example? The speeches that Sallust puts into Catiline's mouth (c. 20, 58) are surely to be characterised rather as *eloquentia* than *loquentia.* On the whole, and especially from the concurrence of MSS., I prefer to read *eloquentiæ*, with the more recent editors, Gerlach, Kritz, and Dietsch.

[2] Since the time of Sylla's dictatorship] *Post dominationem Lucii Syllæ.* "The meaning is not the same as if it were *finitâ dominatione*, but is the same as *ab eo tempore quo dominari cœperat.* In French, therefore, *post* should be rendered by *depuis*, not, as it is commonly translated, *après*." *Bernouf.* As *dictator* was the title that Sylla assumed, I have translated *dominatio*, "dictatorship." Rose, Gordon, and others, render it "usurpation."

[3] Power] *Regnum.* Chief authority, rule, dominion.

[4] Rendered thoroughly depraved] *Vexabant.* "Corrumpere et pessundare studebant." *Bernouf. Quos vexabant*, be it observed, refers to *mores*, as Gerlach and Kritz interpret, not to *cives* understood in *civitatis*, which is the evidently erroneous method of Cortius.

[5] Conduct of our ancestors] *Instituta majorum.* The principles adopted by our

peace and war; how they managed the state, and how powerful they left it; and how, by gradual alteration, it became, from being the most virtuous, the most vicious and depraved.

VI. Of the city of Rome, as I understand[1], the founders and earliest inhabitants were the Trojans, who, under the conduct of Æneas, were wandering about as exiles from their country, without any settled abode; and with these were joined the Aborigines[2], a savage race of men, without laws or government, free, and owning no control. How easily these two tribes, though of different origin, dissimilar language, and opposite habits of life, formed a union when they met within the same walls, is almost incredible[3]. But when their state, from an accession of population and territory, and an improved condition of morals, showed itself tolerably flourishing and powerful, envy, as is generally the case in human affairs, was the consequence of its prosperity. The neighbouring kings and people, accordingly, began to assail them in war, while a few only of their friends came to their support; for the rest, struck with alarm, shrunk from sharing their dangers. But the Romans, active at home and in the field, prepared with alacrity for their defence[4]. They encouraged one another, and hurried to meet the enemy. They protected, with their arms, their liberty, their country, and their homes. And when they had at length repelled danger by valour, they lent assistance to their allies and supporters, and procured friendships rather by bestowing[5] favours than by receiving them.

ancestors, with regard both to their own conduct, and to the management of the state. That this is the meaning, is evident from the following account.

[1] VI. As I understand] *Sicut ego accepi.* "By these words he plainly shows that nothing certain was known about the origin of Rome. The reader may consult Livy, lib. i.; Justin, lib. xliii.; and Dionys. Halicar., lib. i.; all of whom attribute its rise to the Trojans." *Bernouf.*

[2] Aborigines] *Aborigines.* The original inhabitants of Italy; the same as *indigenæ*, or the Greek Αὐτόχθονες.

[3] Almost incredible] *Incredibile memoratu.* "Non credi potest, si memoratur; superat omnem fidem." *Pappaur.* Yet that which actually happened, cannot be absolutely incredible; and I have, therefore, inserted *almost.*

[4] Prepared with alacrity for their defence] *Festinare, parare.* "Made haste, prepared." "*Intenti ut festinanter pararent* ea, quæ defensioni aut bello usui essent." *Pappaur.*

[5] Procured friendships rather by bestowing, *&c.*] *Magisque dandis, quam ac-*

They had a government regulated by laws. The denomination of their government was monarchy. Chosen men, whose bodies might be enfeebled by years, but whose minds were vigorous in understanding, formed the council of the state; and these, whether from their age, or from the similarity of their duty, were called FATHERS[1]. But afterwards, when the monarchical power, which had been originally established for the protection of liberty, and for the promotion of the public interest, had degenerated into tyranny and oppression, they changed their plan, and appointed two magistrates[2], with power only annual; for they conceived that, by this method, the human mind would be least likely to grow overbearing through want of control.

VII. At this period every citizen began to seek distinction, and to display his talents with greater freedom; for, with princes, the meritorious are greater objects of suspicion than the undeserving, and to them the worth of others is a source of alarm. But when liberty was secured, it is almost incredible[3] how much the state strengthened itself in a short space of time, so strong a passion for distinction had pervaded it. Now, for the first time, the youth, as soon as they were able to bear the toils of war[4], acquired military skill by actual service in the camp, and took pleasure rather in splendid arms and military steeds than in the society of mistresses and convivial indulgence. To such men no toil was unusual, no place was difficult or inaccessible, no armed enemy was for-

cupiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Thucyd. ii., 40: Ὀυ πάσχοντες ἓν, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους.

[1] FATHERS] PATRES. "(Romulus) appointed that the direction of the state should be in the hands of the old men, who, from their authority, were called *Fathers;* from their age, *Senatus.*" Florus, i., 1. *Senatus* from *senex.* "*Patres* ab honore—appellati." *Livy.*

[2] Two magistrates] *Binos imperatores.* The two consuls. They were more properly called *imperatores* at first, when the law, which settled their power, said "*Regio imperio* duo sunto" (Cic. de Legg. iii., 4), than afterwards, when the people and tribunes had made encroachments on their authority.

[3] VII. Almost incredible] *Incredibile memoratu.* See above, c. 6.

[4] Able to bear the toils of war] *Laboris ac belli patiens.* As by *laboris* the labour of war is evidently intended, I have thought it better to render the words in this manner. The reading is Cortius's. Havercamp and others have "simul *ac belli* patiens erat, in castris *per laborem usu* militiam discebat;" but *per laborem usu* is assuredly not the hand of Sallust.

midable; their valour had overcome everything. But among themselves the grand rivalry was for glory; each sought to be first to wound an enemy, to scale a wall, and to be noticed while performing such an exploit. Distinction such as this they regarded as wealth, honour, and true nobility[1]. They were covetous of praise, but liberal of money; they desired competent riches, but boundless glory. I could mention, but that the account would draw me too far from my subject, places in which the Roman people, with a small body of men, routed vast armies of the enemy; and cities which, though fortified by nature, they carried by assault.

VIII. But, assuredly, Fortune rules in all things. She makes everything famous or obscure rather from caprice than in conformity with truth. The exploits of the Athenians, as far as I can judge, were very great and glorious[2], yet something inferior to what fame has represented them. But because writers of great talent flourished there, the actions of the Athenians are celebrated over the world as the most splendid of achievements. Thus, the merit of those who have acted is estimated at the highest point to which illustrious intellects could exalt it in their writings.

But among the Romans there was never any such abundance of writers[3]; for, with them, the most able men were the most actively employed. No one exercised the mind independently of the body; every man of ability chose to act rather than narrate[4], and was more desirous that his own merits should be celebrated by others, than that he himself should record theirs.

IX. Good morals, accordingly, were cultivated in the city

[1] Honour and true nobility] *Bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem.*

[2] VIII. Very great and glorious] *Satis amplæ magnificæque.* In speaking of this amplification of the Athenian exploits, he alludes, as Colerus observes, to the histories of Thucydides, Xenophon, and perhaps Herodotus; not, as Wasse seems to imagine, to the representations of the poets.

[3] There was never any such abundance of writers] *Nunquam ea copia fuit.* I follow Kuhnhardt, who thinks *copia* equivalent to *multitudo*. Others render it *advantage*, or something similar; which seems less applicable to the passage. Compare c. 28: *Latrones—quorum*—magna copia *erat.*

[4] Chose to act rather than narrate] "For," as Cicero says, "neither among those who are engaged in establishing a state, nor among those carrying on wars, nor among those who are curbed and restrained under the rule of kings, is the desire of distinction in eloquence wont to arise." *Graswinckelius.*

and in the camp. There was the greatest possible concord, and the least possible avarice. Justice and probity prevailed among the citizens, not more from the influence of the laws than from natural inclination. They displayed animosity, enmity, and resentment only against the enemy. Citizens contended with citizens in nothing but honour. They were magnificent in their religious services, frugal in their families, and steady in their friendships.

By these two virtues, intrepidity in war, and equity in peace, they maintained themselves and their state. Of their exercise of which virtues, I consider these as the greatest proofs; that, in war, punishment was oftener inflicted on those who attacked an enemy contrary to orders, and who, when commanded to retreat, retired too slowly from the contest, than on those who had dared to desert their standards, or, when pressed by the enemy[1], to abandon their posts; and that, in peace, they governed more by conferring benefits than by exciting terror, and, when they received an injury, chose rather to pardon than to revenge it.

X. But when, by perseverance and integrity, the republic had increased its power; when mighty princes had been vanquished in war[2]; when barbarous tribes and populous states had been reduced to subjection; when Carthage, the rival of Rome's dominion, had been utterly destroyed, and sea and land lay everywhere open to her sway, Fortune then began to exercise her tyranny, and to introduce universal innovation. To those who had easily endured toils, dangers, and doubtful and difficult circumstances, ease and wealth, the objects of desire to others, became a burden and a trouble. At first the love of money, and then that of power, began to prevail, and these became, as it were, the sources of every evil. For avarice subverted honesty, integrity, and other honourable principles, and, in their stead, inculcated pride, inhumanity, contempt of religion, and general venality. Ambition prompted many to become deceitful; to keep one thing

[1] IX. Pressed by the enemy] *Pulsi.* In the words *pulsi loco cedere ausi erant*, *loco* is to be joined, as Dietsch observes, with *cedere*, not, as Kritzius puts it, with *pulsi*. "To retreat," adds Dietsch, "is disgraceful only to those *qui ab hostibus se pelli patiantur*, who suffer themselves to be *repulsed by the enemy*."

[2] X. When mighty princes had been vanquished in war] Perses, Antiochus Mithridates, Tigranes, and others.

concealed in the breast, and another ready on the tongue[1]; to estimate friendships and enmities, not by their worth, but according to interest; and to carry rather a specious countenance than an honest heart. These vices at first advanced but slowly, and were sometimes restrained by correction; but afterwards, when their infection had spread like a pestilence, the state was entirely changed, and the government, from being the most equitable and praiseworthy, became rapacious and insupportable.

XI. At first, however, it was ambition, rather than avarice[2], that influenced the minds of men; a vice which approaches nearer to virtue than the other. For of glory, honour, and power, the worthy is as desirous as the worthless; but the one pursues them by just methods; the other, being destitute of honourable qualities, works with fraud and deceit. But avarice has merely money for its object, which no wise man has ever immoderately desired. It is a vice which, as if imbued with deadly poison, enervates whatever is manly in body or mind[3]. It is always unbounded and insatiable, and is abated neither by abundance nor by want.

[1] To keep one thing concealed in the breast, and another ready on the tongue] *Aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in linguâ promptum, habere.*

Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν
Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.

Il. ix., 313.

Who dares think one thing, and another tell,
My heart detests him as the gates of hell. *Pope.*

[2] XI. At first, however, it was ambition, rather than avarice, *&c.*] *Sed primò magis ambitio quàm avaritia animos hominum exercebat.* Sallust has been accused of having made, in this passage, an assertion at variance with what he had said before (c. 10), *Igitur primò pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido, crevit,* and it will be hard to prove that the accusation is not just. Sir H. Steuart, indeed, endeavours to reconcile the passages by giving them the following "meaning," which, he says, "seems perfectly evident:" "Although avarice was the first to make its appearance at Rome, yet, after both had had existence, it was ambition that, of the two vices, laid the stronger hold on the minds of men, and more speedily grew to an inordinate height." To me, however, it "seems perfectly evident" that the Latin can be made to yield no such "meaning." "How these passages agree," says Rupertus, "I do not understand; unless we suppose that Sallust, by the word *primò*, does not always signify order."

[3] Enervates whatever is manly in body or mind] *Corpus virilemque animum effœminat.* That avarice weakens the mind, is generally admitted. But how does it weaken the body? The most satisfactory answer to this question is, in the

But after Lucius Sylla, having recovered the government[1] by force of arms, proceeded, after a fair commencement, to a pernicious termination, all became robbers and plunderers[2]; some set their affections on houses, others on lands; his victorious troops knew neither restraint nor moderation, but inflicted on the citizens disgraceful and inhuman outrages. Their rapacity was increased by the circumstance that Sylla, in order to secure the attachment of the forces which he had commanded in Asia[3], had treated them, contrary to the practice of our ancestors, with extraordinary indulgence, and exemption from discipline; and pleasant and luxurious quarters had easily, during seasons of idleness, enervated the minds of the soldiery. Then the armies of the Roman people first became habituated to licentiousness and intemperance, and began to admire statues, pictures, and sculptured vases; to seize such objects alike in public edifices and private dwellings[4]; to spoil temples; and to cast off respect for everything sacred and profane. Such troops, accordingly, when once they obtained the mastery, left nothing to the vanquished. Success unsettles the principles even of the wise, and scarcely would those of debauched habits use victory with moderation.

XII. When wealth was once considered an honour, and glory, authority, and power attended on it, virtue lost her influence, poverty was thought a disgrace, and a life of inno-

opinion of Aulus Gellius (iii., 1), that those who are intent on getting riches devote themselves to sedentary pursuits, as those of usurers and money-changers, neglecting all such exercises and employments as strengthen the body. There is, however, another explanation by Valerius Probus, given in the same chapter of Aulus Gellius, which perhaps is the true one; namely, that Sallust, by *body and mind*, intended merely to signify *the whole man*.

[1] Having recovered the government] *Receptâ republicâ*. Having wrested it from the hands of Marius and his party.

[2] All became robbers and plunderers] *Rapere omnes, trahere*. He means that there was a general indulgence in plunder among Sylla's party, and among all who, in whatever character, could profit by supporting it. Thus he says immediately afterwards, "neque modum neque modestiam *victores* habere."

[3] Which he had commanded in Asia] *Quem in Asiâ ductaverat*. I have here deserted Cortius, who gives *in Asiam*, "into Asia," but this, as Bernouf justly observes, is incompatible with the frequentative verb *ductaverat*.

[4] In public edifices and private dwellings] *Privatim ac publicè*. I have translated this according to the notion of Bernouf. Others, as Dietsch and Pappaur, consider *privatim* as signifying *each on his own account*, and *publicè*, *in the name of the Republic*.

cence was regarded as a life of ill-nature[1]. From the influence of riches, accordingly, luxury, avarice, and pride prevailed among the youth; they grew at once rapacious and prodigal; they undervalued what was their own, and coveted what was another's; they set at nought modesty and continence; they lost all distinction between sacred and profane, and threw off all consideration and self-restraint.

It furnishes much matter for reflection[2], after viewing our modern mansions and villas extended to the size of cities, to contemplate the temples which our ancestors, a most devout race of men, erected to the Gods. But our forefathers adorned the fanes of the deities with devotion, and their homes with their own glory, and took nothing from those whom they conquered but the power of doing harm; their descendants, on the contrary, the basest of mankind[3], have even wrested from their allies, with the most flagrant injustice, whatever their brave and victorious ancestors had left to their vanquished enemies; as if the only use of power were to inflict injury.

XIII. For why should I mention those displays of extravagance, which can be believed by none but those who have seen them; as that mountains have been levelled, and seas covered with edifices[4], by many private citizens; men whom I consider to have made a sport of their wealth[5], since they were

[1] XII. A life of innocence was regarded as a life of ill-nature] *Innocentia pro malivolentiâ duci cœpit.* "Whoever continued honest and upright, was considered by the unprincipled around him as their enemy; for a good man among the bad can never be regarded as of their party." *Bernouf.*

[2] It furnishes much matter for reflection] *Operæ pretium est.*

[3] Basest of mankind] *Ignavissumi mortales.* It is opposed to *fortissumi viri*, which follows, "Qui nec fortiter nec bene quidquam fecere." *Cortius.*

[4] XIII. Seas covered with edifices] *Maria constructa esse.*

> Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt,
> *Jactis in altum molibus, &c.* Hor. Od., iii., 1.
>
> ——The haughty lord, who lays
> His deep foundations in the seas,
> And scorns earth's narrow bound;
> The fish affrighted feel their waves
> Contracted by his numerous slaves,
> Even in the vast profound. *Francis.*

[5] To have made a sport of their wealth] *Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse*

impatient to squander disreputably what they might have enjoyed with honour.

But the love of irregular gratification, open debauchery, and all kinds of luxury[1], had spread abroad with no less force. Men forgot their sex; women threw off all the restraints of modesty. To gratify appetite, they sought for every kind of production by land and by sea; they slept before there was any inclination for sleep; they no longer waited to feel hunger, thirst, cold[2], or fatigue, but anticipated them all by luxurious indulgence. Such propensities drove the youth, when their patrimonies were exhausted, to criminal practices; for their minds, impregnated with evil habits, could not easily abstain from gratifying their passions, and were thus the more inordinately devoted in every way to rapacity and extravagance.

XIV. In so populous and so corrupt a city, Catiline, as it was very easy to do, kept about him, like a body-guard, crowds of the unprincipled and desperate. For all those shameless, libertine, and profligate characters, who had dissipated their patrimonies by gaming[3], luxury, and sensuality; all who had contracted heavy debts, to purchase immunity for their crimes or offences; all assassins[4] or sacrilegious persons from every quarter, convicted or dreading conviction for their evil deeds; all, besides, whom their tongue or their hand maintained by perjury or civil bloodshed; all, in fine, whom wickedness, poverty, or a guilty conscience disquieted, were

divitiæ. "They spent their riches on objects which, in the judgment of men of sense, are ridiculous and contemptible." *Cortius*.

[1] Luxury] *Cultûs*. "*Deliciarum in victu*, luxuries of the table; for we must be careful not to suppose that apparel is meant." *Cortius*.

[2] Cold] *Frigus*. It is mentioned by Cortius that this word is wanting in one MS.; and the English reader may possibly wish that it were away altogether Cortius refers it to cool places built of stone, sometimes underground, to which the luxurious retired in the hot weather; and he cites Pliny, Ep. v., 6, who speaks of a *cryptoporticus*, a gallery from which the sun was excluded, almost as if it were underground, and which even in summer was cold nearly to freezing. He also refers to Ambros., Epist. xii., and Casaubon. ad Spartian. Adrian., c. x., p. 87.

[3] XIV. Gaming] *Manu*. Gerlach, Dietsch, Kritzius, and all the recent editors, agree to interpret *manu* by *gaming*.

[4] Assassins] *Parricidæ*. "Not only he who had killed his father was called a *parricide*, but he who had killed any man; as is evident from a law of Numa Pompilius: If any one unlawfully and knowingly bring a free man to death, let him be *a parricide*." *Festus* sub voce *Parrici*.

the associates and intimate friends of Catiline. And if any one, as yet of unblemished character, fell into his society, he was presently rendered, by daily intercourse and temptation, similar and equal to the rest. But it was the young whose acquaintance he chiefly courted; as their minds, ductile and unsettled from their age, were easily ensnared by his stratagems. For as the passions of each, according to his years, appeared excited, he furnished mistresses to some, bought horses and dogs for others, and spared, in a word, neither his purse nor his character, if he could but make them his devoted and trustworthy supporters. There were some, I know, who thought that the youth, who frequented the house of Catiline, were guilty of crimes against nature; but this report arose rather from other causes than from any evidence of the fact[1].

XV. Catiline, in his youth, had been guilty of many criminal connexions, with a virgin of noble birth[2], with a priestess of Vesta[3], and of many other offences of this nature, in defiance alike of law and religion. At last, when he was smitten with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla[4], in whom no good man, at any time of her life, commended anything but her beauty, it is confidently believed that because she hesitated

[1] Than from any evidence of the fact] *Quàm quòd cuiquam id compertum foret.*

[2] XV. With a virgin of noble birth] *Cum virgine nobili.* Who this was is not known. The name may have been suppressed from respect to her family. If what is found in a fragment of Cicero be true, Catiline had an illicit connexion with some female, and afterwards married the daughter who was the fruit of the connexion: *Ex eodem stupro et uxorem et filiam invenisti*; Orat. in Tog. Cand. (Oration xvi., Ernesti's edit.) On which words Asconius Pedianus makes this comment: "Dicitur Catilinam adulterium commisisse cum eâ quæ ei postea socrus fuit, et ex eo stupro duxisse uxorem, cùm filia ejus esset. Hæc Lucceius quoque Catilinæ objecit in orationibus, quas in eum scripsit. Nomina harum mulierum nondum inveni." Plutarch, too (Life of Cicero, c. 10), says that Catiline was accused of having corrupted his own daughter.

[3] With a priestess of Vesta] *Cum sacerdote Vestæ.* This priestess of Vesta was Fabia Terentia, sister to Terentia, Cicero's wife, whom Sallust, after she was divorced by Cicero, married. Clodius accused her, but she was acquitted, either because she was thought innocent, or because the interest of Catulus and others, who exerted themselves in her favour, procured her acquittal. See Orosius, vi., 3; the Oration of Cicero, quoted in the preceding note; and Asconius's commentary on it.

[4] Aurelia Orestilla] See c. 35. She was the sister or daughter, as De Brosses thinks, of Cneius Aurelius Orestis, who had been prætor, A.U.C. 677.

to marry him, from the dread of having a grown-up step-son[1], he cleared the house for their nuptials by putting his son to death. And this crime appears to me to have been the chief cause of hurrying forward the conspiracy. For his guilty mind, at peace with neither Gods nor men, found no comfort either waking or sleeping; so effectually did conscience desolate his tortured spirit[2]. His complexion, in consequence, was pale, his eyes haggard, his walk sometimes quick and sometimes slow, and distraction was plainly apparent in every feature and look.

XVI. The young men, whom, as I said before, he had enticed to join him, he initiated, by various methods, in evil practices. From among them he furnished false witnesses[3], and forgers of signatures; and he taught them all to regard, with equal unconcern, honour, property, and danger. At length, when he had stripped them of all character and shame, he led them to other and greater enormities. If a motive for crime did not readily occur, he incited them, nevertheless, to circumvent and murder inoffensive persons[4], just as if they had injured him; for, lest their hand or heart should grow torpid for want of employment, he chose to be gratuitously wicked and cruel.

Depending on such accomplices and adherents, and knowing that the load of debt was everywhere great, and that the veterans of Sylla[5], having spent their money too liberally, and remembering their spoils and former victory, were longing for a civil war, Catiline formed the design of overthrowing the

[1] A grown-up step-son] *Privignum adultâ ætate.* A son of Catiline's by a former marriage.

[2] Desolate his tortured spirit] *Mentem excitam vastabat.* "Conscience desolates the mind, when it deprives it of its proper power and tranquillity, and introduces into it perpetual disquietude." *Cortius.* Many editions have *vexabat.*

[3] XVI. He furnished false witnesses, *&c.*] *Testis signatoresque falsos commodare.* "If any one wanted any such character, Catiline was ready to supply him from among his troop." *Bernouf.*

[4] Inoffensive persons, *&c.*] *Insontes, sicuti sontes.* Most translators have rendered these words "innocent" and "guilty," terms which suggest nothing satisfactory to the English reader. The *insontes* are those who had given Catiline no cause of offence; the *sontes* those who had in some way incurred his displeasure, or become objects of his rapacity.

[5] Veterans of Sylla, *&c.*] Elsewhere called the colonists of Sylla; men to whom Sylla had given large tracts of land as rewards for their services, but who, having lived extravagantly, had fallen into such debt and distress, that, as Cicero said, nothing could relieve them but the resurrection of Sylla from the dead. Cic. ii., Orat. in Cat.

government. There was no army in Italy; Pompey was fighting in a distant part of the world[1]; he himself had great hopes of obtaining the consulship; the senate was wholly off its guard[2]; everything was quiet and tranquil; and all these circumstances were exceedingly favourable for Catiline.

XVII. Accordingly, about the beginning of June, in the consulship of Lucius Cæsar[3] and Caius Figulus, he at first addressed each of his accomplices separately, encouraged some, and sounded others, and informed them of his own resources, of the unprepared condition of the state, and of the great prizes to be expected from the conspiracy. When he had ascertained, to his satisfaction, all that he required, he summoned all whose necessities were the most urgent, and whose spirits were the most daring, to a general conference.

At that meeting there were present, of senatorial rank, Publius Lentulus Sura[4], Publius Autronius[5], Lucius Cassius Longinus[6], Caius Cethegus[7], Publius and Servius Sylla[8], the

[1] Pompey was fighting in a distant part of the world] *In extremis terris.* Pompey was then conducting the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, in Pontus and Armenia.

[2] The senate was wholly off its guard] *Senatus nihil sane intentus.* The senate was *regardless*, and unsuspicious of any danger.

[3] XVII. Lucius Cæsar] He was a relation of Julius Cæsar; and his sister was the wife of M. Antonius, the orator, and mother of Mark Antony, the triumvir.

[4] Publius Lentulus Sura] He was of the same family with Sylla, that of the Cornelii. He had filled the office of consul, but his conduct had been afterwards so profligate, that the censors expelled him from the senate. To enable him to resume his seat, he had obtained, as a qualification, the office of prætor, which he held at the time of the conspiracy. He was called Sura, because, when he had squandered the public money in his quæstorship, and was called to account by Sylla for his dishonesty, he declined to make any defence, but said, "I present you the calf of my leg (*sura*);" alluding to a custom among boys playing at ball, of inflicting a certain number of strokes on the leg of an unsuccessful player. Plutarch, Life of Cicero, c. 17.

[5] Publius Autronius] He had been a companion of Cicero in his boyhood, and his colleague in the quæstorship. He was banished in the year after the conspiracy, together with Cassius, Læca, Vargunteius, Servius Sylla, and Caius Cornelius, under the Plautian law. *De Brosses.*

[6] Lucius Cassius Longinus] He had been a competitor with Cicero for the consulship. Ascon. Ped. in Cic. Orat. in Tog. Cand. His corpulence was such that Cassius's fat (*Cassii adeps*) became proverbial. Cic. Orat. in Catil., iii., 7.

[7] Caius Cethegus] He also was one of the Cornelian family. In the civil wars, says De Brosses, he had first taken the side of Marius, and afterwards that of Sylla. Both Cicero (Orat. in Catil., iii., 7) and Sallust describe him as fiery and rash.

[8] Publius and Servius Sylla] These were nephews of Sylla the dictator. Pub-

sons of Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius[1], Quintus Annius[2], Marcus Porcius Læca[3], Lucius Bestia[4], Quintus Curius[5]; and, of the equestrian order, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior[6], Lucius Statilius[7], Publius Gabinius Capito[8], Caius Cornelius[9]; with many from the colonies and municipal towns[10], persons of consequence in their own localities. There were many others, too, among the nobility, concerned in the plot, but less openly; men whom the hope of power, rather than poverty or any other exigence, prompted to join in the affair. But most of the young men, and especially the sons of the nobility, favoured the schemes of Catiline; they who had abundant means of living at ease, either splendidly or voluptuously, preferred uncertainties to certainties, war to peace. There were some, also, at that time, who believed that Marcus

lius, though present on this occasion, seems not to have joined in the plot, since, when he was afterwards accused of having been a conspirator, he was defended by Cicero and acquitted. See Cic. Orat. pro P. Syllâ. He was afterwards with Cæsar in the battle of Pharsalia. Cæs. de B. C., iii., 89.

[1] Lucius Vargunteius] "*Of* him or *his family* little is known. He had been, before this period, accused of bribery, and defended by Hortensius. Cic. pro P. Syllâ, c. 2." *Bernouf.*

[2] Quintus Annius] He is thought by De Brosses to have been the same Annius that cut off the head of M. Antonius the orator, and carried it to Marius. Plutarch, Vit. Marii, c. 44.

[3] Marcus Porcius Læca] He was one of the same *gens* with the Catones, but of a different family.

[4] Lucius Bestia] Of the Calpurnian *gens*. He escaped death on the discovery of the conspiracy, and was afterwards ædile, and candidate for the prætorship, but was driven into exile for bribery. Being recalled by Cæsar, he became candidate for the consulship, but was unsuccessful. *De Brosses.*

[5] Quintus Curius] He was a descendant of M. Curius Dentatus, the opponent of Pyrrhus. He was so notorious as a gamester and a proffigate, that he was removed from the senate, A.U.C. 683. See c. 23. As he had been the first to give information of the conspiracy to Cicero, public honours were decreed him, but he was deprived of them by the influence of Cæsar, whom he had named as one of the conspirators. Sueton. Cæs. 17; Appian. De Bell. Civ., lib. ii.

[6] M. Fulvius Nobilior] "He was not put to death, but exiled, A.U.C. 699. Cic. ad Att. iv., 16." *Bernouf.*

[7] Lucius Statilius] Of him nothing more is known than is told by Sallust.

[8] Publius Gabinius Capito] Cicero, instead of Capito, calls him Cimber. Orat. in Cat., iii., 3. The family was originally from Gabii.

[9] Caius Cornelius] There were two branches of the *gens Cornelia*, one patrician, the other plebeian, from which sprung this conspirator.

[10] Municipal towns] *Municipiis.* "The *municipia* were towns of which the inhabitants were admitted to the rights of Roman citizens, but which were allowed

Licinius Crassus[1] was not unacquainted with the conspiracy; because Cneius Pompey, whom he hated, was at the head of a large army, and he was willing that the power of any one whomsoever should raise itself against Pompey's influence; trusting, at the same time, that if the plot should succeed, he would easily place himself at the head of the conspirators.

XVIII. But previously[2] to this period, a small number of persons, among whom was Catiline, had formed a design against the state; of which affair I shall here give as accurate account as I am able.

Under the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sylla[3], having been tried for bribery under the laws against it[4], had paid the penalty of the offence. Shortly after Catiline, being brought to trial for extortion[5], had been prevented from standing for the consulship, because he had been unable to declare himself a candidate within the legitimate number of days[6]. There

to govern themselves by their own laws, and to choose their own magistrates. See Aul. Gell., xvi., 13; Beaufort, Rep. Rom., vol. v." *Bernouf.*

[1] Marcus Licinius Crassus] The same who, with Pompey and Cæsar, formed the first triumvirate, and who was afterwards killed in his expedition against the Parthians. He had, before the time of the conspiracy, held the offices of prætor and consul.

[2] XVIII. But previously, *&c.*] Sallust here makes a digression, to give an account of a conspiracy that was formed three years before that of Catiline.

[3] Publius Autronius and Publius Sylla] The same who are mentioned in the preceding chapter. They were consuls elect, and some editions have the words *designati consules*, immediately following their names.

[4] Having been tried for bribery under the laws against it] *Legibus ambitûs interrogati. Bribery at their election*, is the meaning of the word *ambitus*, for *ambire*, as Cortius observes, is *circumeundo favorem et suffragia quærere.* De Brosses translates the passage thus: "Autrone et Sylla, convaincus d'avoir obtenu le consulat par corruption des suffrages, avoient été punis selon la rigueur de la loi." There were several very severe Roman laws against bribery. Autronius and Sylla were both excluded from the consulship.

[5] For extortion] *Pecuniarum repetundarum.* Catiline had been prætor in Africa, and, at the expiration of his office, was accused of extortion by Publius Clodius, on the part of the Africans. He escaped by bribing the prosecutor and judges.

[6] To declare himself a candidate within the legitimate number of days] *Prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quòd intra legitimos dies profiteri* (se candidatum, says Cortius, citing Suet. Aug. 4) *nequiverit.* A person could not be a candidate for the consulship, unless he could declare himself free from accusation within a certain number of days before the time of holding the *comitia centuriata.* That

was at that time, too, a young patrician of the most daring spirit, needy and discontented, named Cneius Piso[1], whom poverty and vicious principles instigated to disturb the government. Catiline and Autronius[2], having concerted measures with this Piso, prepared to assassinate the consuls, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, in the Capitol, on the first of January[3], when they, having seized on the fasces, were to send Piso with an army to take possession of the two Spains[4]. But their design being discovered, they postponed the assassination to the fifth of February; when they meditated the destruction, not of the consuls only, but of most of the senate. And had not Catiline, who was in front of the senate-house, been too hasty to give the signal to his associates, there would that day have been perpetrated the most atrocious outrage since the city of Rome was founded. But as the armed conspirators had not yet assembled in sufficient numbers, the want of force frustrated the design.

XIX. Some time afterwards, Piso was sent as quæstor,

number of days was *trinundinum spatium*, that is, the time occupied by three market-days, *tres nundinæ*, with seven days intervening between the first and second, and between the second and third; or *seventeen days*. The *nundinæ* (from *novem* and *dies*) were held, as it is commonly expressed, every ninth day; whence Cortius and others considered *trinundinum spatium* to be twenty-seven, or even thirty days; but this way of reckoning was not that of the Romans, who made the last day of *the first ennead* to be also the first day of *the second*. Concerning the *nundinæ* see Macrob., Sat. i., 16. "Muller and Longius most erroneously supposed the *trinundinum* to be about thirty days; for that it embraced only seventeen days has been fully shown by Ernesti, Clav. Cic., sub voce; by Scheller in Lex. Ampl., p. 11,669; by Nitschius Antiquitt. Romm. i., p. 623; and by Drachenborch (cited by Gerlach) ad Liv. iii., 35." *Kritzius.*

[1] Cneius Piso] Of the Calpurnian *gens*. Suetonius (Vit. Cæs., c. 9) mentions three authors who related that Crassus and Cæsar were both concerned in this plot; and that, if it had succeeded, Crassus was to have assumed the dictatorship, and made Cæsar his master of the horse. The conspiracy, as these writers state, failed through the remorse or irresolution of Crassus.

[2] Catiline and Autronius] After these two names, in Havercamp's and many other editions, follow the words *circiter nonas Decembres, i. e.*, about the fifth of December.

[3] On the first of January] *Kalendis Januariis*. On this day the consuls were accustomed to enter on their office. The consuls whom they were going to kill, Cotta and Torquatus, were those who had been chosen in the place of Autronius and Sylla.

[4] The two Spains] Hither and Thither Spain. *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*, as they were called by the Romans.

with Prætorian authority, into Hither Spain; Crassus promoting the appointment, because he knew him to be a bitter enemy to Cneius Pompey. Nor were the senate, indeed, unwilling[1] to grant him the province; for they wished so infamous a character to be removed from the seat of government; and many worthy men, at the same time, thought that there was some security in him against the power of Pompey, which was then becoming formidable. But this Piso, on his march towards his province, was murdered by some Spanish cavalry whom he had in his army. These barbarians, as some say, had been unable to endure his unjust, haughty, and cruel orders; but others assert that this body of cavalry, being old and trusty adherents of Pompey, attacked Piso at his instigation; since the Spaniards, they observe, had never before committed such an outrage, but had patiently submitted to many severe commands. This question we shall leave undecided. Of the first conspiracy enough has been said.

XX. When Catiline saw those, whom I have just above mentioned[2], assembled, though he had often discussed many points with them singly, yet thinking it would be to his purpose to address and exhort them in a body, retired with them into a private apartment of his house, where, when all witnesses were withdrawn, he harangued them to the following effect:

"If your courage and fidelity had not been sufficiently proved by me, this favourable opportunity[3] would have occurred to no purpose; mighty hopes, absolute power, would in vain be within our grasp; nor should I, depending on irresolution or ficklemindedness, pursue contingencies instead of certainties. But as I have, on many remarkable occasions, experienced your bravery and attachment to me, I have ventured to engage in a most important and glorious enterprise. I am aware, too, that whatever advantages or evils affect you, the same affect me; and to have the same desires and the same aversions, is assuredly a firm bond of friendship.

"What I have been meditating you have already heard

[1] XIX. Nor were the senate, indeed, unwilling, *&c.*] See Dio Cass., xxxvi., 27.

[2] XX. Just above mentioned] In c. 17.

[3] Favourable opportunity] *Opportuna res.* See the latter part of c. 16.

separately. But my ardour for action is daily more and more excited, when I consider what our future condition of life must be, unless we ourselves assert our claims to liberty[1]. For since the government has fallen under the power and jurisdiction of a few, kings and princes[2] have constantly been their tributaries; nations and states have paid them taxes; but all the rest of us, however brave and worthy, whether noble or plebeian, have been regarded as a mere mob, without interest or authority, and subject to those, to whom, if the state were in a sound condition, we should be a terror. Hence, all influence, power, honour, and wealth, are in their hands, or where they dispose of them; to us they have left only insults[3], dangers, prosecutions, and poverty. To such indignities, O bravest of men, how long will you submit? Is it not better to die in a glorious attempt, than, after having been the sport of other men's insolence, to resign a wretched and degraded existence with ignominy?

"But success (I call Gods and men to witness!) is in our own hands. Our years are fresh, our spirit is unbroken; among our oppressors, on the contrary, through age and wealth, a general debility has been produced. We have therefore only to make a beginning; the course of events[4] will accomplish the rest.

[1] Assert our claims to liberty] *Nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem.* Unless we vindicate ourselves into liberty. See below, "En illa, illa, quam sæpe optâstis, libertas," *&c.*

[2] Kings and princes] *Reges, tetrarchæ.* "*Tetrarchs* were properly those who had the government of the fourth part of the country; but at length, the signification of the word being extended, it was applied to any governors of any country who were possessed of supreme authority, and yet were not acknowledged as kings by the Romans. See Hirt. Bell. Alex., c. 67: Deiotarus, at that time *tetrarch* of almost all Gallograecia, a supremacy which the other *tetrarchs* would not allow to be granted him either by the laws or by custom, but indisputably acknowledged as king of Armenia Minor by the senate," *&c. Dietsch.* "Hesychius has, Τετράρχας, βασιλεῖς. See Isidor., ix., 3; Alex. ab. Alex., ii., 17." *Colerus.* "Cicero, Phil. II., speaks of Reges Tetrarchas Dynastasque. And Lucan has (vii., 46) Tretrarchæ regesque tenent, magnique tyranni." *Wasse.* Horace also says,

—— Modo reges atque tetrarchas,
Omnia magna loquens.

I have, with Rose, rendered the word *princes*, as being the most eligible term.

[3] Insults] *Repulsas.* Repulses in standing for office.

[4] The course of events, *&c.*] *Cætera res expediet.*—"Of. Cic. Ep. Div. xiii., 26: *explicare et expedire negotia.*" Gerlach.

"Who in the world, indeed, that has the feelings of a man, can endure that they should have a superfluity of riches, to squander in building over seas[1] and levelling mountains, and that means should be wanting to us even for the necessaries of life; that they should join together two houses or more, and that we should not have a hearth to call our own? They, though they purchase pictures, statues, and embossed plate[2]; though they pull down new buildings and erect others, and lavish and abuse their wealth in every possible method, yet cannot, with the utmost efforts of caprice, exhaust it. But for us there is poverty at home, debts abroad; our present circumstances are bad, our prospects much worse; and what, in a word, have we left, but a miserable existence?

"Will you not, then, awake to action? Behold that liberty, that liberty for which you have so often wished, with wealth, honour, and glory, are set before your eyes. All these prizes fortune offers to the victorious. Let the enterprise itself, then, let the opportunity, let your poverty, your dangers, and the glorious spoils of war, animate you far more than my words. Use me either as your leader or your fellow-soldier; neither my heart nor my hand shall be wanting to you. These objects I hope to effect, in concert with you, in the character of consul; unless, indeed, my expectation deceives me, and you prefer to be slaves rather than masters."

XXI. When these men, surrounded with numberless evils, but without any resources or hopes of good, had heard this address, though they thought it much for their advantage to disturb the public tranquillity, yet most of them called on Catiline to state on what terms they were to engage in the contest; what benefits they were to expect from taking up arms; and what support or encouragement they had, and in what quarters[3]. Catiline then promised them the abolition of

[1] Building over seas] See c. 13.

[2] Embossed plate] *Toreumata.* The same as *vasa cælata,* sculptured vases, c. 11. Vessels ornamented in bas-relief; from *τορεύειν, sculpere;* see Bentley ad Hor. A. P., 441. "Perbona toreumata, in his pocula duo," *&c.* Cic. in Verr., iv., 18.

[3] XXI. What support or encouragement they had, and in what quarters] *Quid ubique opis aut spei haberent;* i. e. quid opis aut spei, et ubi, haberent. So

their debts[1]; a proscription of the wealthy citizens[2]; offices, sacerdotal dignities, plunder, and all other gratifications which war, and the licence of conquerors, can afford. He added that Piso was in Hither Spain, and Publius Sittius Nucerinus with an army in Mauritania, both of whom were privy to his plans; that Caius Antonius, whom he hoped to have for a colleague, was canvassing for the consulship, a man with whom he was intimate, and who was involved in all manner of embarrassments; and that, in conjunction with him, he himself, when consul, would commence operations. He, moreover, assailed all the respectable citizens with reproaches, commended each of his associates by name, reminded one of his poverty, another of his ruling passion[3], several others of their danger or disgrace, and many of the spoils which they had obtained by the victory of Sylla. When he saw their spirits sufficiently elevated, he charged them to attend to his interest at the election of consuls, and dismissed the assembly.

XXII. There were some, at that time, who said that Catiline, having ended his speech, and wishing to bind his accomplices in guilt by an oath, handed round among them, in goblets, the blood of a human body mixed with wine; and that when all, after an imprecation, had tasted of it, as is usual in sacred rites, he disclosed his design; and they asserted[4] that he did this, in order that they might be the

c. 27, *init.* Quem ubique opportunum credebat, i. e., says Cortius, "quem, et ubi *illum*, opportunum credebat."

[1] Abolition of their debts] *Tabulas novas.* Debts were registered on tablets; and, when the debts were paid, the score was effaced, and the tablets were ready to be used *as new.* See Ernesti's Clav. in Cic. *sub voce.*

[2] Proscription of the wealthy citizens] *Proscriptionem locupletium.* The practice of proscription was commenced by Sylla, who posted up, in public places of the city, the names of those whom he doomed to death, offering rewards to such as should bring him their heads. Their money and estates he divided among his adherents, and Catiline excited his adherents with hopes of similar plunder.

[3] Another of his ruling passion] *Admonebat—alium cupiditatis suæ.* Rose renders this passage, "Some he put in mind of their poverty, others of their amours." De Brosses renders it, "Il remontre à l'un sa pauvreté, à l'autre son ambition." *Ruling passion,* however, seems to be the proper sense of *cupiditatis;* as it is said, in c. 14, "As the passions of each, according to his years, appeared excited, he furnished mistresses to some, bought horses and dogs for others," *&c.*

[4] XXII. They asserted] *Dictitare.* In referring this word to the circulators of

more closely attached to one another, by being mutually conscious of such an atrocity. But some thought that this report, and many others, were invented by persons who supposed that the odium against Cicero, which afterwards arose, might be lessened by imputing an enormity of guilt to the conspirators who had suffered death. The evidence which I have obtained, in support of this charge, is not at all in proportion to its magnitude.

XXIII. Among those present at this meeting was Quintus Curius[1], a man of no mean family, but immersed in vices and crimes, and whom the censors had ignominiously expelled from the senate. In this person there was not less levity than impudence; he could neither keep secret what he heard, nor conceal his own crimes; he was altogether heedless what he said or what he did. He had long had a criminal intercourse with Fulvia, a woman of high birth; but growing less acceptable to her, because, in his reduced circumstances he had less means of being liberal, he began, on a sudden, to boast, and to promise her seas and mountains[2]; threatening her, at times, with the sword, if she were not submissive to his will; and acting, in his general conduct, with greater arrogance than ever[3]. Fulvia, having learned the cause of his extravagant behaviour, did not keep such danger to the state a secret; but, without naming her informant, communicated to several persons what she had heard, and under what circumstances, concerning Catiline's conspiracy. This intelligence it was that incited the feelings of the citizens to give the consulship to Marcus Tullius Cicero[4]. For before this period, most of the nobility were moved with jealousy, and thought the consulship in some

the report, I follow Cortius, Gerlach, Kritzius, and Bernouf. Wasse, with less discrimination, refers it to Catiline. This story of the drinking of human blood is copied by Florus, iv., 1, and by Plutarch in his Life of Cicero. Dio Cassius (lib. xxxvii.) says that the conspirators were reported to have killed a child on the occasion.

[1] XXIII. Quintus Curius] The same that is mentioned in c. 17.

[2] To promise her seas and mountains] *Maria montesque polliceri.* A proverbial expression. Ter. Phorm., i., 2, 18: *Modò non montes auri pollicens.* Pers., iii., 65: *Et quid opus Cratero magnos promittere montes.*

[3] With greater arrogance than ever] *Ferociùs quàm solitus erat.*

[4] To Marcus Tullius Cicero] Cicero was now in his forty-third year, and had filled the office of quæstor, edile, and prætor.

degree sullied, if a man of no family[1], however meritorious, obtained it. But when danger showed itself, envy and pride were laid aside.

XXIV. Accordingly, when the comitia were held, Marcus Tullius and Caius Antonius were declared consuls; an event which gave the first shock to the conspirators. The ardour of Catiline, however, was not at all diminished; he formed every day new schemes; he deposited arms, in convenient places, throughout Italy; he sent sums of money, borrowed on his own credit, or that of his friends, to a certain Manlius[2], at Fæsulæ[3], who was subsequently the first to engage in hostilities. At this period, too, he is said to have attached to his cause great numbers of men of all classes, and some women, who had, in their earlier days, supported an expensive life by the price of their beauty, but who, when age had lessened their gains but not their extravagance, had contracted heavy debts. By the influence of these females, Catiline hoped to gain over the slaves in Rome, to get the city set on fire, and either to secure the support of their husbands or take away their lives.

XXV. In the number of these ladies was Sempronia[4], a woman who had committed many crimes with the spirit of a man. In birth and beauty, in her husband and her children she was extremely fortunate; she was skilled in Greek and Roman literature; she could sing, play, and dance[5], with greater elegance than became a woman of virtue, and pos

[1] A man of no family] *Novus homo.* A term applied to such as could boast of any ancestor that had held any curule magistracy, that is, had been consul, prætor, censor, or chief edile.

[2] XXIV. Manlius] He had been an officer in the army of Sylla, and, having been distinguished for his services, had been placed at the head of a colony of veterans settled about Fæsulæ; but he had squandered his property in extravagance. See Plutarch, Vit. Cic., Dio Cassius, and Appian.

[3] Fæsulæ] A town of Etruria, at the foot of the Appenines, not far from Florence. It is the Fesole of Milton:

> At evening from the top of Fesole,
> Or in Valdarno to descry new lands, *&c.* Par. L., i., 289.

[4] XXV. Sempronia] Of the same *gens* as the two Gracchi. She was the wife of Decimus Brutus.

[5] Sing, play, and dance] *Psallere, saltare.* As *psallo* signifies both to play on a musical instrument, and to sing to it while playing, I have thought it necessary to give both senses in the translation.

sessed many other accomplishments that tend to excite the passions. But nothing was ever less valued by her than honour or chastity. Whether she was more prodigal of her money or her reputation, it would have been difficult to decide. Her desires were so ardent that she oftener made advances to the other sex than waited for solicitation. She had frequently, before this period, forfeited her word, forsworn debts, been privy to murder, and hurried into the utmost excesses by her extravagance and poverty. But her abilities were by no means despicable[1]; she could compose verses, jest, and join in conversation either modest, tender, or licentious. In a word, she was distinguished[2] by much refinement of wit, and much grace of expression.

XXVI. Catiline, having made these arrangements, still canvassed for the consulship for the following year; hoping that, if he should be elected, he would easily manage Antonius according to his pleasure. Nor did he, in the mean time, remain inactive, but devised schemes, in every possible way, against Cicero, who, however, did not want skill or policy to guard against them. For, at the very beginning of his consulship, he had, by making many promises through Fulvia, prevailed on Quintus Curius, whom I have already mentioned, to give him secret information of Catiline's proceedings. He had also persuaded his colleague, Antonius, by an arrangement respecting their provinces[3], to entertain no sentiments of disaffection towards the state; and he kept around him, though without ostentation, a guard of his friends and dependants.

When the day of the comitia came, and neither Catiline's efforts for the consulship, nor the plots which he had laid for

[1] By no means despicable] *Haud absurdum.* Compare, *Bene dicere haud absurdum est*, c. 3.

[2] She was distinguished, *&c.*] *Multæ facetiæ, multusque lepos inerat.* Both *facetiæ* and *lepos* mean "agreeableness, humour, pleasantry;" but *lepos* here seems to refer to diction, as in Cic. Orat., i., 7: *Magnus in jocando lepos.*

[3] XXVI. By an arrangement respecting their provinces] *Pactione provinciæ.* This passage has been absurdly misrepresented by most translators, except De Brosses. Even Rose, who was a scholar, translates *pactione provinciæ*, "by promising a province to his colleague." Plutarch, in his Life of Cicero, says that the two provinces, which Cicero and his colleague Antonius shared between them, were Gaul and Macedonia, and that Cicero, in order to retain Antonius in the interest of the senate, exchanged with him Macedonia, which had fallen to himself, for the inferior province of Gaul. See Jug., c. 27.

the consuls in the Campus Martius[1], were attended with success, he determined to proceed to war, and to resort to the utmost extremities, since what he had attempted secretly had ended in confusion and disgrace[2].

XXVII. He accordingly despatched Caius Manlius to Fæsulæ, and the adjacent parts of Etruria; one Septimius, of Camerinum[3], into the Picenian territory; Caius Julius into Apulia; and others to various places, wherever he thought each would be most serviceable[4]. He himself, in the mean time, was making many simultaneous efforts at Rome; he laid plots for the consul; he arranged schemes for burning the city; he occupied suitable posts with armed men; he went constantly armed himself, and ordered his followers to do the same; he exhorted them to be always on their guard and prepared for action; he was active and vigilant by day and by night, and was exhausted neither by sleeplessness nor by toil. At last, however, when none of his numerous projects succeeded[5], he again, with the aid of Marcus Porcius

[1] Plots which he had laid for the consuls in the Campus Martius] *Insidiæ quas consuli in campo fecerat.* I have here departed from the text of Cortius, who reads *consulibus*, thinking that Catiline, in his rage, might have extended his plots even to the consuls-elect. But *consuli*, there is little doubt, is the right reading as it is favoured by what is said at the beginning of the chapter, *insidias parabat Ciceroni*, by what follows in the next chapter, *consuli insidias tendere*, and by the words, *sperans, si designatus foret, facilè se ex voluntate Antonio usurum*; for if Catiline trusted that he should be able to use his pleasure with Antonius, he could hardly think it necessary to form plots against his life. I have De Brosses on my side, who translates the phrase, *les pièges où il comptoit faire périr le consul.* The words *in campo*, which look extremely like an intruded gloss, I wonder that Cortius should have retained. "*Consuli*," says Gerlach, "appears the more eligible, not only on account of *consuli insidias tendere*, c. 27, but because nothing but the death of Cicero was necessary to make everything favourable for Catiline." Kritzius, Bernouf, Dietsch, Pappaur, Allen, and all the modern editors, read *Consuli.* See also the end of c. 27: *Si prius Ciceronem oppressisset.*

[2] Had ended in confusion and disgrace] *Aspera fœdaque evenerant.* I have borrowed from Murphy.

[3] XXVII. Of Camerinum] Camertem. "That is, a native of Camerinum, a town on the confines of Umbria and Picenum. Hence the noun *Camers*, as Cic. Pro. Syll., c. 19, *in agro Camerti.*" Cortius.

[4] Wherever he thought each would be most serviceable] *Ubi quemque opportunum credebat.* "Proprie reddas: quem, *et ubi* illum, *opportunum credebat.*" Cortius. See c. 23.

[5] When none of his numerous projects succeeded] *Ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit.*

Læca, convoked the leaders of the conspiracy in the dead of night, when, after many complaints of their apathy, he informed them that he had sent forward Manlius to that body of men whom he had prepared to take up arms; and others of the confederates into other eligible places, to make a commencement of hostilities; and that he himself was eager to set out to the army, if he could but first cut off Cicero, who was the chief obstruction to his measures.

XXVIII. Whilst, therefore, the rest were in alarm and hesitation, Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, who offered his services, and Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, in company with him, agreed to go with an armed force, on that very night, and with but little delay[1], to the house of Cicero, under pretence of paying their respects to him, and to kill him unawares, and unprepared for defence, in his own residence. But Curius, when he heard of the imminent danger that threatened the consul, immediately gave him notice, by the agency of Fulvia, of the treachery which was contemplated. The assassins, in consequence, were refused admission, and found that they had undertaken such an attempt only to be disappointed.

In the mean time, Manlius was in Etruria, stirring up the populace, who, both from poverty, and from resentment for their injuries (for, under the tyranny of Sylla, they had lost their lands and other property), were eager for a revolution. He also attached to himself all sorts of marauders, who were numerous in those parts, and some of Sylla's colonists, whose dissipation and extravagance had exhausted their enormous plunder.

XXIX. When these proceedings were reported to Cicero, he, being alarmed at the twofold danger, since he could no longer secure the city against treachery by his private efforts, nor could gain satisfactory intelligence of the magnitude or intentions of the army of Manlius, laid the matter, which was already a subject of discussion among the people, before the senate. The senate, accordingly, as is usual in any

[1] XXVIII. On that very night, and with but little delay] *Eâ nocte, paulo post.* They resolved on going soon after the meeting broke up, so that they might reach Cicero's house early in the morning, which was the usual time for waiting on great men. *Ingentem foribus domus alta superbis* Mane *salutantûm totis vomit ædibus undam.* Virg. Georg. ii., 461.

perilous emergency, decreed that THE CONSULS SHOULD MAKE IT THEIR CARE THAT THE COMMONWEALTH SHOULD RECEIVE NO INJURY. This is the greatest power which, according to the practice at Rome, is granted[1] by the senate to the magistrate, and which authorises him to raise troops; to make war; to assume unlimited control over the allies and the citizens; to take the chief command and jurisdiction at home and in the field; rights which, without an order of the people, the consul is not permitted to exercise.

XXX. A few days afterwards, Lucius Sænius, a senator, read to the senate a letter, which, he said, he had received from Fæsulæ, and in which it was stated that Caius Manlius, with a large force, had taken the field by the 27th of October[2]. Others at the same time, as is not uncommon in such a crisis, spread reports of omens and prodigies; others of meetings being held, of arms being transported, and of insurrections of the slaves at Capua and in Apulia. In consequence of these rumours, Quintus Marcius Rex[3] was despatched, by a decree of the senate, to Fæsulæ, and Quintus Metellus Creticus[4] into Apulia and the parts adjacent; both which officers, with the title of commanders[5], were waiting near the city, having been prevented from entering in triumph, by the

[1] XXIX. This is the greatest power which—is granted, *&c.*] *Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxima permittitur.* Cortius, *mirâ judicii perversitate*, as Kritzius observes, makes *ea* the ablative case, understanding "decretione," "formula," or some such word; but, happily, no one has followed him.

[2] XXX. By the 27th of October] *Ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembres.* He means that they were in arms on or before that day.

[3] Quintus Marcius Rex] He had been proconsul in Cilicia, and was expecting a triumph for his successes.

[4] Quintus Metellus Creticus] He had obtained the surname of Creticus from having reduced the island of Crete.

[5] Both which officers, with the title of commanders, *&c.*] *Ii utrique ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti ne triumpharent calumniâ paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.* "Imperator" was a title given by the army, and confirmed by the senate, to a victorious general, who had slain a certain number of the enemy. What the number was is not known. The general bore this title as an addition to his name, until he obtained (if it were granted him) a triumph, for which he was obliged to wait *ad urbem*, near the city, since he was not allowed to enter the gates as long as he held any military command. These *imperatores* had been debarred from their expected honour by a party who would sell *anything honourable*, as a triumph, or *anything dishonourable*, as a licence to violate the laws.

malice of a cabal, whose custom was to ask a price for everything, whether honourable or infamous. The prætors, too, Quintus Pompeius Rufus, and Quintus Metellus Celer, were sent off, the one to Capua, the other to Picenum, and power was given them to levy a force proportioned to the exigency and the danger. The senate also decreed, that if any one should give information of the conspiracy which had been formed against the state, his reward should be, if a slave, his freedom and a hundred sestertia; if a freeman, a complete pardon and two hundred sestertia[1]. They further appointed that the schools of gladiators[2] should be distributed in Capua and other municipal towns, according to the capacity of each; and that, at Rome, watches should be posted throughout the city, of which the inferior magistrates[3] should have the charge.

XXXI. By such proceedings as these the citizens were struck with alarm, and the appearance of the city was changed. In place of that extreme gaiety and dissipation[4], to which long tranquillity[5] had given rise, a sudden gloom spread over all classes; they became anxious and agitated; they felt secure neither in any place, nor with any person; they were not at war, yet enjoyed no peace; each measured the public danger by his own fear. The women, also, to whom, from the extent of the empire, the dread of war was new, gave way to lamentation, raised supplicating hands to heaven, mourned over their infants, made constant inquiries, trembled at everything, and, forgetting their pride and their

[1] A hundred sestertia—two hundred sestertia] A hundred sestertia were about 807*l.* 5s. 10d. of our money.

[2] Schools of gladiators] *Gladiatoriæ familiæ.* Any number of gladiators under one teacher, or trainer (*lanista*), was called *familia.* They were to be distributed in different parts, and to be strictly watched, that they might not run off to join Catiline. See Graswinckelius, Rupertus, and Gerlach.

[3] The inferior magistrates] The ædiles, tribunes, quæstors, and all others below the consuls, censors, and prætors. Aul. Gell. xiii., 15.

[4] XXXI. Dissipation] *Lascivia.* "Devotion to public amusements and gaiety. The word is used in the same sense as in Lucretius, v. 1398:

Tum caput atque humeros plexis redimire coronis,
Floribus et foliis, lascivia læta monebat.

Then sportive gaiety prompted them to deck their heads and shoulders with garlands of flowers and leaves." *Bernouf.*

[5] Long tranquillity] *Diuturna quies.* "Since the victory of Sylla to the time of which Sallust is speaking, that is, for about twenty years, there had been a complete cessation from civil discord and disturbance." *Bernouf.*

pleasures, felt nothing but alarm for themselves and their country.

Yet the unrelenting spirit of Catiline persisted in the same purposes, notwithstanding the precautions that were adopted against him, and though he himself was accused by Lucius Paullus under the Plautian law[1]. At last, with a view to dissemble, and under pretence of clearing his character, as if he had been provoked by some attack, he walked into the senate-house. It was then that Marcus Tullius, the consul, whether alarmed at his presence, or fired with indignation against him, delivered that splendid speech, so beneficial to the republic, which he afterwards wrote and published[2].

When Cicero sat down, Catiline, being prepared to pretend ignorance of the whole matter, intreated, with downcast looks and suppliant voice, that "the Conscript Fathers would not too hastily believe anything against him;" saying "that he was sprung from such a family, and had so ordered his life from his youth, as to have every happiness in prospect; and that they were not to suppose that he, a patrician, whose services to the Roman people, as well as those of his ancestors, had been so numerous, should want to ruin the state, when Marcus Tullius, a mere adopted citizen of Rome[3], was eager to preserve it." When he was proceeding to add other in-

[1] The Plautian law] *Lege Plautiâ.* "This law was that of M. Plautius Silanus, a tribune of the people, which was directed against such as excited a sedition in the state, or formed plots against the life of any individual." *Cyprianus Popma.* See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities, sub VIS.

[2] Which he afterwards wrote and published] *Quam posteà scriptam edidit.* This was the first of Cicero's four Orations against Catiline. The epithet applied to it by Sallust, which I have rendered "splendid," is *luculentam;* that is, says Gerlach, "luminibus verborum et sententiarum ornatam," distinguished by much brilliancy of words and thoughts. And so say Kritzius, Bernouf, and Dietsch. Cortius, who is followed by Dahl, Langius, and Müller, makes the word equivalent merely to *lucid,* in the supposition that Sallust intended to bestow on the speech, as on other performances of Cicero, only very cool praise. *Luculentus,* however, seems certainly to mean something more than *lucidus.*

[3] A mere adopted citizen of Rome] *Inquilinus civis urbis Romæ.* "Inquilinus" means properly a lodger, or tenant in the house of another. Cicero was born at Arpinum, and is therefore called by Catiline a citizen of Rome merely by adoption or by sufferance. Appian, in repeating this account (Bell. Civ. ii., 104), says, Ιγκουίλινον, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις.

vectives, they all raised an outcry against him, and called him an enemy and a traitor[1]. Being thus exasperated, "Since I am encompassed by enemies," he exclaimed[2], "and driven to desperation, I will extinguish the flame kindled around me in a general ruin."

XXXII. He then hurried from the senate to his own house; and then, after much reflection with himself, thinking that, as his plots against the consul had been unsuccessful, and as he knew the city to be secured from fire by the watch, his best course would be to augment his army, and make provision for the war before the legions could be raised, he set out in the dead of night, and with a few attendants, to the camp of Manlius. But he left in charge to Lentulus and Cethegus, and others of whose prompt determination he was assured, to strengthen the interests of their party in every possible way, to forward the plots against the consul, and to make arrangements for a massacre, for firing the city, and for other destructive operations of war; promising that he himself would shortly advance on the city with a large army.

During the course of these proceedings at Rome, Caius Manlius despatched some of his followers as deputies to Quintus Marcius Rex, with directions to address him[3] to the following effect:

[1] Traitor] *Parricidam.* See c. 14. "An oppressor or betrayer of his country is justly called a parricide; for our country is the common parent of all. Cic. ad Attic." *Wasse.*

[2] Since I am encompassed by enemies, he exclaimed, *&c.*] "It was not on this day, nor indeed to Cicero, that this answer was made by Catiline. It was a reply to Cato, uttered a few days before the comitia for electing consuls, which were held on the 22nd day of October. See Cic. pro Murænâ, c. 25. Cicero's speech was delivered on the 8th of November. Sallust is, therefore, in error on this point, as well as Florus and Valerius Maximus, who have followed him." *Bernouf.* From other accounts we may infer that no reply was made to Cicero by Catiline on this occasion. Plutarch, in his Life of Cicero, says that Catiline, before Cicero rose, seemed desirous to address the senate in defence of his proceedings, but that the senators refused to listen to him. Of any answer to Cicero's speech, on the part of Catiline, he makes no mention. Cicero himself, in his second Oration against Catiline, says that Catiline *could not endure his voice*, but, when he was ordered to go into exile, "parnit, quievit," *obeyed and submitted in silence.* And in his Orator, c. 37, he says, "That most audacious of men, Catiline, when he was accused by me in the senate, was dumb."

[3] XXXII. With directions to address him, *&c.*] *Cum mandatis hujuscemodi.* The communication, as Cortius observes, was not an epistle, but a verbal message.

XXXIII. "We call gods and men to witness, general, that we have taken up arms neither to injure our country, nor to occasion peril to any one, but to defend our own persons from harm; who, wretched and in want, have been deprived, most of us, of our homes, and all of us of our character and property, by the oppression and cruelty of usurers; nor has any one of us been allowed, according to the usage of our ancestors, to have the benefit of the law[1], or, when our property was lost, to keep our persons free. Such has been the inhumanity of the usurers and of the prætor[2].

"Often have your forefathers, taking compassion on the commonalty at Rome, relieved their distress by decrees[3]; and very lately, within our own memory, silver, by reason of the pressure of debt, and with the consent of all respectable citizens, was paid with brass[4].

"Often too, we must own, have the commonalty themselves, driven by desire of power, or by the arrogance of their rulers, seceded[5] under arms from the patricians. But at power or wealth, for the sake of which wars, and all kinds of strife, arise among mankind, we do not aim; we desire only our liberty, which no honourable man relinquishes but with life. We therefore conjure you and the senate to befriend your unhappy fellow-citizens; to restore us the protection of

[1] XXXIII. To have the benefit of the law] *Lege uti.* The law here meant was the Papirian law, by which it was provided, contrary to the old law of the Twelve Tables, that no one should be confined in prison for debt, and that the property of the debtor only, not his person, should be liable for what he owed. Livy (viii., 28) relates the occurrence which gave rise to this law, and says that it ruptured one of the strongest bonds of credit.

[2] The prætor] The *prætor urbanus*, or city prætor, who decided all causes between citizens, and passed sentence on debtors.

[3] Relieved their distress by decrees] *Decretis suis inopiæ opitulati sunt.* In allusion to the laws passed at various times for diminishing the rate of interest.

[4] Silver—was paid with brass] *Agentum ære solutum est.* Thus a *sestertius*, which was of silver, and was worth four *asses*, was paid with one *as*, which was of brass; or *the fourth part only of the debt was paid.* See Plin. H. N. xxxiii., 3; and Velleius Paterculus, ii., 23; who says, *quadrantem solvi*, that *a quarter* of their debts were paid by the debtors, by a law of Valerius Flaccus, when he became consul on the death of Marius.

[5] Often—have the commonalty—seceded, *&c.*] "This happened three times: 1. To the Mons Sacer, on account of debt; Liv. ii., 32. 2. To the Aventine, and thence to the Mons Sacer, through the tyranny of Appius Claudius, the decemvir; Liv. iii., 50. 3. To the Janiculum, on account of debt; Liv. Epist. xi." *Bernouf.*

the law, which the injustice of the prætor has taken from us; and not to lay on us the necessity of considering how we may perish, so as best to avenge our blood."

XXXIV. To this address Quintus Marcius replied, that, "if they wished to make any petition to the senate, they must lay down their arms, and proceed as suppliants to Rome;" adding, that "such had always been the kindness[1] and humanity of the Roman senate and people, that none had ever asked help of them in vain."

Catiline, on his march, sent letters to most men of consular dignity, and to all the most respectable citizens, stating, that "as he was beset by false accusations, and unable to resist the combination of his enemies, he was submitting to the will of fortune, and going into exile at Marseilles; not that he was guilty of the great wickedness laid to his charge, but that the state might be undisturbed, and that no insurrection might arise from his defence of himself."

Quintus Catulus, however, read in the senate a letter of a very different character, which, he said, was delivered to him in the name of Catiline, and of which the following is a copy:

[2] XXXV. "Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus, wishing health. Your eminent integrity, known to me by ex-

[1] XXXIV. That such had always been the kindness, *&c.*] *Eâ mansuetudine atque misericordiâ senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse.* "That the senate, *&c.*, had always been of such kindness." I have deserted the Latin for the English idiom.

[2] XXXV. The commencement of this letter is different in different editions. In Havercamp it stands thus: *Egregia tua fides, re cognita, grata mihi, magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit.* Cortius corrected it as follows: *Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit.* Cortius's reading has been adopted by Kritzius, Bernouf, and most other editors. Gerlach and Dietsch have recalled the old text. That Cortius's is the better, few will deny; for it can hardly be supposed that Sallust used *mihi, meis,* and *meæ* in such close succession. Some, however, as Rupertus and Gerlach, defend Havercamp's text, by asserting, from the phrase *earum exemplum infrà scriptum,* that this is a true copy of the letter, and that the style is, therefore, not Sallust's, but Catiline's. But such an opinion is sufficiently refuted by Cortius, whose remarks I will transcribe: "Rupertus," says he, "quod in promptu erat, Catilinæ culpam tribuit, qui non eo, quo Crispus, stilo scripserit. Sed cur oratio ejus tam apta et composita suprà c. 20 refertur? At, inquis, hìc ipsum litterarum exemplum exhibetur. At vide mihi exemplum litterarum Lentuli, c. 44; et lege Ciceronem, qui idem exhibet, et senties sensum magis quàm verba referri. Quare inanis hæc quidem excusatio." Yet it is not to be denied that *grata mihi* is the reading of all the manuscripts.

perience[1], gives a pleasing confidence, in the midst of great perils, to my present recommendation[2]. I have determined, therefore, to make no formal defence[3] with regard to my new course of conduct; yet I was resolved, though conscious of no guilt[4], to offer you some explanation[5], which, on my word of honour[6], you may receive as true[7]. Provoked by injuries

[1] Known—by experience] *Re cognita.* "Cognita," be it observed, *tironum gratiâ*, is the nominative case. "Catiline had experienced the friendship of Catulus in his affair with Fabia Terentia; for it was by his means that he escaped when he was brought to trial, as is related by Orosius." *Bernouf.*

[2] Recommendation] *Commendationi.* His recommendation of his affairs, and of Orestilla, to the care of Catulus.

[3] Formal defence] *Defensionem.* Opposed to *satisfactionem*, which follows, and which means a private apology or explanation. "*Defensio*, a defence, was properly a statement or speech to be made against an adversary, or before judges; *satisfactio* was rather an excuse or apology made to a friend, or any other person, in a private communication." *Cortius.*

[4] Though conscious of no guilt] *Ex nullâ conscientiâ de culpâ.* This phrase is explained by Cortius as equivalent to "Propter conscientiam de nullâ culpâ," or "inasmuch as I am conscious of no fault." "*De culpâ*," he adds, "is the same as *culpæ*; so in the ii. Epist. to Cæsar, c. 1: Neque *de futuro* quisquam satis callidus; and c. 9: *de illis* potissimum jactura fit."

[5] To make no formal defence—to offer you some explanation] *Defensionem—parare; satisfactionem—proponere.* "*Parare*," says Cortius, "is applied to a defence which might require some study and premeditation; *proponere* to such a statement as it was easy to make at once."

[6] On my word of honour] *Me dius fidius*, sc. juvet. So may the god of faith help me, as I speak truth. But who is the god of faith? *Dius*, say some, is the same as *Deus* (Plautus has *Deus* fidius, Asin. i., 1, 18); and the god here meant is probably Jupiter (*sub dio* being equivalent to *sub Jove*); so that *Dius fidius* (*fidius* being an adjective from *fides*) will be the Ζευς πίστιος of the Greeks. *Me dius fidius* will therefore be, "May Jupiter help me!" This is the mode of explication adopted by Gerlach, Bernouf, and Dietsch. Others, with Festus (sub voce *Medius fidius*) make *fidius* equivalent to *filius*, because the ancients, according to Festus, often used D for L, and *dius fidius* will then be the same as Διὸς or Jovis filius, or Hercules, and *me dius fidius* will be the same as *mehercules* or *mehercule.* Varro de L. L. (v., 10, ed. Sprengel) mentions a certain Ælius who was of this opinion. Against this derivation there is the quantity of *fidius*, of which the first syllable is short: *Quærebam Nonas Sanco fidione referrem*, Ov. Fast. vi., 213. But if we consider *dius* the same as *deus*, we may as well consider *dius fidius* to be the god Hercules as the god Jupiter, and may thus make *medius fidius* identical with *mehercules*, as it probably is. "Tertullian, de Idol. 20, says that *medius fidius* is a form of swearing by Hercules." Schiller's Lex. sub *Fidius.* This point will be made tolerably clear if we consider (with Varro, v., 10, and Ovid, *loc. cit.*) Dius Fidius to be the same with the Sabine Sancus, or Semo Sancus, and Semo Sancus to be the same with Hercules.

[7] You may receive as true] *Veram licet cognoscas.* Some editions, before that

and indignities, since, being robbed of the fruit of my labour and exertion[1], I did not obtain the post of honour due to me[2], I have undertaken, according to my custom, the public cause of the distressed. Not but that I could have paid, out of my own property, the debts contracted on my own security[3]; while the generosity of Orestilla, out of her own fortune and her daughter's, would discharge those incurred on the security of others. But because I saw unworthy men ennobled with honours, and myself proscribed[4] on groundless suspicion, I have, for this very reason, adopted a course[5], amply justifiable in my present circumstances, for preserving what honour is left to me. When I was proceeding to write more, intelligence was brought that violence is preparing against me. I now commend and entrust Orestilla to your protection[6]; intreating you, by your love for your own children, to defend her from injury[7]. Farewell."

XXXVI. Catiline himself, having stayed a few days with Caius Flaminius Flamma in the neighbourhood of Arretium[8],

of Cortius, have *quæ—licet vera mecum recognoscas;* which was adopted from a quotation of Servius ad Æn. iv., 204. But twenty of the best MSS., according to Cortius, have *veram licet cognoscas.*

[1] Robbed of the fruit of my labour and exertion] *Fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus.* "The honours which he sought he elegantly calls the *fruit* of his labour, because the one is obtained by the other." *Cortius.*

[2] Post of honour due to me] *Statum dignitatis.* The consulship.

[3] On my own security] *Meis nominibus.* "He uses the plural," says Herzogius, "because he had not borrowed once only, or from one person; but oftentimes, and from many." No other critic attempts to explain this point. For *alienis nominibus*, which follows, being in the plural, there is very good reason. My translation is in conformity with Bernouf's comment.

[4] Proscribed] *Alienatum.* "Repulsed from all hope of the consulship." *Bernouf.*

[5] Adopted a course] *Spes—secutus sum.* "*Spem sequi* is a phrase often used when the direction of the mind to any thing, action, or course of conduct, and the subsequent election and adoption of what appears advantageous, is signified." *Cortius.*

[6] Protection] *Fidei.*

[7] Intreating you, by your love for your own children, to defend her from injury] *Eam ab injuriâ defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus.* "Defend her from injury, being intreated [to do so] by [or for the sake of] your own children."

[8] XXXVI. In the neighbourhood of Arretium] *In agro Arretino.* Havercamp, and many of the old editions, have *Reatino;* "but," says Cortius, "if Catiline went the direct road to Fæsulæ, as is rendered extremely probable by his pretence that he was going to Marseilles, and by the assertion of Cicero, made the

while he was supplying the adjacent parts, already excited to insurrection, with arms, marched with the fasces, and other ensigns of authority, to join Manlius in his camp.

When this was known at Rome, the senate declared Catiline and Manlius enemies to the state, and fixed a day as to the rest of their force, before which they might lay down their arms with impunity, except such as had been convicted of capital offences. They also decreed that the consuls should hold a levy; that Antonius, with an army, should hasten in pursuit of Catiline; and that Cicero should protect the city.

At this period the empire of Rome appears to me to have been in an extremely deplorable condition[1]; for though every nation, from the rising to the setting of the sun, lay in subjection to her arms, and though peace and prosperity, which mankind think the greatest blessings, were hers in abundance, there yet were found, among her citizens, men who were bent, with obstinate determination, to plunge themselves and their country into ruin; for, notwithstanding the two decrees of the senate[2], not one individual, out of so vast a number, was induced by the offer of reward to give information of the conspiracy; nor was there a single deserter from the camp of Catiline. So strong a spirit of disaffection had, like a pestilence, pervaded the minds of most of the citizens.

XXXVII. Nor was this disaffected spirit confined to those who were actually concerned in the conspiracy; for the whole of the common people, from a desire of change, favoured the projects of Catiline. This they seemed to do in accordance with their general character; for, in every state, they that are poor envy those of a better class, and endeavour to exalt the factious[3]; they dislike the established condition of things,

day after his departure, that he was on his way to join Manlius, we must certainly read *Arretino*." Arretium (now *Arezzo*) lay in his road to Fæsulæ; Reate was many miles out of it.

[1] In an extremely deplorable condition] *Multo maximè miserabile.* *Multo* is added to superlatives, like *longè*. So c. 52, *multo pulcherrimam* eam nos haberemus. Cortius gives several other instances.

[2] Notwithstanding the two decrees of the senate] *Duobus senati decretis.* I have translated it "*the* two decrees," with Rose. One of the two was that respecting the rewards mentioned in c. 30; the other was that spoken of in c. 36, allowing the followers of Catiline to lay down their arms before a certain day.

[3] XXXVII. Endeavour to exalt the factious] *Malos extollunt.* They strive to elevate into office those who resemble themselves.

and long for something new; they are discontented with their own circumstances, and desire a general alteration; they can support themselves amidst tumult and sedition, without anxiety, since poverty does not easily suffer loss[1].

As for the populace of the city, they had become disaffected[2] from various causes. In the first place[3], such as everywhere took the lead in crime and profligacy, with others who had squandered their fortunes in dissipation, and, in a word, all whom vice and villany had driven from their homes, had flocked to Rome as a general receptacle of impurity. In the next place, many, who thought of the success of Sylla, when they had seen some raised from common soldiers into senators, and others so enriched as to live in regal luxury and pomp, hoped, each for himself, similar results from victory, if they should once take up arms. In addition to this, the youth, who, in the country, had earned a scanty livelihood by manual labour, tempted by public and private largesses, had preferred idleness in the city to unwelcome toil in the field. To these, and all others of similar character, public disorders would furnish subsistence. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that men in distress, of dissolute principles and extravagant expectations, should have consulted the interest of the state no further than as it was subservient to their own. Besides, those whose parents, by the victory of Sylla, had been proscribed, whose property had been confiscated, and whose civil rights had been curtailed[4], looked forward to the event of a war with precisely the same feelings.

[1] Poverty does not easily suffer loss] *Egestas facilè habetur sine damno.* He that has nothing, has nothing to lose. Petron. Sat., c. 119: *Inops audacia tuta est.*

[2] Had become disaffected] *Præceps abierat.* Had grown demoralised, sunk in corruption, and ready to join in any plots against the state. So Sallust says of Sempronia, *præceps abierat*, c. 25.

[3] In the first place] *Primum omnium.* "These words refer, not to *item* and *postremo* in the same sentence, but to *deinde* at the commencement of the next." *Bernouf.*

[4] Civil rights had been curtailed] *Jus libertatis imminutum erat.* "Sylla, by one of his laws, had rendered the children of proscribed persons incapable of holding any public office; a law unjust, indeed, but which, having been established and acted upon for more than twenty years, could not be rescinded without inconvenience to the government. Cicero, accordingly, opposed the attempts which were made, in his consulship, to remove this restriction, as he himself states in his Oration against Piso, c. 2." *Bernouf.* See Vell. Paterc., ii, 28; Plutarch, Vit.

All those, too, who were of any party opposed to that of the senate, were desirous rather that the state should be embroiled, than that they themselves should be out of power. This was an evil, which, after many years, had returned upon the community to the extent to which it now prevailed[1].

XXXVIII. For after the powers of the tribunes, in the consulate of Cneius Pompey and Marcus Crassus, had been fully restored[2], certain young men, of an ardent age and temper, having obtained that high office[3], began to stir up the populace by inveighing against the senate, and proceeded, in course of time, by means of largesses and promises, to inflame them more and more; by which methods they became popular and powerful. On the other hand, the most of the nobility opposed their proceedings to the utmost; under pretence, indeed, of supporting the senate, but in reality for their own aggrandisement. For, to state the truth in few words, whatever parties, during that period, disturbed the republic under plausible pretexts, some, as if to defend the rights of the people, others, to make the authority of the senate as great as possible, all, though affecting concern for the public good, contended every one for his own interest. In such contests there was neither moderation nor limit; each party made a merciless use of its successes.

XXXIX. After Pompey, however, was sent to the maritime and Mithridatic wars, the power of the people was diminished, and the influence of the few increased. These few kept all public offices, the administration of the provinces, and

Syll.; Quintil., xi., 1, where a fragment of Cicero's speech, *De Proscriptorum Liberis*, is preserved. This law of Sylla was at length abrogated by Julius Cæsar. Suet. J. Cæs. 41; Plutarch Vit. Cæs.; Dio Cass., xli., 18.

[1] This was an evil—to the extent to which it now prevailed] *Id adeò malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.* "*Adeo*," says Cortius, "is *particula elegantissima.*" Allen makes it equivalent to *eò usque.*

[2] XXXVIII. The powers of the tribunes—had been fully restored] *Tribunicia potestas restituta.* Before the time of Sylla, the power of the tribunes had grown immoderate, but Sylla diminished and almost annihilated it, by taking from them the privileges of holding any other magistracy after the tribunate, of publicly addressing the people, of proposing laws, and of listening to appeals. But in the consulship of Cotta, A.U.C. 679, the first of these privileges had been restored; and in that of Pompey and Crassus, A.U.C. 683, the tribunes were reinstated in all their former powers.

[3] Having obtained that high office] *Summam potestatem nacti.* Cortius thinks these words spurious.

everything else, in their own hands; they themselves lived free from harm[1], in flourishing circumstances, and without apprehension; overawing others, at the same time, with threats of impeachment[2], so that, when in office, they might be less inclined to inflame the people. But as soon as a prospect of change, in this dubious state of affairs, had presented itself, the old spirit of contention awakened their passions; and had Catiline, in his first battle, come off victorious, or left the struggle undecided, great distress and calamity must certainly have fallen upon the state, nor would those, who might at last have gained the ascendancy, have been allowed to enjoy it long, for some superior power would have wrested dominion and liberty from them when weary and exhausted.

There were some, however, unconnected with the conspiracy, who set out to join Catiline at an early period of his proceedings. Among these was Aulus Fulvius, the son of a senator, whom, being arrested on his journey, his father ordered to be put to death[3]. In Rome, at the same time, Lentulus, in pursuance of Catiline's directions, was endeavouring to gain over, by his own agency or that of others, all whom he thought adapted, either by principles or circumstances, to promote an insurrection; and not citizens only, but every description of men who could be of any service in war.

XL. He accordingly commissioned one Publius Umbrenus to apply to certain deputies of the Allobroges[4], and to lead them, if he could, to a participation in the war; sup-

[1] XXXIX. Free from harm] *Innoxii.* In a passive sense.

[2] Overawing others—with threats of impeachment] *Cæteros judiciis terrere.* "Accusationibus et judiciorum periculis." *Bernouf.*

[3] His father ordered to be put to death] *Parens necari jussit.* "His father put him to death, not by order of the consuls, but by his own private authority; nor was he the only one who, at the same period, exercised similar power." Dion. Cass., lib. xxxvii. The father observed on the occasion, that "he had begotten him, not for Catiline against his country, but for his country against Catiline." Val. Max., v., 8. The Roman laws allowed fathers absolute control over the lives of their children.

[4] XL. Certain deputies of the Allobroges] *Legatos Allobrogum.* Plutarch, in his Life of Cicero, says that there were then at Rome *two deputies* from this Gallic nation, sent to complain of oppression on the part of the Roman governors.

posing that as they were nationally and individually involved in debt, and as the Gauls were naturally warlike, they might easily be drawn into such an enterprise. Umbrenus, as he had traded in Gaul, was known to most of the chief men there, and personally acquainted with them; and consequently, without loss of time, as soon as he noticed the deputies in the Forum, he asked them, after making a few inquiries about the state of their country, and affecting to commiserate its fallen condition, "what termination they expected to such calamities?" When he found that they complained of the rapacity of the magistrates, inveighed against the senate for not affording them relief, and looked to death as the only remedy for their sufferings, "Yet I," said he, "if you will but act as men, will show you a method by which you may escape these pressing difficulties." When he had said this, the Allobroges, animated with the highest hopes, besought Umbrenus to take compassion on them; saying that there was nothing so disagreeable or difficult, which they would not most gladly perform, if it would but free their country from debt. He then conducted them to the house of Decimus Brutus, which was close to the Forum, and, on account of Sempronia, not unsuitable to his purpose, as Brutus was then absent from Rome[1]. In order, too, to give greater weight to his representations, he sent for Gabinius, and, in his presence, explained the objects of the conspiracy, and mentioned the names of the confederates, as well as those of many other persons, of every sort, who were guiltless of it, for the purpose of inspiring the ambassadors with greater confidence. At length, when they had promised their assistance, he let them depart.

[1] As Brutus was then absent from Rome] *Nam tum Brutus ab Româ aberat.* From this remark, say Zanchius and Omnibonus, it is evident that Brutus was not privy to the conspiracy.

"What sort of woman *Sempronia* was, has been told in c. 25. Some have thought that she was the wife of Decimus Brutus; but since Sallust speaks of her as being in the decay of her beauty at the time of the conspiracy, and since Brutus, as may be seen in Cæsar (B. G. vii., sub fin.), was then very young, it is probable that she had only an illicit connexion with him, but had gained such an ascendancy over his affections, by her arts of seduction, as to induce him to make her his mistress, and to allow her to reside in his house." *Beauzée.*

I have, however, followed those who think that Brutus was the husband of

XLI. Yet the Allobroges were long in suspense what course they should adopt. On the one hand, there was debt, an inclination for war, and great advantages to be expected from victory[1]; on the other, superior resources, safe plans, and certain rewards[2] instead of uncertain expectations. As they were balancing these considerations, the good fortune of the state at length prevailed. They accordingly disclosed the whole affair, just as they had learned it, to Quintus Fabius Sanga[3], to whose patronage their state was very greatly indebted. Cicero, being apprised of the matter by Sanga, directed the deputies to pretend a strong desire for the success of the plot, to seek interviews with the rest of the conspirators, to make them fair promises, and to endeavour to lay them open to conviction as much as possible.

XLII. Much about the same time there were commotions[4] in Hither and Farther Gaul, in the Picenian and Bruttian territories, and in Apulia. For those, whom Catiline had previously sent to those parts, had begun, without consideration, and seemingly with madness, to attempt everything at once; and, by nocturnal meetings, by removing armour and weapons from place to place, and by hurrying and confusing everything, had created more alarm than danger. Of these, Quintus Metellus Celer, the prætor, having brought several to trial[5], under the decree of the senate, had thrown them into prison, as had also Caius Muræna in Farther Gaul[6], who governed that province in quality of legate.

Sempronia. Sallust (c. 24), speaking of the women, of whom Sempronia was one, says that Catiline *credebat posse—viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.* The truth, on such a point, is of little importance.

[1] XLI. To be expected from victory] *In spe victoriæ.*

[2] Certain rewards] *Certa præmia.* "Offered by the senate to those who should give information of the conspiracy. See c. 30." *Kuhnhardt.*

[3] Quintus Fabius Sanga] "A descendant of that Fabius who, for having subdued the Allobroges, was surnamed Allobrogicus." *Bernouf.* Whole states often chose patrons as well as individuals.

[4] XLII. There were commotions] *Motus erat.* "*Motus* is also used by Cicero and Livy in the singular number for *seditiones* and *tumultus.* No change is therefore to be made in the text." *Gerlach.* "Motus bellicos intelligit, *tumultus;* ut Flor., iii., 13." *Cortius.*

[5] Having brought several to trial] *Complures—caussâ cognitâ.* "*Caussam cognoscere* is the legal phrase for examining as to the authors and causes of any crime." *Dietsch.*

[6] Caius Muræna in Farther Gaul] *In Ulteriore Galliâ C. Muræna.* All the

XLIII. But at Rome, in the mean time, Lentulus, with the other leaders of the conspiracy, having secured what they thought a large force, had arranged, that as soon as Catiline should reach the neighbourhood of Fæsulæ, Lucius Bestia, a tribune of the people, having called an assembly, should complain of the proceedings of Cicero, and lay the odium of this most oppressive war on the excellent consul[1]; and that the rest of the conspirators, taking this as a signal, should, on the following night, proceed to execute their respective parts.

These parts are said to have been thus distributed. Statilius and Gabinius, with a large force, were to set on fire twelve places of the city, convenient for their purpose[2], at the same time; in order that, during the consequent tumult[3], an easier access might be obtained to the consul, and to the others whose destruction was intended; Cethegus was to beset the gate of Cicero, and attack him personally with violence; others were to single out other victims; while the sons of certain families, mostly of the nobility, were to kill their fathers; and, when all were in consternation at the massacre and conflagration, they were to sally forth to join Catiline.

While they were thus forming and settling their plans,

editions, previous to that of Cortius, have *in citeriore Galliâ*. "But C. Muræna," says that critic, "commanded in Gallia Transalpina, or Ulterior Gaul, as appears from Cic. pro Muræna, c. 41. To attribute such an error to a lapse of memory in Sallust, would be absurd. I have, therefore, confidently altered *citeriore* into *ulteriore*." The praise of having first discovered the error, however, is due, not to Cortius, but to Felicius Durantinus, a friend of Rivius, in whose note on the passage his discovery is recorded.

[1] XLIII. The excellent consul] *Optimo consuli*. With the exception of the slight commendation bestowed on his speech, *luculentam* atque *utilem reipublicæ*, c. 31, this is the only epithet of praise that Sallust bestows on the consul throughout his narrative. That it could be regarded only as frigid eulogy, is apparent from a passage in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (xii., 21), in which he speaks of the same epithet having been applied to him by Brutus: "Brutus thinks that he pays me a great compliment when he calls me an excellent consul (optimum consulem); but what enemy could speak more coldly of me?"

[2] Twelve places of the city, convenient for their purpose] *Duodecim—opportuna loca*. Plutarch, in his Life of Cicero, says a hundred places. Few narratives lose by repetition.

[3] In order that, during the consequent tumult] *Quò tumultu*. "It is best," says Dietsch, "to take *quo* as the *particula finalis* (to the end that), and *tumultu* as the ablative of the instrument."

Cethegus was incessantly complaining of the want of spirit in his associates; observing, that they wasted excellent opportunities through hesitation and delay[1]; that, in such an enterprise, there was need, not of deliberation, but of action; and that he himself, if a few would support him, would storm the senate-house while the others remained inactive. Being naturally bold, sanguine, and prompt to act, he thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.

XLIV. The Allobroges, according to the directions of Cicero, procured interviews, by means of Gabinius, with the other conspirators; and from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, they demanded an oath, which they might carry under seal to their countrymen, who otherwise would hardly join in so important an affair. To this the others consented without suspicion; but Cassius promised them soon to visit their country[2], and, indeed, left the city a little before the deputies.

In order that the Allobroges, before they reached home, might confirm their agreement with Catiline, by giving and receiving pledges of faith, Lentulus sent with them one Titus Volturcius, a native of Crotona, he himself giving Volturcius a letter for Catiline, of which the following is a copy:

"Who I am, you will learn from the person whom I have sent to you. Reflect seriously in how desperate a situation you are placed, and remember that you are a man[3]. Consider what your views demand, and seek aid from all, even the lowest." In addition, he gave him this verbal message: "Since he was declared an enemy by the senate, for what reason should he reject the assistance of slaves? That, in the city, everything which he had directed was arranged; and that he should not delay to make nearer approaches to it."

XLV. Matters having proceeded thus far, and a night being appointed for the departure of the deputies, Cicero,

[1] Delay] *Dies prolatando.* By putting off from day to day.

[2] XLIV. Soon to visit their country] *Semet eò brevi venturum.* "It is plain that the adverb relates to what precedes (*ad cives*); and that Cassius expresses an intention to set out for Gaul." *Dietsch.*

[3] Remember that you are a man] *Memineris te virum.* Remember that you are a man, and ought to act as one. Cicero, in repeating this letter from memory (Orat. in Cat., iii., 5), gives the phrase, *Cura ut vir sis.*

being by them made acquainted with everything, directed the prætors[1], Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomtinus, to arrest the retinue of the Allobroges, by lying in wait for them on the Milvian Bridge[2]; he gave them a full explanation of the object with which they were sent[3], and left them to manage the rest as occasion might require. Being military men, they placed a force, as had been directed, without disturbance, and secretly invested the bridge; when the deputies, with Volturcius, came to the place, and a shout was raised from each side of the bridge[4], the Gauls, at once comprehending the matter, surrendered themselves immediately to the prætors. Volturcius, at first, encouraging his companions, defended himself against numbers with his sword; but afterwards, being unsupported by the Allobroges, he began earnestly to beg Pomtinus, to whom he was known, to save his life, and at last, terrified and despairing of safety, he surrendered himself to the prætors as unconditionally as to foreign enemies.

XLVI. The affair being thus concluded, a full account of it was immediately transmitted to the consul by messengers. Great anxiety, and great joy, affected him at the same moment. He rejoiced that, by the discovery of the conspiracy, the state was freed from danger; but he was doubtful how he ought to act, when citizens of such eminence were detected in treason so atrocious. He saw that their punishment would be a weight upon himself, and their escape the destruction of the Commonwealth. Having, however, formed his resolution, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and one Quintus Cœparius of Terracina, who was preparing to go to Apulia to raise the slaves, to be summoned before him. The others came without delay; but Cœparius, having left his house a little before, and heard of the discovery of the conspiracy, had fled from the city. The consul himself conducted Lentulus, as he was prætor, hold-

[1] XLV. The prætors] *Prætoribus* urbanis, the prætors of the city.

[2] The Milvian Bridge] *Ponte Mulvio.* Now *Ponte Molle.*

[3] Of the object with which they were sent] *Rem—cujus gratiâ mittebantur.*

[4] From each side of the bridge] *Utrinque.* "Utrinque," observes Cortius, "glossæ MSS. exponunt *ex utráque parte pontis,*" and there is little doubt that the exposition is correct. No translator, however, before myself, has availed himself of it.

ing him by the hand, and ordered the others to be brought into the Temple of Concord, under a guard. Here he assembled the senate, and in a very full attendance of that body, introduced Volturcius with the deputies. Hither also he ordered Valerius Flaccus, the prætor, to bring the box with the letters[1] which he had taken from the deputies.

XLVII. Volturcius, being questioned concerning his journey, concerning his letter[2]; and lastly, what object he had had in view[3], and from what motives he had acted, at first began to prevaricate[4], and to pretend ignorance of the conspiracy; but at length, when he was told to speak on the security of the public faith[5], he disclosed every circumstance as it had really occurred, stating that he had been admitted as an associate, a few days before, by Gabinius and Cœparius; that he knew no more than the deputies, only that he used to hear from Gabinius, that Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, and many others, were engaged in the conspiracy. The Gauls made a similar confession, and charged Lentulus, who began to affect ignorance, not only with the letter to Catiline, but with remarks which he was in the habit of making, "that the sovereignty of Rome, by the Sibylline books, was predestined to three Cornelii; that Cinna and Sylla had ruled already[6]; and that he himself was the

[1] XLVI. The box with the letters] *Scrinium cum literis. Litteræ* may be rendered either *letter* or *letters*. There is no mention made previously of more letters than that of Lentulus to Catiline, c. 44. But as it is not likely that the deputies carried a box to convey only one letter, I have followed other translators by putting the word in the plural. The oath of the conspirators, too, which was a written document, was probably in the box.

[2] XLVII. His letter] *Litteris.* His own letter to Catiline, c. 44. So *præter litteras* a little below.

[3] What object he had had in view, *&c.*] *Quid, aut quâ de causâ, consilii habuisset.* What design he had entertained, and from what motive *he had entertained it.*

[4] To prevaricate] *Fingere alia.* "To pretend other things than what had reference to the conspiracy." *Bernouf.*

[5] On the security of the public faith] *Fide publicâ.* "Cicero pledged to him the public faith, with the consent of the senate; or engaged, in the name of the republic, that his life should be spared, if he would but speak the truth." *Bernouf.*

[6] That Cinna and Sylla had ruled already] *Cinnam atque Syllam antea.* "Had ruled," or something similar, must be supplied. Cinna had been the means of recalling Marius from Africa, in conjunction with whom he domineered over the city, and made it a scene of bloodshed and desolation.

third, whose fate it would be to govern the city; and that this, too, was the twentieth year since the Capitol was burnt; a year which the augurs, from certain omens, had often said would be stained with the blood of civil war."

The letter then being read, the senate, when all had previously acknowledged their seals[1], decreed that Lentulus, being deprived of his office, should, as well as the rest, be placed in private custody[2]. Lentulus, accordingly, was given in charge to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was then ædile; Cethegus, to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius, to Caius Cæsar; Gabinius, to Marcus Crassus; and Cœparius, who had just before been arrested in his flight, to Cneius Terentius, a senator.

XLVIII. The common people, meanwhile, who had at first, from a desire of change in the government, been too much inclined to war, having, on the discovery of the plot, altered their sentiments, began to execrate the projects of Catiline, to extol Cicero to the skies; and, as if rescued from slavery, to give proofs of joy and exultation. Other effects of war they expected as a gain rather than a loss; but the burning of the city they thought inhuman, outrageous, and fatal especially to themselves, whose whole property consisted in their daily necessaries and the clothes which they wore.

On the following day, a certain Lucius Tarquinius was brought before the senate, who was said to have been arrested as he was setting out to join Catiline. This person, having offered to give information of the conspiracy, if the public faith were pledged to him[3], and being directed by the

[1] Their seals] *Signa sua.* "Leurs cachets, leurs sceaux." *Bernouf.* The Romans tied their letters round with a string, the knot of which they covered with wax, and impressed with a seal. To open the letter it was necessary to cut the string: "*nos linum incidimus.*" Cic. Or. in Cat., iii., 5. See also C. Nep. Paus. 4, and Adam's *Roman Antiquities.* The seal of Lentulus had on it a likeness of one of his ancestors; see Cicero, *loc. cit.*

[2] In private custody] *In liberis custodiis.* Literally, in "free custody," but "private custody" conveys a better notion of the arrangement to the mind of the English reader. It was called *free* because the persons in custody were not confined in prison. Plutarch calls it ἄδεσμον φυλακήν, as also Dion., cap. lviii., 3. See Tacit. Ann., vi., 3. It was adopted in the case of persons of rank and consideration.

[3] XLVIII. If the public faith were pledged to him] *Si fides publica data esset.* See c. 47

consul to state what he knew, gave the senate nearly the same account as Volturcius had given, concerning the intended conflagration, the massacre of respectable citizens, and the approach of the enemy, adding that "he was sent by Marcus Crassus to assure Catiline that the apprehension of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators, ought not to alarm him, but that he should hasten, with so much the more expedition, to the city, in order to revive the courage of the rest, and to facilitate the escape of those in custody[1]." When Tarquinius named Crassus, a man of noble birth, of very great wealth, and of vast influence, some, thinking the statement incredible, others, though they supposed it true, yet, judging that at such a crisis a man of such power[2] was rather to be soothed than irritated (most of them, too, from personal reasons, being under obligation to Crassus), exclaimed that he was "a false witness," and demanded that the matter should be put to the vote. Cicero, accordingly, taking their opinions, a full senate decreed, "that the testimony of Tarquinius appeared false; that he himself should be kept in prison; and that no further liberty of speaking[3] should be granted him, unless he should name the person at whose instigation he had fabricated so shameful a calumny."

There were some, at that time, who thought that this affair was contrived by Publius Autronius, in order that the interest of Crassus, if he were accused, might, from participation in the danger, more readily screen the rest. Others said that Tarquinius was suborned by Cicero, that Crassus might not disturb the state, by taking upon him, as was his custom[4], the defence of the criminals. That this attack on his character

[1] And to facilitate the escape of those in custody] *Et illi faciliùs è periculo eriperentur.*

[2] A man of such power] *Tanta vis hominis.* So great power of the man.

[3] Liberty of speaking] *Potestatem.* "Potestatem loquendi." *Cyprianus Popma.* As it did not appear that he spoke the truth, the pledge which the senate had given him, *on condition that he spoke the truth*, went for nothing; he was not allowed to continue his evidence, and was sent to prison.

[4] As was his custom] *More suo.* Plutarch, in his Life of Crassus, relates that frequently when Pompey, Cæsar, and Cicero, had refused to undertake the defence of certain persons, as being unworthy of their support, Crassus would plead in their behalf; and that he thus gained great popularity among the common people.

was made by Cicero, I afterwards heard Crassus himself assert.

XLIX. Yet, at the same time, neither by interest, nor by solicitation, nor by bribes, could Quintus Catulus, and Caius Piso, prevail upon Cicero to have Caius Cæsar falsely accused, either by means of the Allobroges, or any other evidence. Both of these men were at bitter enmity with Cæsar; Piso, as having been attacked by him, when he was on[1] his trial for extortion, on a charge of having illegally put to death a Transpadane Gaul; Catulus, as having hated him ever since he stood for the pontificate, because, at an advanced age, and after filling the highest offices, he had been defeated by Cæsar, who was then comparatively a youth[2]. The opportunity, too, seemed favourable for such an accusation; for Cæsar, by extraordinary generosity in private, and by magnificent exhibitions in public[3], had fallen greatly into debt. But when they failed to persuade the consul to such injustice, they themselves, by going from one person to another, and spreading fictions of their own, which they pretended to have heard from Volturcius or the Allobroges, excited such violent odium against him, that certain Roman knights, who were stationed as an armed guard round the Temple of Concord, being prompted, either by the greatness

[1] XLIX. Piso, as having been attacked by him, when he was on, &c.] *Piso, oppugnatus in judicio repetundarum propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum.* Such is the reading and punctuation of Cortius. Some editions insert *pecuniarum* before *repetundarum*, and some a comma after it. I have interpreted the passage in conformity with the explanation of Kritzius, which seems to me the most judicious that has been offered. *Oppugnatus*, says he, is equivalent to *graviter vexatus*, or violently assailed; and Piso was thus assailed by Cæsar on account of his unjust execution of the Gaul; the words *in judicio repetundarum* merely mark the time when Cæsar's attack was made. While he was on his trial for one thing, he was attacked by Cæsar for another. Gerlach, observing that the words *in judicio* are wanting in one MS., would omit them, and make *oppugnatus* govern *pecuniarum repetundarum*, as if it were *accusatus*; a change which would certainly not improve the passage. The Galli Transpadani seem to have been much attached to Cæsar; see Cic. Ep. ad Att., v., 2; ad Fam., xvi., 12.

[2] Comparatively a youth] *Adolescentulo.* Cæsar was then in the thirty-third or, as some say, the thirty-seventh year of his age. See the note on this word, c. 8.

[3] By magnificent exhibitions in public] *Publicè maximis muneribus.* Shows of gladiators.

of the danger, or by the impulse of a high spirit, to testify more openly their zeal for the republic, threatened Cæsar with their swords as he went out of the senate-house.

L. Whilst these occurrences were passing in the senate, and whilst rewards were being voted, on approbation of their evidence, to the Allobrogian deputies and to Titus Volturcius, the freedmen, and some of the other dependants of Lentulus, were urging the artisans and slaves, in various directions throughout the city[1], to attempt his rescue; some, too, applied to the ringleaders of the mob, who were always ready to disturb the state for pay. Cethegus, at the same time, was soliciting, through his agents, his slaves[2] and freedmen, men trained to deeds of audacity, to collect themselves into an armed body, and force a way into his place of confinement.

The consul, when he heard that these things were in agitation, having distributed armed bodies of men, as the circumstances and occasion demanded, called a meeting of the senate, and desired to know "what they wished to be done concerning those who had been committed to custody." A full senate, however, had but a short time before[3] declared them traitors to their country. On this occasion, Decimus Junius Silanus, who, as consul elect, was first asked his opinion, moved[4] that capital punishment should be inflicted, not

[1] L. In various directions throughout the city] *Variis itineribus—in vicis.* Going hither and thither through the streets.

[2] Slaves] *Familiam.* "Servos suos, qui proprie *familia.*" Cortius. *Familia* is a number of *famuli,*

[3] A full senate, however, had but a short time before, *&c.*] The senate had already decreed that they were enemies to their country; Cicero now calls a meeting to ascertain what sentence should be passed on them.

[4] On this occasion—moved] *Tunc—decreverat.* The *tunc* (or, as most editors have it, *tum*) must be referred to the second meeting of the senate, for it does not appear that any proposal concerning the punishment of the prisoners was made at the first meeting. There would be no doubt on this point, were it not for the pluperfect tense, *decreverat.* I have translated it as the perfect. We must suppose that Sallust had his thoughts on Cæsar's speech, which was to follow, and signifies that all this business *had been done* before Cæsar addressed the house. Kritzius thinks that the pluperfect was referred by Sallust, not to Cæsar's speech, but to the decree of the senate which was finally made; but this is surely a less satisfactory method of settling the matter. Sallust often uses the pluperfect, where his reader would expect the perfect; see, for instance, *concusserat,* at the beginning of c. 24.

only on those who were in confinement, but also on Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius, if they should be apprehended; but afterwards, being influenced by the speech of Caius Cæsar, he said that he would go over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero[1], who had proposed that the guards should be increased, and that the senate should deliberate further on the matter. Cæsar, when it came to his turn, being asked his opinion by the consul, spoke to the following effect:

LI. "It becomes all men[2], Conscript Fathers, who deliberate on dubious matters, to be influenced neither by hatred, affection, anger, nor pity. The mind, when such feelings obstruct its view, cannot easily see what is right; nor has any human being consulted, at the same moment, his passions and his interest. When the mind is freely exerted, its reasoning is sound; but passion, if it gain possession of it, becomes its tyrant, and reason is powerless.

"I could easily mention, Conscript Fathers, numerous examples of kings and nations, who, swayed by resentment or compassion, have adopted injudicious courses of conduct; but I had rather speak of those instances in which our ancestors, in opposition to the impulse of passion, acted with wisdom and sound policy.

"In the Macedonian war, which we carried on against king Perses, the great and powerful state of Rhodes, which had risen by the aid of the Roman people, was faithless and hostile to us; yet, when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians was taken into consideration, our forefathers left them unmolested, lest any should say that war was made

[1] That he would go over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero] *Pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis—iturum.* Any question submitted to the senate was decided by the majority of votes, which was ascertained either by *numeratio*, a counting of the votes, or by *discessio*, when those who were of one opinion, at the direction of the presiding magistrate, passed over to one side of the house, and those who were of the contrary opinion, to the other. See Aul. Gell., xiv., 7; Suet. Tib., 31; Adam's Rom. Ant.; Dr. Smith's Dictionary, Art. *Senatus.*

[2] LI. It becomes all men, *&c.*] The beginning of this speech, attributed to Cæsar, is imitated from Demosthenes, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερσονήσῳ πραγμάτων: Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας ἐν ὑμῖν μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα, μήτε πρὸς χάριν. "It should be incumbent on all who speak before you, O Athenians, to advance no sentiment with any view either to enmity or to favour."

upon them for the sake of seizing their wealth, rather than of punishing their faithlessness. Throughout the Punic wars, too, though the Carthaginians, both during peace, and in suspensions of arms, were guilty of many acts of injustice, yet our ancestors never took occasion to retaliate, but considered rather what was worthy of themselves, than what might justly be inflicted on their enemies.

"Similar caution, Conscript Fathers, is to be observed by yourselves, that the guilt of Lentulus, and the other conspirators, may not have greater weight with you than your own dignity, and that you may not regard your indignation more than your character. If, indeed, a punishment adequate to their crimes be discovered, I consent to extraordinary measures[1]; but if the enormity of their crime exceeds whatever can be devised[2], I think that we should inflict only such penalties as the laws have provided.

"Most of those, who have given their opinions before me, have deplored, in studied and impressive language[3], the sad fate that threatens the republic; they have recounted the barbarities of war, and the afflictions that would fall on the vanquished; they have told us that maidens would be dishonoured, and youths abused; that children would be torn from the embraces of their parents; that matrons would be subjected to the pleasure of the conquerors; that temples and dwelling-houses would be plundered; that massacres and fires would follow; and that every place would be filled with arms, corpses, blood, and lamentation. But to what end, in the name of the eternal gods! was such eloquence directed? Was it intended to render you indignant at the conspiracy? A speech, no doubt, will inflame him whom so frightful and monstrous a reality has not provoked! Far from it: for to no man does evil, directed against himself, appear a light matter; many, on the contrary, have felt it more seriously than was right.

[1] I consent to extraordinary measures] *Novum consilium adprobo.* "That is, I consent that you depart from the usage of your ancestors, by which Roman citizens were protected from death." *Bernouf.*

[2] Whatever can be devised] *Omnium ingenia.*

[3] Studied and impressive language] *Compositè atque magnificè. Compositè*, in language nicely put together; elegantly. *Magnificè*, in striking or imposing terms. *Compositè* is applied to the speech of Cæsar, by Cato, in the following chapter.

"But to different persons, Conscript Fathers, different degrees of licence are allowed. If those who pass a life sunk in obscurity, commit any error, through excessive anger, few become aware of it, for their fame is as limited as their fortune; but of those who live invested with extensive power, and in an exalted station, the whole world knows the proceedings. Thus in the highest position there is the least liberty of action; and it becomes us to indulge neither partiality nor aversion, but least of all animosity; for what in others is called resentment, is in the powerful termed violence and cruelty.

"I am indeed of opinion, Conscript Fathers, that the utmost degree of torture is inadequate to punish their crime; but the generality of mankind dwell on that which happens last, and, in the case of malefactors, forget their guilt, and talk only of their punishment, should that punishment have been inordinately severe. I feel assured, too, that Decimus Silanus, a man of spirit and resolution, made the suggestions which he offered, from zeal for the state, and that he had no view, in so important a matter, to favour or to enmity; such I know to be his character, and such his discretion[1]. Yet his proposal appears to me, I will not say cruel (for what can be cruel that is directed against such characters?), but foreign to our policy. For assuredly, Silanus, either your fears, or their treason, must have induced you, a consul elect, to propose this new kind of punishment. Of fear it is unnecessary to speak, when, by the prompt activity of that distinguished man our consul, such numerous forces are under arms; and as to the punishment, we may say, what is indeed the truth, that in trouble and distress, death is a relief from suffering, and not a torment[2]; that it

[1] Such I know to be his character, such his discretion] *Eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi.* I have translated *modestiam, discretion*, which seems to be the proper meaning of the word. Beauzée renders it *prudence*, and adds a note upon it, which may be worth transcription. "I translate *modestia*," says he, "by *prudence*, and think myself authorised to do so. *Sic definitur à Stoicis*, says Cicero (De Off., i., 40), *ut modestia sit scientia earum rerum, quæ agentur, aut dicentur, loco suo collocandarum;* and shortly afterwards, *Sic fit ut modestia scientia sit opportunitatis idoneorum ad agendum temporum.* And what is understood in French by prudence? It is, according to the Dictionary of the Academy, 'a virtue by which we discern and practise what is proper in the conduct of life.' This is almost a translation of the words of Cicero."

[2] That—death is a relief from suffering, not a torment, &c.] This Epicurean

puts an end to all human woes; and that, beyond it, there is no place either for sorrow or joy.

"But why, in the name of the immortal gods, did you not add to your proposal, Silanus, that, before they were put to death, they should be punished with the scourge? Was it because the Porcian law[1] forbids it? But other laws[2] forbid condemned citizens to be deprived of life, and allow them to go into exile. Or was it because scourging is a severer penalty than death? Yet what can be too severe, or too harsh, towards men convicted of such an offence? But if scourging be a milder punishment than death, how is it consistent to observe the law as to the smaller point, when you disregard it as to the greater?

"But who, it may be asked, will blame any severity that shall be decreed against these parricides[3] of their country? I answer that time, the course of events[4], and fortune, whose caprice governs nations, may blame it. Whatever shall fall on the traitors, will fall on them justly; but it is for you, Conscript Fathers, to consider well what you resolve to inflict on others. All precedents productive of evil effects[5], have had their origin from what was good; but when a government passes into the hands of the ignorant or un-

doctrine prevailed very much at Rome in Cæsar's time, and afterwards. We may very well suppose Cæsar to have been a sincere convert to it. Cato alludes to this passage in the speech which follows; as also Cicero, in his fourth Oration against Catiline, c. 4. See, for opinions on this point, the first book of Cicero's Tusculan Questions.

[1] The Porcian law] *Lex Portia.* A law proposed by P. Porcius Lœca, one of the tribunes, A.U.C. 454, which enacted that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen. See Liv., x., 9; Cic. pro. Rabir. 3, 4; Verr., v., 63; de Rep. ii., 31.

[2] Other laws] *Aliæ leges.* So Cæsar says below, "Tum lex Porcia aliæque paratæ, quibus legibus auxilium damnatis permissum;" what other laws these were is uncertain. One of them, however, was the Sempronian law, proposed by Caius Gracchus, which ordained that sentence should not be passed on the life of a Roman citizen without the order of the people. See Cic. pro Rabir. 4. So "O lex Porcia legesque Semproniæ!" Cic. in Verr., v., 63.

[3] Parricides] See c. 14, 32.

[4] The course of events] *Dies.* "Id est, temporis momentum (*der veränderte Zeitpunkt*)." *Dietsch.* Things change, and that which is approved at one period, is blamed at another. *Tempus* and *dies* are sometimes joined (Liv., xxii., 39, ii., 45), as if not only time in general, but particular periods, as *from day to day*, were intended.

[5] All precedents productive of evil effects] *Omnia mala exempla.* Examples of severe punishments are meant.

principled, any new example of severity[1], inflicted on deserving and suitable objects, is extended to those that are improper and undeserving of it. The Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians[2], appointed thirty men to govern their state. These thirty began their administration by putting to death, even without a trial, all who were notoriously wicked, or publicly detestable; acts at which the people rejoiced, and extolled their justice. But afterwards, when their lawless power gradually increased, they proceeded, at their pleasure, to kill the good and bad indiscriminately, and to strike terror into all; and thus the state, overpowered and enslaved, paid a heavy penalty for its imprudent exultation.

"Within our own memory, too, when the victorious Sylla ordered Damasippus[3], and others of similar character, who had risen by distressing their country, to be put to death, who did not commend the proceeding? All exclaimed that wicked and factious men, who had troubled the state with their seditious practices, had justly forfeited their lives. Yet this proceeding was the commencement of great bloodshed. For whenever any one coveted the mansion or villa, or even the plate or apparel of another, he exerted his influence to have him numbered among the proscribed. Thus they, to whom the death of Damasippus had been a subject of joy, were soon after dragged to death themselves; nor was there any cessation of slaughter, until Sylla had glutted all his partisans with riches.

"Such excesses, indeed, I do not fear from Marcus Tullius, or in these times. But in a large state there arise many men of various dispositions. At some other period, and under another consul, who, like the present, may have an

[1] Any new example of severity, *&c.*] *Novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur.* Gerlach, Kritzius, Dietsch, and Bernouf, agree in giving to this passage the sense which is given in the translation. *Digni* and *idonei* are here used in a bad sense, for *digni et idonei qui pœnâ afficiantur*, deserving and fit objects of punishment.

[2] When they had conquered the Athenians] At the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.

[3] Damasippus] "He, in the consulship of Caius Marius the younger and Cneius Carbo, was city prætor, and put to death some of the most eminent senators, a short time before the victory of Sylla. See Vell. Paterc. ii., 26." *Bernouf.*

army at his command, some false accusation may be credited as true; and when, with our example for a precedent, the consul shall have drawn the sword on the authority of the senate, who shall stay its progress, or moderate its fury?

"Our ancestors, Conscript Fathers, were never deficient in conduct or courage; nor did pride prevent them from imitating the customs of other nations, if they appeared deserving of regard. Their armour, and weapons of war, they borrowed from the Samnites; their ensigns of authority[1], for the most part, from the Etrurians; and, in short, whatever appeared eligible to them, whether among allies or among enemies, they adopted at home with the greatest readiness, being more inclined to emulate merit than to be jealous of it. But at the same time, adopting a practice from Greece, they punished their citizens with the scourge, and inflicted capital punishment on such as were condemned. When the republic, however, became powerful, and faction grew strong from the vast number of citizens, men began to involve the innocent in condemnation, and other like abuses were practised; and it was then that the Porcian and other laws were provided, by which condemned citizens were allowed to go into exile. This lenity of our ancestors, Conscript Fathers, I regard as a very strong reason why we should not adopt any new measures of severity. For assuredly there was greater merit and wisdom in those, who raised so mighty an empire from humble means, than in us, who can scarcely preserve what they so honourably acquired. Am I of opinion, then, you will ask, that the conspirators should be set free, and that the army of Catiline should thus be increased? Far from it; my recommendation is, that their property be confiscated, and that they themselves be kept in custody in such of the municipal towns as are best able to bear the expense[2]; that no one hereafter bring their case

[1] Ensigns of authority] *Insignia magistratuum.* "The fasces and axes of the twelve lictors, the robe adorned with purple, the curule chair, and the ivory sceptre. For the Etrurians, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis relates, having been subdued, in a nine years' war, by Tarquinius Priscus, and having obtained peace on condition of submitting to him as their sovereign, presented him with the *insignia* of their own monarchs. See Strabo, lib. v.; Florus, i., 5." *Kuhnhardt.*

[2] Best able to bear the expense] *Maximè opibus valent.* Are possessed of most resources.

before the senate, or speak on it to the people; and that the senate now give their opinion, that he who shall act contrary to this, will act against the republic and the general safety."

LII. When Cæsar had ended his speech, the rest briefly expressed their assent[1], some to one speaker, and some to another, in support of their different proposals; but Marcius Porcius Cato, being asked his opinion, made a speech to the following purport:

"My feelings, Conscript Fathers, are extremely different[2], when I contemplate our circumstances and dangers, and when I revolve in my mind the sentiments of some who have spoken before me. Those speakers, as it seems to me, have considered only how to punish the traitors who have raised war against their country, their parents, their altars, and their homes[3]; but the state of affairs warns us rather to secure our-

[1] LII. The rest briefly expressed their assent, *&c.*] *Cæteri verbo, alius alii, variè assentiebantur. Verbo assentiebantur* signifies that they expressed their assent merely by a word or two, as *assentior Silano, assentior Tiberio Neroni, aut Cæsari*, the three who had already spoken. *Variè*, "in support of their different proposals."

[2] My feelings, Conscript Fathers, are extremely different, *&c.*] *Longè mihi alia mens est, P. C., &c.* The commencement of Cato's speech is evidently copied from the beginning of the third Olynthiac of Demosthenes: Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παρίσταταί μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω, καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους, τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον. "I am by no means affected in the same manner, Athenians, when I review the state of our affairs, and when I attend to those speakers who have now declared their sentiments. They insist that we should punish Philip; but our affairs, situated as they now appear, warn us to guard against the dangers with which we ourselves are threatened." *Leland.*

[3] Their altars and their homes] *Aris atque focis suis.* "When *aræ* and *foci* are joined, beware of supposing that they are to be distinguished as referring the one (*aræ*) to the public temples, and the other (*foci*) to private dwellings. * * * Both are to be understood of private houses, in which the *ara* belonged to the *Dii Penates*, and was placed in the *impluvium* in the inner part of the house; the *focus* was dedicated to the *lares*, and was in the hall." Ernesti, Clav. Cic., sub. v. *Ara.* Of the commentators on Sallust, Kritzius is, I believe, the only one who has concurred in this notion of Ernesti; Langius and Dietsch (with Cortius) adhere to the common opinion that *aræ* are the public altars. Dietsch refers, for a complete refutation of Ernesti, to G. A. B. Hertzberg *de Diis Roma-*

selves against them, than to take counsel as to what sentence we should pass upon them. Other crimes you may punish after they have been committed; but as to this, unless you prevent its commission, you will, when it has once taken effect, in vain appeal to justice[1]. When the city is taken, no power is left to the vanquished.

"But, in the name of the immortal gods, I call upon you, who have always valued your mansions and villas, your statues and pictures, at a higher price than the welfare of your country; if you wish to preserve those possessions, of whatever kind they are, to which you are attached; if you wish to secure quiet for the enjoyment of your pleasures, arouse yourselves, and act in defence of your country. We are not now debating on the revenues, or on injuries done to our allies, but our liberty and our life is at stake.

"Often, Conscript Fathers, have I spoken at great length in this assembly; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our citizens, and, by that very means, have incurred the displeasure of many. I, who never excused to myself, or to my own conscience, the commission of any fault, could not easily pardon the misconduct[2], or indulge the licentiousness, of others. But though you little regarded my remonstrances, yet the republic remained secure; its own strength[3] was proof against your remissness. The question, however, at present under discussion, is not whether we live in a good or bad state of morals; nor how great, or how splendid, the empire of the Roman people is; but whether these things

norum Penatibus, Halæ, 1840, p. 64; a book which I have not seen. Certainly, in the observation of Cicero ad Att., vii., 11, "Non est respublica in parietibus, sed in aris et focis," *aræ* must be considered (as Schiller observes) to denote the public altars and national religion. See Schiller's Lex. v. *Ara*.

[1] In vain appeal to justice] *Frustrà judicia implores. Judicia*, trials, to procure the inflictions of legal penalties.

[2] Could not easily pardon the misconduct, *&c.*] *Haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam.* "Could not easily forgive the licentiousness of another its evil deeds."

[3] Yet the republic remained secure; its own strength, *&c.*] *Tamen respublica firma, opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat.* This is Cortius's reading; some editors, as Havercamp, Kritzius, and Dietsch, insert *erat* after *firma*. Whether *opulentia* is the nominative or ablative, is disputed. "*Opulentia*," says Allen, "casum sextum intellige, et repete *respublica* (ad *tolerabat*)." "*Opulentia*," says Kritzius, "melius nominativo capiendum videtur; nam quæ sequuntur verba novam enunciationem efficiunt." I have preferred to take it as a nominative.

around us, of whatever value they are, are to continue our own, or to fall, with ourselves, into the hands of the enemy.

"In such a case, does any one talk to me of gentleness and compassion? For some time past, it is true, we have lost the real names of things[1]; for to lavish the property of others is called generosity, and audacity in wickedness is called heroism; and hence the state is reduced to the brink of ruin. But let those, who thus misname things, be liberal, since such is the practice, out of the property of our allies; let them be merciful to the robbers of the treasury; but let them not lavish our blood, and, whilst they spare a few criminals, bring destruction on all the guiltless.

"Caius Cæsar, a short time ago, spoke in fair and elegant language[2], before this assembly, on the subject of life and death; considering as false, I suppose, what is told of the dead; that the bad, going a different way from the good, inhabit places gloomy, desolate, dreary, and full of horror. He accordingly proposed *that the property of the conspirators should be confiscated, and themselves kept in custody in the municipal towns;* fearing, it seems, that, if they remain at Rome, they may be rescued either by their accomplices in the conspiracy, or by a hired mob; as if, forsooth, the mischievous and profligate were to be found only in the city, and not through the whole of Italy, or as if desperate attempts would not be more likely to succeed where there is less power to resist them. His proposal, therefore, if he fears any danger from them, is absurd; but if, amidst such universal terror, he alone is free from alarm, it the more concerns me to fear for you and myself.

"Be assured, then, that when you decide on the fate of Lentulus and the other prisoners, you at the same time de-

[1] We have lost the real names of things, &c.] Imitated from Thucydides, iii., 82: Καὶ τὴν ἐωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει. Τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος, ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μελλησίς τε προμηθὴς, δειλία ἐυπρεπὴς· τὸ δὲ σῶφρον, τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν συνετὸν, ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν. "The ordinary meaning of words was changed by them as they thought proper. For reckless daring was regarded as courage that was true to its friends; prudent delay, as specious cowardice; moderation, as a cloak for unmanliness; being intelligent in everything, as being useful for nothing." *Dale's* Translation: Bohn's Classical Library.

[2] Elegant language] *Compositè.* See above, c. 51.

termine that of the army of Catiline, and of all the conspirators. The more spirit you display in your decision, the more will their confidence be diminished; but if they shall perceive you in the smallest degree irresolute, they will advance upon you with fury.

"Do not suppose that our ancestors, from so small a commencement, raised the republic to greatness merely by force of arms. If such had been the case, we should enjoy it in a most excellent condition[1]; for of allies and citizens[2], as well as arms and horses, we have a much greater abundance than they had. But there were other things which made them great, but which among us have no existence; such as industry at home, equitable government abroad, and minds impartial in council, uninfluenced by any immoral or improper feeling. Instead of such virtues, we have luxury and avarice; public distress, and private superfluity; we extol wealth, and yield to indolence; no distinction is made between good men and bad; and ambition usurps the honours due to virtue. Nor is this wonderful; since you study each his individual interest, and since at home you are slaves to pleasure, and here to money or favour; and hence it happens that an attack is made on the defenceless state.

"But on these subjects I shall say no more. Certain citizens, of the highest rank, have conspired to ruin their country; they are engaging the Gauls, the bitterest foes of the Roman name, to join in a war against us; the leader of the enemy is ready to make a descent upon us; and do you hesitate, even in such circumstances, how to treat armed incendiaries arrested within your walls? I advise you to have mercy upon them[3]; they are young men who have been led astray by ambition; send them away, even with arms in their hands. But such mercy, and such clemency, if they turn those arms against you, will end in misery to yourselves. The case is, assuredly, dangerous, but you do not fear it; yes, you fear it greatly, but you hesitate how to act, through weakness and want of spirit, waiting one for another, and

[1] In a most excellent condition] *Multo pulcherrumam.* See c. 36.

[2] For of allies and citizens, *&c.*] Imitated from Demosthenes, Philipp. iii., 4.

[3] I advise you to have mercy upon them] *Misereamini censeo, i. e.* censeo ut misereamini, spoken ironically. Most translators have taken the words in the sense of "You would take pity on them, I suppose," or something similar.

trusting to the immortal gods, who have so often preserved your country in the greatest dangers. But the protection of the gods is not obtained by vows and effeminate supplications; it is by vigilance, activity, and prudent measures, that general welfare is secured. When you are once resigned to sloth and indolence, it is in vain that you implore the gods; for they are then indignant and threaten vengeance.

"In the days of our forefathers, Titus Manlius Torquatus, during a war with the Gauls, ordered his own son to be put to death, because he had fought with an enemy contrary to orders. That noble youth suffered for excess of bravery; and do you hesitate what sentence to pass on the most inhuman of traitors? Perhaps their former life is at variance with their present crime. Spare, then, the dignity of Lentulus, if he has ever spared his own honour or character, or had any regard for gods or for men. Pardon the youth of Cethegus, unless this be the second time that he has made war upon his country[1]. As to Gabinius, Statilius, Cœparius, why should I make any remark upon them? Had they ever possessed the smallest share of discretion, they would never have engaged in such a plot against their country.

"In conclusion, Conscript Fathers, if there were time to amend an error, I might easily suffer you, since you disregard words, to be corrected by experience of consequences. But we are beset by dangers on all sides; Catiline, with his army, is ready to devour us[2]; whilst there are other enemies within the walls, and in the heart of the city; nor can any measures be taken, or any plans arranged, without their knowledge. The more necessary is it, therefore, to act with promptitude. What I advise, then, is this: that since the

[1] Unless this be the second time that he has made war upon his country] "Cethegus first made war on his country in conjunction with Marius." *Burnouf.* Whether Sallust alludes to this, or intimates (as Gerlach thinks) that he was engaged in the first conspiracy, is doubtful.

[2] Is ready to devour us] *Faucibus urget.* Cortius, Kritzius, Gerlach, Burnouf, Allen, and Dietsch, are unanimous in interpreting this as a metaphorical expression, alluding to a wild beast with open jaws ready to spring upon its prey. They support this interpretation by Val. Max. v., 3: "Faucibus apprehensam rempublicam;" Cic. pro. Cluent., 31: "Quum faucibus premetur;" and Plaut. Casin. v., 3, 4: "Manifesto faucibus teneor." Some editors have read *in faucibus*, and understood the words as referring to the jaws or narrow passes of Etruria, where Catiline was with his army.

state, by a treasonable combination of abandoned citizens, has been brought into the greatest peril; and since the conspirators have been convicted on the evidence of Titus Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and on their own confession, of having concerted massacres, conflagrations, and other horrible and cruel outrages, against their fellow-citizens and their country, punishment be inflicted, according to the usage of our ancestors, on the prisoners who have confessed their guilt, as on men convicted of capital crimes."

LIII. When Cato had resumed his seat, all the senators of consular dignity, and a great part of the rest[1], applauded his opinion, and extolled his firmness of mind to the skies. With mutual reproaches, they accused one another of timidity, while Cato was regarded as the greatest and noblest of men; and a decree of the senate was made as he had advised.

After reading and hearing of the many glorious achievements which the Roman people had performed at home and in the field, by sea as well as by land, I happened to be led to consider what had been the great foundation of such illustrious deeds. I knew that the Romans had frequently, with small bodies of men, encountered vast armies of the enemy; I was aware that they had carried on wars[2] with limited forces against powerful sovereigns; that they had often sustained, too, the violence of adverse fortune; yet that, while the Greeks excelled them in eloquence, the Gauls surpassed them in military glory. After much reflection, I felt convinced that the eminent virtue of a few citizens had been the cause of all these successes; and hence it had happened that poverty had triumphed over riches, and a few over a multitude. And even in later times, when the state had become corrupted by luxury and indolence, the republic still supported itself, by its own strength, under the misconduct of its generals and magistrates; when, as if the parent stock were exhausted[3], there was certainly not produced at Rome, for

[1] LIII. All the senators of consular dignity, and a great part of the rest] *Consulares omnes, itemque senatûs magna pars.* "As the consulars were senators, the reader would perhaps expect Sallust to have said *reliqui senatûs*, but *itemque* is equivalent to *et præter eos.*" *Dietsch.*

[2] That they had carried on wars] *Bella gesta.* That wars had been carried on *by them.*

[3] As if the parent stock were exhausted] *Sicuti effœta parentum.* This is the

many years, a single citizen of eminent ability. Within my recollection, however, there arose two men of remarkable powers, though of very different character, Marcus Cato and Caius Cæsar, whom, since the subject has brought them before me, it is not my intention to pass in silence, but to describe, to the best of my ability, the disposition and manners of each.

LIV. Their birth, age, and eloquence, were nearly on an equality; their greatness of mind similar, as was also their reputation, though attained by different means[1]. Cæsar grew eminent by generosity and munificence; Cato by the integrity of his life. Cæsar was esteemed for his humanity and benevolence; austereness had given dignity to Cato. Cæsar acquired renown by giving, relieving, and pardoning; Cato by bestowing nothing. In Cæsar, there was a refuge for the unfortunate; in Cato, destruction for the bad. In Cæsar, his easiness of temper was admired; in Cato, his firmness.

reading of Cortius, which he endeavours to explain thus: "Ac sicuti *effœta parens*, inter parentes, *sese habere solet*, ut nullos amplius liberos proferat, sic Roma sese habuit, ubi multis tempestatibus nemo virtute magnus fuit." "*Est*," he adds, "or *solet esse*, or *sese habere solet*, may very well be understood from the *fuit* which follows." But all this only serves to show what a critic may find to say in defence of a reading to which he is determined to adhere. All the MSS., indeed, have *parentum*, except one, which has *parente*. Dietsch think that some word has been lost between *effœta* and *parentum*, and proposes to read *sicuti effœtâ ætate parentum*, with the sense, *as if the age of the parents were too much exhausted to produce strong children*. Kritzius, from a suggestion of Cortius (or rather of his predecessor, Rupertus), reads *effœtæ parentum* (the effœtæ agreeing with *Romæ* which follows), considering the sense to be the same as *effœtæ parentis* —as *divina dearum* for *divina dea*, &c. Gerlach retains the reading of Cortius, and adopts his explanation (4to. ed., 1827), but says that the *explicatio* may seem *durior*, and that it is doubtful whether we ought not to have recourse to the *effœtâ parente* of the old critics. Assuredly if we retain *parentum*, *effœtæ* is the only reading that we can well put with it. We may compare with it *loca nuda gignentium*, (Jug. c. 79), *i. e.* "places bare of objects producing anything." Gronovius knew not what to do with the passage, called it *locus intellectus nemini*, and at last decided on understanding *virtute* with *effœtæ parentum*, which, *pace tanti viri*, and though Allen has followed him, is little better than folly. The concurrence of the majority of manuscripts in giving *parentum* makes the scholar unwilling to set it aside. However, as no one has explained it satisfactorily even to himself, I have thought it better, with Dietsch, to regard it a *scriptura non ferenda*, and to acquiesce, with Glareanus, Rivius, Burnouf, and the Bipont edition, in the reading *effœtâ parente*.

[1] LIV. Though attained by different means] *Sed alia alii.* "Alii alia *gloria*," for *altera alteri*. So Livy, i., 21: *Duo reges*, alius aliâ *via*.

Cæsar, in fine, had applied himself to a life of energy and activity; intent upon the interests of his friends, he was neglectful of his own; he refused nothing to others that was worthy of acceptance, while for himself he desired great power, the command of an army, and a new war in which his talents might be displayed. But Cato's ambition was that of temperance, discretion, and, above all, of austerity; he did not contend in splendour with the rich, or in faction with the seditious, but with the brave in fortitude, with the modest in simplicity[1], with the temperate[2] in abstinence; he was more desirous to be, than to appear, virtuous; and thus, the less he courted popularity, the more it pursued him.

LV. When the senate, as I have stated, had gone over to the opinion of Cato, the consul, thinking it best not to wait till night, which was coming on, lest any new attempts should be made during the interval, ordered the triumvirs[3] to make such preparations as the execution of the conspirators required. He himself, having posted the necessary guards, conducted Lentulus to the prison; and the same office was performed for the rest by the prætors.

There is a place in the prison, which is called the Tullian dungeon[4], and which, after a slight ascent to the left, is sunk about twelve feet under ground. Walls secure it on every side, and over it is a vaulted roof connected with stone arches[5]; but its appearance is disgusting and horrible, by

[1] Simplicity] *Pudore.* The word here seems to mean the absence of display and ostentation.

[2] With the temperate] *Cum innocente.* "That is *cum integro et abstinente.* For *innocentia* is used for *abstinentia*, and opposed to *avaritia.* See Cic. pro Lege Manil., c. 13." *Burnouf.*

[3] LV. The triumvirs] *Triumviros.* The *triumviri capitales*, who had the charge of the prison and of the punishment of the condemned. They performed their office by deputy, Val. Max., v., 4, 7.

[4] The Tullian dungeon] *Tullianum.* "Tullianum" is an adjective, with which *robur* must be understood, as it was originally constructed, wholly or partially, with oak. See Festus, sub voce *Robum* or *Robur:* his words are *arcis robustis includebatur*, of which the sense is not very clear. The prison at Rome was built by Ancus Marcius, and enlarged by Servius Tullius, from whom this part of it had its name; Varro de L. L., iv., 33. It is now transformed into a subterranean chapel, beneath a small church erected over it, called *San Pietro in Carcere.* De Brosses and Eustace both visited it; See Eustace's Classical Tour, vol. i., p. 260, in the *Family Library.* See also Wasse's note on this passage.

[5] A vaulted roof connected with stone arches] *Camera lapideis fornicibus vincta.*

reason of the filth, darkness, and stench. When Lentulus had been let down into this place, certain men, to whom orders had been given[1], strangled him with a cord. Thus this patrician, who was of the illustrious family of the Cornelii, and who had filled the office of consul at Rome, met with an end suited to his character and conduct. On Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cœparius, punishment was inflicted in a similar manner.

LVI. During these proceedings at Rome, Catiline, out of the entire force which he himself had brought with him, and that which Manlius had previously collected, formed two legions, filling up the cohorts as far as his numbers would allow[2]; and afterwards, as any volunteers, or recruits from his confederates[3], arrived in his camp, he distributed them equally throughout the cohorts, and thus filled up his legions, in a short time, with their regular number of men, though at first he had not had more than two thousand. But, of his whole army, only about a fourth part had the proper weapons of soldiers; the rest, as chance had equipped them, carried darts, spears, or sharpened stakes.

As Antonius approached with his army, Catiline directed

"That *camera* was a roof curved in the form of a *testudo*, is generally admitted; see Vitruv. vii., 3; Varr., R. R. iii., 7, init." *Dietsch.* The roof is now arched in the usual way.

[1] Certain men, to whom orders had been given] *Quibus præceptum erat.* The editions of Havercamp, Gerlach, Kritzius, and Dietsch, have *vindices rerum capitalium, quibus, &c.* Cortius ejected the first three words from his text, as an intruded gloss. If the words be genuine, we must consider these *vindices* to have been the deputies, or lictors, of the "triumvirs" mentioned above.

[2] LVI. As far as his numbers would allow] *Pro numero militum.* He formed his men into two bodies, which he called legions, and divided each legion, as was usual, into ten cohorts, putting into each cohort as many men as he could. The cohort of a full legion consisted of three maniples, or six hundred men; the legion would then be six thousand men. But the legions were seldom so large as this; they varied at different periods, from six thousand to three thousand; in the time of Polybius they were usually four thousand two hundred. See Adam's Rom. Ant., and Lipsius de Mil. Rom. Dial. iv.

[3] From his confederates] *Ex sociis.* "Understand, not only the leaders in the conspiracy, but those who, in c. 35, are said to have set out to join Catiline, though not at that time actually implicated in the plot." *Kritzius.* It is necessary to notice this, because Cortius erroneously supposes "sociis" to mean the *allies of Rome.* Dahl, Longius, Müller, Burnouf, Gerlach, and Dietsch, all interpret in the same manner as Kritzius.

his march over the hills, encamping, at one time, in the direction of Rome, at another in that of Gaul. He gave the enemy no opportunity of fighting, yet hoped himself shortly to find one[1], if his accomplices at Rome should succeed in their objects. Slaves, meanwhile, of whom vast numbers[2] had at first flocked to him, he continued to reject, not only as depending on the strength of the conspiracy, but as thinking it impolitic[3] to appear to share the cause of citizens with runagates.

LVII. When it was reported in his camp, however, that the conspiracy had been discovered at Rome, and that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest whom I have named, had been put to death, most of those whom the hope of plunder, or the love of change, had led to join in the war, fell away. The remainder Catiline conducted, over rugged mountains, and by forced marches, into the neighbourhood of Pistoria, with a view to escape covertly, by cross roads, into Gaul.

But Quintus Metellus Celer, with a force of three legions, had, at that time, his station in Picenum, who suspected that Catiline, from the difficulties of his position, would adopt precisely the course which we have just described. When, therefore, he had learned his route from some deserters, he immediately broke up his camp, and took his post at the very foot of the hills, at the point where Catiline's descent would be, in his hurried march into Gaul[4]. Nor was Antonius far

[1] Hoped himself shortly to find one] *Sperabat propediem sese habiturum.* Other editions, as those of Havercamp, Gerlach, Kritzius, Dietsch, and Burnouf, have the words *magnas copias* before *sese.* Cortius struck them out, observing that *copiæ* occurred too often in this chapter, and that in one MS. they were wanting. One manuscript, however, was insufficient authority for discarding them; and the phrase suits much better with what follows, *si Romæ socii incepta patravissent,* if they are retained.

[2] Slaves—of whom vast numbers, *&c.*] *Servitia—cujus—magnæ copiæ.* "*Cujus,*" says Priscian (xvii., 20, vol. ii., p. 81, ed. Krehl), "is referred *ad rem,* that is, *cujus rei servitiorum.*" *Servorum* or *hominum genus,* is, perhaps, rather what Sallust had in his mind, as the subject of the relation. Gerlach adduces as an expression most nearly approaching to Sallust's, Thucyd., iii., 92; Καὶ Δωριεῖς, ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

[3] Impolitic] *Alienum suis rationibus.* Foreign to his views; inconsistent with his policy.

[4] LVII. In his hurried march into Gaul] *In Galliam properanti.* These words Cortius inclosed in brackets, pronouncing them a useless gloss. But all editors have retained them as genuine, except the Bipont and Burnouf, who wholly omitted them.

distant, as he was pursuing, though with a large army, yet through plainer ground, and with fewer hindrances, the enemy in retreat[1].

Catiline, when he saw that he was surrounded by mountains and by hostile forces, that his schemes in the city had been unsuccessful, and that there was no hope either of escape or of succour, thinking it best, in such circumstances, to try the fortune of a battle, resolved upon engaging, as speedily as possible, with Antonius. Having, therefore, assembled his troops, he addressed them in the following manner:

LVIII. "I am well aware, soldiers, that words cannot inspire courage; and that a spiritless army cannot be rendered active[2], or a timid army valiant, by the speech of its commander. Whatever courage is in the heart of a man, whether from nature or from habit, so much will be shown by him in the field; and on him whom neither glory nor danger can move, exhortation is bestowed in vain; for the terror in his breast stops his ears.

"I have called you together, however, to give you a few instructions, and to explain to you, at the same time, my reasons for the course which I have adopted. You all know,

[1] As he was pursuing, though with a large army, yet through plainer ground, and with fewer hindrances, the enemy in retreat] *Utpote qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus, expeditus, in fugâ sequeretur.* It would be tedious to notice all that has been written upon this passage of Sallust. All the editions, before that of Cortius, had *expeditos in fugam*, some joining *expeditos* with *locis æquioribus*, and some with *in fugam*. *Expeditos in fugam* was first condemned by Wasse, no negligent observer of phrases, who said that no expression parallel to it could be found in any Latin writer. Cortius, seeing that the *expedition*, of which Sallust is speaking, is on the part of Antonius, not of Catiline, altered *expeditos*, though found in all the manuscripts, into *expeditus*; and *in fugam*, at the same time, into *in fugâ*; and in both these emendations he has been cordially followed by the subsequent editors, Gerlach, Kritzius, and Dietsch. I have translated *magno exercitu*, "*though* with a large army," although, according to Dietsch and some others, we need not consider a large army as a cause of slowness, but may rather regard it as a cause of speed; since the more numerous were Metellus's forces, the less he would care how many he might leave behind through fatigue, or to guard the baggage; so that he might be the more *expeditus*, unincumbered. With *sequeretur* we must understand *hostes*. The Bipont, Burnouf's, which often follows it, and Havercamp's, are now the only editions of any note that retain *expeditos in fugam*.

[2] LVIII. That a spiritless army cannot be rendered active, &c.] *Neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri.* I have departed a little from the literal reading, for the sake of ease.

soldiers, how severe a penalty the inactivity and cowardice of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us; and how, while waiting for reinforcements from the city, I was unable to march into Gaul. In what situation our affairs now are, you all understand as well as myself. Two armies of the enemy, one on the side of Rome, and the other on that of Gaul, oppose our progress; while the want of corn, and of other necessaries, prevents us from remaining, however strongly we may desire to remain, in our present position. Whithersoever we would go, we must open a passage with our swords. I conjure you, therefore, to maintain a brave and resolute spirit; and to remember, when you advance to battle, that on your own right hands depend[1] riches, honour, and glory, with the enjoyment of your liberty and of your country. If we conquer, all will be safe; we shall have provisions in abundance; and the colonies and corporate towns will open their gates to us. But, if we lose the victory through want of courage, those same places[2] will turn against us; for neither place nor friend will protect him whom his arms have not protected. Besides, soldiers, the same exigency does not press upon our adversaries, as presses upon us; we fight for our country, for our liberty, for our life; they contend for what but little concerns them[3], the power of a small party. Attack them, therefore, with so much the greater confidence, and call to mind your achievements of old.

"We might[4], with the utmost ignominy, have passed the rest of our days in exile. Some of you, after losing your property, might have waited at Rome for assistance from others. But because such a life, to men of spirit, was disgusting and unendurable, you resolved upon your present course. If you wish to quit it, you must exert all your resolution, for none but conquerors have exchanged war for peace. To hope for safety in flight, when you have turned away from the enemy the arms by which the body is defended,

[1] That on your own right hands depend, *&c.*] *In dextris portare.* "That you carry in your right hands."

[2] Those same places] *Eadem illa.* "Coloniæ atque municipia portas claudent." *Burnouf.*

[3] They contend for what but little concerns them] *Illis supervacaneum est pugnare.* It is but of little concern to the great body of them personally: they may fight, but others will have the advantages of their efforts.

[4] We might, *&c.*] *Licuit nobis.* The editions vary between *nobis* and *vobis*; but most, with Cortius, have *nobis.*

is indeed madness. In battle, those who are most afraid are always in most danger; but courage is equivalent to a rampart.

"When I contemplate you, soldiers, and when I consider your past exploits, a strong hope of victory animates me. Your spirit, your age, your valour, give me confidence; to say nothing of necessity, which makes even cowards brave. To prevent the numbers of the enemy from surrounding us, our confined situation is sufficient. But should Fortune be unjust to your valour, take care not to lose your lives unavenged; take care not to be taken and butchered like cattle, rather than, fighting like men, to leave to your enemies a bloody and mournful victory."

LIX. When he had thus spoken, he ordered, after a short delay, the signal for battle to be sounded, and led down his troops, in regular order, to the level ground. Having then sent away the horses of all the cavalry, in order to increase the men's courage by making their danger equal, he himself, on foot, drew up his troops suitably to their numbers and the nature of the ground. As a plain stretched between the mountains on the left, with a rugged rock on the right, he placed eight cohorts in front, and stationed the rest of his force, in close order, in the rear[1]. From among these he removed all the ablest centurions[2], the veterans[3], and the stoutest

[1] LIX. In the rear] *In subsidio.* Most translators have rendered this, "as a body of reserve;" but such cannot well be the signification. It seems only to mean the part behind the front: Catiline places the eight cohorts *in front*, and the rest of his force *in subsidio*, to support the front. *Subsidia*, according to Varro (de L. L., iv., 16) and Festus (v. *Subsidium*), was a term applied to the Triarii, because they *subsidebant*, or sunk down on one knee, until it was their turn to act. See Scheller's Lex. v. *Subsidium*. "Novissimi ordines ita dicuntur." *Gerlach. In subsidiis*, which occurs a few lines below, seems to signify *in lines in the rear;* as in Jug. 49, *triplicibus subsidiis aciem intruxit*, i. e. *with three lines behind the front.* "Subsidium ea pars aciei vocabatur quæ reliquis submitti posset; Cæs. B. G., iii, 25." *Dietsch.*

[2] All the ablest centurions] *Centuriones omnes lectos.* "*Lectos* you may consider to be the same as *eximios*, *præstantes*, centurionum præstantissimum quemque." *Kritzius.* Cortius and others take it for a participle, *chosen.*

[3] Veterans] *Evocatos.* Some would make this also a participle, because, say they, it cannot signify *evocati*, or *called-out veterans*, since, though there were such soldiers in a regular Roman army, there could be none so called in the tumultuary forces of Catiline. But to this it is answered that Catiline had imitated the regular disposition of a Roman army, and that his veterans might consequently be called *evocati*, just as if they had been in one; and, also that *evocatus* as a participle would be useless; for if Catiline removed (*subducit*) the centurions, it is unnecessary to add that he called them out. "*Evocati* erant, qui expletis sti-

of the common soldiers that were regularly armed, into the foremost ranks[1]. He ordered Caius Manlius to take the command on the right, and a certain officer of Fæsulæ[2] on the left; while he himself, with his freedmen[3] and the colonists[4], took his station by the eagle[5], which Caius Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbrian war.

On the other side, Caius Antonius, who, being lame[6], was unable to be present in the engagement, gave the command of the army to Marcus Petreius, his lieutenant-general. Petreius ranged the cohorts of veterans, which he had raised to meet the present insurrection[7], in front, and behind them the

pendiis non poterant in delectu scribi, sed precibus imperatoris permoti, aut in gratiam ejus, militiam resumebant, homines longo usu militiæ peritissimi. Dio. xlv., p. 276. Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡνοκάτων ἢ Οὐνοκάτων σύστημα (ὁῦς Ἀνακλήτους ἄν τις Ἑλληνίσας, ὅτι πεπαυμένοι τῆς στρατείας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄνθις · ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὀνομάσειεν) ἐνομίσθη. Intelligit itaque ejusmodi homines veteranos, etsi non propriè erant tales evocati, sed sponte castra Catilinæ essent secuti." *Cortius.*

[1] Into the foremost ranks] *In primam aciem.* Whether Sallust means that he ranged them with the eight cohorts, or only in the first line of the *subsidia*, is not clear.

[2] A certain officer of Fæsulæ] *Fæsulanum quemdam.* "He is thought to have been that P. Furius, whom Cicero (Cat., iii., 6, 14) mentions as having been one of the colonists that Sylla settled at Fæsulæ, and who was to have been executed, if he had been apprehended, for having been concerned in corrupting the Allobrogian deputies." *Dietsch.* Plutarch calls this officer Furius.

[3] His freedmen] *Libertis.* "His own freedmen, whom he probably had about him as a body-guard, deeming them the most attached of his adherents. Among them was, possibly, that Sergius, whom we find from Cic. pro Domo, 5, 6, to have been Catiline's armour-bearer." *Dietsch.*

[4] The colonists] *Colonis.* "Veterans of Sylla, who had been settled by him as colonists in Etruria, and who had now been induced to join Catiline." *Gerlach.* See c. 28.

[5] By the eagle] *Propter aquilam.* See Cic. in Cat., i., 9.

[6] Being lame] *Pedibus æger.* It has been common among translators to render *pedibus æger* afflicted with the gout, though a Roman might surely be lame without having the gout. As the lameness of Antonius, however, according to Dion Cassius (xxxvii., 39), was only pretended, it may be thought more probable that he counterfeited the gout than any other malady. It was with this belief, I suppose, that the writer of a gloss on one of the manuscripts consulted by Cortius, interpreted the words, *ultroneam passus est podagram*, "he was affected with a voluntary gout." Dion Cassius says that he preferred engaging with Antonius, who had the larger army, rather than with Metellus, who had the smaller, because he hoped that Antonius would designedly act in such a way as to lose the victory.

[7] To meet the present insurrection] *Tumulti causâ.* Any sudden war or insurrection in Italy or Gaul was called *tumultus.* See Cic. Philipp., v., 12.

rest of his force in lines. Then, riding round among his troops, and addressing his men by name, he encouraged them, and bade them remember that they were to fight against unarmed marauders, in defence of their country, their children, their temples, and their homes[1]. Being a military man, and having served with great reputation, for more than thirty years, as tribune, præfect, lieutenant, or prætor, he knew most of the soldiers and their honourable actions, and, by calling these to their remembrance, roused the spirits of the men.

LX. When he had made a complete survey, he gave the signal with the trumpet, and ordered the cohorts to advance slowly. The army of the enemy followed his example; and when they approached so near that the action could be commenced by the light-armed troops, both sides, with a loud shout, rushed together in a furious charge[2]. They threw aside their missiles, and fought only with their swords. The veterans, calling to mind their deeds of old, engaged fiercely in the closest combat. The enemy made an obstinate resistance; and both sides contended with the utmost fury. Catiline, during this time, was exerting himself with his light troops in the front, sustaining such as were pressed, substituting fresh men for the wounded, attending to every exigency, charging in person, wounding many an enemy, and performing at once the duties of a valiant soldier and a skilful general.

When Petreius, contrary to his expectation, found Catiline attacking him with such impetuosity, he led his prætorian cohort against the centre of the enemy, amongst whom, being thus thrown into confusion, and offering but partial resistance[3], he made great slaughter, and ordered, at the same time, an assault on both flanks. Manlius and the Fæsulan, sword in hand, were among the first[4] that fell; and Catiline, when he saw his army routed, and himself left with but few supporters, remembering his birth and former dignity, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, where he was slain, fighting to the last.

[1] Their temples and their homes] *Aris atque focis suis.* See c. 52.

[2] LX. In a furious charge] *Infestis signis.*

[3] Offering but partial resistance] *Alios alibi resistentes.* Not making a stand in a body, but only some in one place, and some in another.

[4] Among the first, *&c.*] *In primis pugnantes cadunt.* Cortius very properly refers *in primis* to *cadunt.*

LXI. When the battle was over, it was plainly seen what boldness, and what energy of spirit, had prevailed throughout the army of Catiline; for, almost everywhere, every soldier, after yielding up his breath, covered with his corpse the spot which he had occupied when alive. A few, indeed, whom the prætorian cohort had dispersed, had fallen somewhat differently, but all with wounds in front. Catiline himself was found, far in advance of his men, among the dead bodies of the enemy; he was not quite breathless, and still expressed in his countenance the fierceness of spirit which he had shown during his life. Of his whole army, neither in the battle, nor in flight, was any free-born citizen made prisoner, for they had spared their own lives no more than those of the enemy.

Nor did the army of the Roman people obtain a joyful or bloodless victory; for all their bravest men were either killed in the battle, or left the field severely wounded.

Of many who went from the camp to view the ground, or plunder the slain, some, in turning over the bodies of the enemy, discovered a friend, others an acquaintance, others a relative; some, too, recognised their enemies. Thus, gladness and sorrow, grief and joy, were variously felt throughout the whole army.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

EXTRACTED FROM DE BROSSES.

A.U.C.

685. Coss. L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Marcius Rex.—Catiline is Prætor.

686.—C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Acilius Glabrio.—Catiline Governor of Africa.

687.—L. Volcatius Tullus, M. Æmilius Lepidus.—Deputies from Africa accuse Catiline of extortion, through the agency of Clodius. He is obliged to desist from standing for the consulship, and forms the project of the first conspiracy. See Sall. Cat., c. 18.

688.—L. Manlius Torquatus, L. Aurelius Cotta.—*Jan.* 1: Catiline's project of the first conspiracy becomes known, and he defers the execution of it to the 5th of February, when he makes an unsuccessful attempt to execute it. *July* 17: He is acquitted of extortion, and begins to canvass for the consulship for the year 690.

689.—L. Julius Cæsar, C. Marcius Figulus Thermus.—*June* 1: Catiline convokes the chiefs of the second conspiracy. He is disappointed in his views on the consulship.

690.—M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius Hybrida.—*Oct.* 19: Cicero lays the affair of the conspiracy before the senate, who decree plenary powers to the consuls for defending the state. *Oct.* 21: Silanus and Muræna are elected consuls for the next year, Catiline, who was a candidate, being rejected. *Oct.* 22: Catiline is accused under the Plautian Law *de vi.* Sall. Cat., c. 31. *Oct.* 24: Manlius takes up arms in Etruria. *Nov.* 6: Catiline assembles the chief conspirators, by the agency of Porcius Læca. Sall. Cat., c. 27. *Nov.* 7: Vargunteius and Cornelius undertake to assassinate Cicero. Sall. Cat., c. 28. *Nov.* 8: Catiline appears in the senate; Cicero delivers his first Oration against him; he threatens to extinguish the flame raised around him in a general destruction, and quits Rome. Sall. Cat., c. 31. *Nov.* 9: Cicero delivers his second Oration against Catiline, before

A.U.C.

an assembly of the people convoked by order of the senate. *Nov.* 20, *or thereabouts:* Catiline and Manlius are declared public enemies. Soon after this the conspirators attempt to secure the support of the Allobrogian deputies. *Dec.* 3: About two o'clock in the morning the Allobroges are apprehended. Towards evening Cicero delivers his third Oration against Catiline, before the people. *Dec.* 5: Cicero's fourth Oration against Catiline, before the senate. Soon after, the conspirators are condemned to death, and great honours are decreed by the senate to Cicero.

691.—D. Junius Silanus, L. Licinius Muræna.—*Jan.* 5: Battle of Pistoria, and death of Catiline.

The narrative of Sallust terminates with the account of the battle of Pistoria. There are a few other particulars connected with the history of the conspiracy, which, for the sake of the English reader, it may not be improper to add.

When the victory was gained, Antonius caused Catiline's head to be cut off, and sent it to Rome by the messengers who carried the news. Antonius himself was honoured, by a public decree, with the title of *Imperator*, although he had done little to merit the distinction, and although the number of slain, which was three thousand, was less than that for which the title was generally given. See Dio Cass. xxxvii., 40, 41.

The remains of Catiline's army, after the death of their leader, continued to make efforts to raise another insurrection. In August, eight months after the battle, a party, under the command of Lucius Sergius, perhaps a relative or freedman of Catiline, still offered resistance to the forces of the government in Etruria. *Reliquiæ conjuratorum, cum L. Sergio, tumultuantur in Hetruriâ.* Fragm. Act. Diurn. The responsibility of watching these marauders was left to the proconsul Metellus Celer. After some petty encounters, in which the insurgents were generally worsted, Sergius, having collected his force at the foot of the Alps, attempted to penetrate into the country of the Allobroges, expecting to find them ready to take up arms; but Metellus, learning his intention, pre-occupied the passes, and then surrounded and destroyed him and his followers.

At Rome, in the mean time, great honours were paid to Cicero. A thanksgiving of thirty days was decreed in his name, an honour which had previously been granted to none but military men, and which was granted to him, to use his own words, because *he had delivered the city from fire, the citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war.* "If my thanksgiving," he also observes, "be compared with those of others, there will be found this difference, that theirs were granted them for having managed the interests of the republic successfully, but that mine was decreed to me for having preserved the republic from ruin." See Cic. Orat. iii., in Cat., c. 6. Pro Syllâ, c. 30. In Pison. c. 3. Philipp. xiv., 8. Quintus Catulus, then *princeps senatûs*, and Marcus Cato, styled him, several times, the *father of his country.*

Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.
Juv. Sat. viii., 244.

Of the inferior conspirators, who did *not* follow Sergius, and who were apprehended at Rome, or in other parts of Italy, after the death of the leaders in the plot, some were put to death, chiefly on the testimony of Lucius Vettius, one of their number, who turned informer against the rest. But many whom he accused were acquitted; others, supposed to be guilty, were allowed to escape.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE INTRODUCTION, I.—IV. The author's declaration of his design, and prefatory account of Jugurtha's family, V. Jugurtha's character, VI. His talents excite apprehensions in his uncle, Micipsa, VII. He is sent to Numantia. His merits, his favour with Scipio, and his popularity in the army, VIII. He receives commendation and advice from Scipio, and is adopted by Micipsa, who resolves that Jugurtha, Adherbal, and Hiempsal, shall, at his death, divide his kingdom equally between them, IX. He is addressed by Micipsa on his deathbed, X. His proceedings, and those of Adherbal and Hiempsal, after the death of Micipsa, XI. He murders Hiempsal, XII. He defeats Adherbal, and drives him for refuge to Rome. He dreads the vengeance of the senate, and sends ambassadors to Rome, who are confronted with those of Adherbal in the senate-house, XIII. The speech of Adherbal, XIV. The reply of Jugurtha's ambassadors, and the opinions of the senators, XV. The prevalence of Jugurtha's money, and the partition of the kingdom between him and Adherbal, XVI. A description of Africa, XVII. An account of its inhabitants, and of its principal divisions at the commencement of the Jugurthine war, XVIII., XIX. Jugurtha invades Adherbal's part of the kingdom, XX. He defeats Adherbal, and besieges him in Cirta, XXI. He frustrates the intentions of the Roman deputies, XXII. Adherbal's distresses, XXIII. His letter to the senate, XXIV. Jugurtha disappoints a second Roman deputation, XXV. He takes Cirta, and puts Adherbal to death, XXVI. The senate determine to make war upon him, and commit the management of it to Calpurnius, XXVII. He sends an ineffectual embassy to the senate. His dominions are vigorously invaded by Calpurnius, XXVIII. He bribes Calpurnius, and makes a treaty with him, XXIX. His proceedings are discussed at Rome, XXX. The speech of Memmius concerning them, XXXI. The consequences of it, XXXII. The arrival of Jugurtha at Rome, and his appearance before the people, XXXIII., XXXIV. He procures the assassination of Massiva, and is ordered to quit Italy, XXXV. Albinus, the successor of Calpurnius, renews the war. He returns to Rome, and leaves his brother Aulus to command in his absence, XXXVI. Aulus miscarries in the siege of Suthul, and concludes a dishonourable treaty with Jugurtha, XXXVII., XXXVIII. His treaty is annulled by the senate. His brother, Albinus, resumes the command, XXXIX. The people decree an inquiry into the conduct of those who had treated with Jugurtha, XL. Consideration on the popular and senatorial factions, XLI., XLII. Metellus assumes the conduct of the war, XLIII. He finds the army in Numidia with-

out discipline, XLIV. He restores subordination, XLV. He rejects Jugurtha's offers of submission, bribes his deputies, and marches into the country, XLVI. He places a garrison in Vacca, and seduces other deputies of Jugurtha, XLVII. He engages with Jugurtha, and defeats him. His lieutenant, Rutilius, puts to flight Bomilcar, the general of Jugurtha, XLVIII.—LIII. He is threatened with new opposition. He lays waste the country. His stragglers are cut off by Jugurtha, LIV. His merits are celebrated at Rome. His caution. His progress retarded, LV. He commences the siege of Zama, which is reinforced by Jugurtha. His lieutenant, Marius, repulses Jugurtha at Sicca, LVI. He is joined by Marius, and prosecutes the siege. His camp is surprised, LVII., LVIII. His struggles with Jugurtha, and his operations before the town, LIX., LX. He raises the siege, and goes into winter quarters. He attaches Bomilcar to his interest, LXI. He makes a treaty with Jugurtha, who breaks it, LXII. The ambition of Marius. His character. His desire of the consulship, LXIII. His animosity towards Metellus. His intrigues to supplant him, LXIV, LXV. The Vaccians surprise the Roman garrison, and kill all the Romans but Turpilius, the governor, LXVI., LXVII. Metellus recovers Vacca, and puts Turpilius to death, LXVIII., LXIX. The conspiracy of Bomilcar and Nabdalsa against Jugurtha, and the discovery of it. Jugurtha's disquietude, LXX.—LXXII. Metellus makes preparations for a second campaign. Marius returns to Rome, and is chosen consul, and appointed to command the army in Numidia, LXXIII. Jugurtha's irresolution. Metellus defeats him, LXXIV. The flight of Jugurtha to Thala. The march of Metellus in pursuit of him, LXXV. Jugurtha abandons Thala, and Metellus takes possession of it, LXXVI. Metellus receives a deputation from Leptis, and sends a detachment thither, LXXVII. The situation of Leptis, LXXVIII. The history of the Philæni, LXXIX. Jugurtha collects an army of Getulians, and gains the support of Bocchus, King of Mauritania. The two kings proceed towards Cirta, LXXX., LXXXI. Metellus marches against them, but hearing that Marius is appointed to succeed him, contents himself with endeavouring to alienate Bocchus from Jugurtha, and protracting the war rather than prosecuting it, LXXXII., LXXXIII. The preparations of Marius for his departure. His disposition towards the nobility. His popularity, LXXXIV. His speech to the people, LXXXV. He completes his levies, and arrives in Africa, LXXXVI. He opens the campaign, LXXXVII. The reception of Metellus in Rome. The successes and plans of Marius. The applications of Bocchus, LXXXVIII. Marius marches against Capsa, and takes it, LXXXIX.—XCI. He gains possession of a fortress which the Numidians thought impregnable, XCII.—XCIV. The arrival of Sylla in the camp. His character, XCV. His arts to obtain the favour of Marius and the soldiers, XCVI. Jugurtha and Bocchus attack Marius, and are vigorously opposed, XCVII., XCVIII. Marius surprises them in the night, and routs them with great slaughter, XCIX. Marius prepares to go into winter quarters. His vigilance, and maintenance of discipline, C. He fights a second battle with Jugurtha and Bocchus, and gains a second victory over them, CI. He arrives at Cirta. He receives a deputation from Bocchus and sends Sylla and Manlius to confer with him, CII. Marius undertakes an expedition. Bocchus prepares to send ambassadors to Rome, who, being stripped by robbers, take refuge in the Roman camp, and are entertained by Sylla during

the absence of Marius, CIII. Marius returns. The ambassadors set out for Rome. The answer which they receive from the senate, CIV. Bocchus desires a conference with Sylla; Sylla arrives at the camp of Bocchus, CV.—CVII. Negotiations between Sylla and Bocchus, CVIII., CIX. The address of Bocchus to Sylla, CX. The reply of Sylla. The subsequent transactions between them. The resolution of Bocchus to betray Jugurtha, and the execution of it, CXI.—CXIII. The triumph of Marius, CXIV.

I. Mankind unreasonably complain of their nature, that, being weak and short-lived, it is governed by chance rather than intellectual power[1]; for, on the contrary, you will find, upon reflection, that there is nothing more noble or excellent, and that to nature is wanting rather human industry than ability or time.

The ruler and director of the life of man is the mind, which, when it pursues glory in the path of true merit, is sufficiently powerful, efficient, and worthy of honour[2], and needs no assistance from fortune, who can neither bestow integrity, industry, or other good qualities, nor can take them away. But if the mind, ensnared by corrupt passions, abandons itself[3] to indolence and sensuality, when it has indulged for a season in pernicious gratifications, and when bodily strength, time, and mental vigour, have been wasted in sloth, the infirmity of nature is accused, and those who are themselves in fault impute their delinquency to circumstances[4].

[1] I. Intellectual power] *Virtute.* See the remarks on *virtus*, at the commencement of the Conspiracy of Catiline. A little below, I have rendered *via virtutis*, "the path of true merit."

[2] Worthy of honour] *Clarus.* "A person may be called *clarus* either on account of his great actions and merits; or on account of some honour which he has obtained, as the consuls were called *clarissimi viri*; or on account of great expectations which are formed from him. But since the worth of him who is *clarus* is known by all, it appears that the mind is here called *clarus* because its nature is such that pre-eminence is generally attributed to it, and the attention of all directed towards it." *Dietsch.*

[3] Abandons itself] *Pessum datus est.* Is altogether sunk and overwhelmed.

[4] Impute their delinquency to circumstances, *&c.*] *Suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt.* Men excuse their indolence and inactivity, by saying that the weakness of their faculties, or the circumstances in which they are placed, render them unable to accomplish anything of importance. But, says Seneca, *Satis natura homini dedit roboris, si illo utamur;—nolle in causâ, non posse prætenditur.* "Nature has given men sufficient powers, if they will but use them;

If man, however, had as much regard for worthy objects, as he has spirit in the pursuit of what is useless[1], unprofitable, and even perilous, he would not be governed by circumstances more than he would govern them, and would attain to a point of greatness, at which, instead of being mortal[2], he would be immortalised by glory.

II. As man is composed of mind and body, so, of all our concerns and pursuits, some partake the nature of the body, and some that of the mind. Thus beauty of person, eminent wealth, corporeal strength, and all other things of this kind, speedily pass away; but the illustrious achievements of the mind are, like the mind itself, immortal.

Of the advantages of person and fortune, as there is a beginning, there is also an end; they all rise and fall[3], increase and decay. But the mind, incorruptible and eternal, the ruler of the human race, actuates and has power over all things[4], yet is itself free from control.

The depravity of those, therefore, is the more surprising, who, devoted to corporeal gratifications, spend their lives in luxury and indolence, but suffer the mind, than which nothing is better or greater in man, to languish in neglect and inac-

but they pretend that they cannot, when the truth is that they will not." "*Negotia* is a common word with Sallust, for which other writers would use *res, facta*." Gerlach. "Cujus rei nos ipsi sumus auctores, ejus culpam rebus externis attribuimus." *Müller*. "Auctores" is the same as the Greek αἴτιοι.

[1] Useless] *Aliena*. Unsuitable, not to the purpose, not contributing to the improvement of life.

[2] Instead of being mortal] *Pro mortalibus*. There are two senses in which these words may be taken: *as far as mortals can*, and *instead of being mortals*. Kritz and Dietsch say that the latter is undoubtedly the true sense. Other commentators are either silent or say little to the purpose. As for the translators, they have studied only how to get over the passage delicately. The latter sense is perhaps favoured by what is said in c. 2, that "the illustrious achievements of the mind are, like the mind itself, immortal."

[3] II. They all rise and fall, &c.] *Omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt*. This is true of things in general, but is here spoken only of the qualities of the body, as De Brosses clearly perceived.

[4] Has power over all things] *Habet cuncta*. "All things are in its power." Dietsch. "*Sub ditione tenet*. So Jupiter, Ov. Met. i., 197:

Quum mihi qui fulmen, qui vos habeoque rogoque."
Burnouf.

So Aristippus said, *Habeo Laidem, non habeor à Laide*, ἔχω οὐκ ἔχομαι. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. ix., 26.

tivity; especially when there are so many and various mental employments by which the highest renown may be attained.

III. Of these occupations, however, civil and military offices[1], and all administration of public affairs, seem to me, at the present time, by no means to be desired; for neither is honour conferred on merit, nor are those, who have gained power by unlawful means, the more secure or respected for it. To rule our country or subjects[2] by force, though we may have the ability, and may correct what is wrong, is yet an ungrateful undertaking; especially as all changes in the state lead to[3] bloodshed, exile, and other evils of discord; while to struggle in ineffectual attempts, and to gain nothing, by wearisome exertions, but public hatred, is the extreme of

[1] III. Civil and military offices] *Magistratus et imperia.* "Illo vocabulo civilia, hoc militaria munera, significantur." *Dietsch.*

[2] To rule our country or subjects, *&c.*] *Nam vī quidem regere patriam aut parentes, &c.* Cortius, Gerlach, Kritz, Dietsch, and Müller, are unanimous in understanding *parentes* as the participle of the verb *pareo.* That this is the sense, says Gerlach, is sufficiently proved by the conjunction *aut;* for if Sallust had meant *parents,* he would have used *ut;* and in this opinion Allen coincides. Doubtless, also, this sense of the word suits extremely well with the rest of the sentence, in which changes in government are mentioned. But Burnouf, with Crispinus, prefers to follow Aldus Manutius, who took the word in the other signification, supposing that Sallust borrowed the sentiment from Plato, who says in his Epistle *ad Dionis Propinquos:* Πατέρα δὲ ἢ μητέρα οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγοῦμαι προσβιάζεσθαι, μὴ νόσῳ παραφροσύνης ἐχομένους. Βίαν δὲ πατρίδι πολιτείας μεταβολῆς μὴ προσφέρειν, ὅταν ἄνευ φυγῶν, καὶ σφαγῆς ἀνδρῶν, μὴ δυνατὸν ᾖ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀριστὴν. And he makes a similar observation in his Crito: Πανταχοῦ ποιητέον, ὃ ἂν κελεύοι ἡ πόλις τε, καὶ ἡ πατρὶς.——Βιάζεσθαι δὲ οὐχ ὅσιον ὅντε μητέρα, ὅντε πατέρα· πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἧττον τὴν πατρίδα. On which sentiments Cicero, ad Fam. i., 9, thus comments: *Id enim jubet idem ille Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor; tantum contendere in republica quantum probare tuis civibus possis: vim neque parenti, neque patriæ afferre oportere.* There is also another passage in Cicero, Cat. i., 3, which seems to favour this sense of the word: *Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ullâ ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquò concederes; nunc te patria, quæ communis est omnium nostrum parens odit ac metuit, &c.* Of the first passage cited from Plato, indeed, Sallust's words may seem to be almost a translation. Yet, as the majority of commentators have followed Cortius, I have also followed him. Sallust has the word in this sense in Jug., c. 102: *Parentes abunde habemus.* So Vell. Pat. ii., 108: *Principatus constans ex voluntate parentium.*

[3] Lead to] *Portendant.* "*Portendere* in *a pregnant sense,* meaning not merely to indicate, but *quasi secum ferre,* to carry along with them." *Kritzius.*

madness; unless when a base and pernicious spirit, perchance, may prompt a man to sacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a party.

IV. Among other employments which are pursued by the intellect, the recording of past events is of pre-eminent utility; but of its merits I may, I think, be silent, since many have spoken of them, and since, if I were to praise my own occupation, I might be considered as presumptuously[1] praising myself. I believe, too, that there will be some, who, because I have resolved to live unconnected with political affairs, will apply to my arduous and useful labours the name of idleness; especially those who think it an important pursuit to court the people, and gain popularity by entertainments. But if such persons will consider at what periods I obtained office, what sort of men[2] were then unable to obtain it, and what description of persons have subsequently entered the senate[3], they will think, assuredly, that I have altered my sentiments rather from prudence than from indolence, and that more good will arise to the state from my retirement, than from the busy efforts of others.

I have often heard that Quintus Maximus[4], Publius Scipio[5], and many other illustrious men of our country, were accustomed to observe, that, when they looked on the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds irresistibly excited to

[1] IV. Presumptuously] *Per insolentiam.* The same as *insolenter*, though some refer it, not to Sallust, but to *quis existumet*, in the sense of *strangely*, i. e. *foolishly* or *ignorantly*. I follow Cortius's interpretation.

[2] At what periods I obtained office, what sort of men, *&c.*] *Quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri, &c.* "Sallust obtained the quæstorship a few years after the conspiracy of Catiline, about the time when the state was agitated by the disorders of Clodius and his party. He was tribune of the people, A.U.C. 701, the year in which Clodius was killed by Milo. He was prætor in 708, when Cæsar had made himself ruler. In the expression *quales viri, &c.*, he alludes chiefly to Cato, who, when he stood for the prætorship, was unsuccessful." *Burnouf.* Kritzius defends *adeptus sum.*

[3] What description of persons have subsequently entered the senate] "Cæsar chose the worthy and unworthy, as suited his own purposes, to be members of the senate." *Burnouf.*

[4] Quintus Maximus] Quintus Fabius Maximus, of whom Ennius says,

Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

[5] Publius Scipio] Scipio Africanus the Elder, the conqueror of Hannibal. See c. 5.

the pursuit of honour[1]. Not, certainly, that the wax[2], or the shape, had any such influence; but, as they called to mind their forefathers' achievements, such a flame was kindled in the breasts of those eminent persons, as could not be extinguished till their own merit had equalled the fame and glory of their ancestors.

But, in the present state of manners, who is there, on the contrary, that does not rather emulate his forefathers in riches and extravagance, than in virtue and labour? Even men of humble birth[3], who formerly used to surpass the nobility in merit, pursue power and honour rather by intrigue and dishonesty, than by honourable qualifications; as if the prætorship, consulate, and all other offices of the kind, were noble and dignified in themselves, and not to be estimated according to the worth of those who fill them.

But, in expressing my concern and regret at the manners of the state, I have proceeded with too great freedom, and at too great length. I now return to my subject.

V. I am about to relate the war which the Roman people carried on with Jugurtha, King of the Numidians; first, because it was great, sanguinary, and of varied fortune; and secondly, because then, for the first time, opposition was offered to the power of the nobility; a contest which threw everything, religious and civil, into confusion[4], and was carried to such a height of madness, that nothing but war, and the devastation of Italy, could put an end to civil dissensions[5]. But before I fairly commence my narrative, I will take a review of a few preceding particulars, in order that

[1] To the pursuit of honour] *Ad virtutem.* *Virtus* in the same sense as in *virtutis viâ*, c. 1.

[2] The wax] *Ceram illam.* The images or busts of their ancestors, which the nobility kept in the halls of their houses, were made of wax. See Plin. H. N. xxxv., 2.

[3] Men of humble birth] *Homines novi.* See Cat., c. 23.

[4] V. Threw everything, religious and civil, into confusion] *Divina et humana cuncta permiscuit.* "All things, both divine and human, were so changed, that their previous condition was entirely subverted." *Dietsch.*

[5] Civil dissensions] *Studiis civilibus.* This is the sense in which most commentators take *studia;* and if this be right, the whole phrase must be understood as I have rendered it. So Cortius: "Ut non prius finirentur [*studia civilia*] nisi bello et vastitate Italiæ." Sallust has *studia partium*, Jug. c. 42; and Gerlach quotes from Cic. pro Marcell. c. 10: "*Non enim consiliis solis et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris dissidebamus.*"

the whole subject may be more clearly and distinctly understood.

In the second Punic war, in which Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginians, had weakened the power of Italy more than any other enemy[1] since the Roman name became great[2], Masinissa, King of the Numidians, being received into alliance by Publius Scipio, who, from his merits was afterwards surnamed Africanus, had performed for us many eminent exploits in the field. In return for which services, after the Carthaginians were subdued, and after Syphax[3], whose power in Italy was great and extensive, was taken prisoner, the Roman people presented to Masinissa, as a free gift, all the cities and lands that they had captured. Masinissa's friendship for us, accordingly, remained faithful and inviolate; his reign[4] and his life ended together. His son, Micipsa, alone succeeded to his kingdom; Mastanabal and Gulussa, his two brothers, having been carried off by disease. Micipsa had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and had brought up in his house, with the same care as his own children, a son of his brother Mastanabal, named Jugurtha, whom Masinissa, as being the son of a concubine, had left in a private station.

VI. Jugurtha, as he grew up, being strong in frame, graceful in person, but, above all, vigorous in understanding, did not allow himself to be enervated by pleasure and indolence, but, as is the usage of his country, exercised himself

[1] More than any other enemy] *Maximè.*

[2] Since the Roman name became great] *Post magnitudinem nominis Romani.* "I know not why interpreters should find any difficulty in this passage. I understand it to signify simply *since* the Romans became so great as they were in the time of Hannibal; for, *before* that period, they had suffered even heavier calamities, especially from the Gauls." *Cortius.*

[3] Syphax] "He was King of the Masæsyli in Numidia; was at first an enemy to the Carthaginians (Liv. xxiv., 48), and afterwards their friend (Liv. xxviii., 17). He then changed sides again, and made a treaty with Scipio; but having at length been offered the hand of Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, in marriage, he accepted it, and returned into alliance with the Carthaginians. Being subsequently taken prisoner by Masinissa and Lælius, the lieutenant of Scipio, (Liv. xxx., 2) he was carried into Italy, and died at Tibur (Liv. xxx., 45)." *Burnouf.*

[4] His reign] *Imperii.* Cortius thinks that the grant of the Romans ceased with the life of Masinissa, and that his son Micipsa reigned only over that part of Numidia which originally belonged to his father. But in this opinion succeeding commentators have generally supposed him to be mistaken.

in riding, throwing the javelin, and contending in the race with his equals in age; and, though he excelled them all in reputation, he was yet beloved by all. He also passed much of his time in hunting; he was first, or among the first, to wound the lion and other beasts; he performed very much, but spoke very little of himself.

Micipsa, though he was at first gratified with these circumstances, considering that the merit of Jugurtha would be an honour to his kingdom, yet, when he reflected that the youth was daily increasing in popularity, whilst he himself was advanced in age, and his children but young, he was extremely disturbed at the state of things, and revolved it frequently in his mind. The very nature of man, ambitious of power, and eager to gratify its desires, gave him reason for apprehension, as well as the opportunity afforded by his own age and that of his children, which was sufficient, from the prospect of such a prize, to lead astray even men of moderate desires. The affection of the Numidians, *too*, which was strong towards Jugurtha, was another cause for alarm; among whom, if he should cut off such a man, he feared that some insurrection or war might arise.

VII. Surrounded by such difficulties, and seeing that a man, so popular among his countrymen, was not to be destroyed either by force or by fraud, he resolved, as Jugurtha was of an active disposition, and eager for military reputation, to expose him to dangers in the field, and thus make trial of fortune. During the Numantine war[1], therefore, when he was sending supplies of horse and foot to the Romans, he gave him the command of the Numidians, whom he despatched into Spain, hoping that he would certainly perish, either by an ostentatious display of his bravery, or by the merciless hand of the enemy. But this project had a very different result from that which he had expected. For when Jugurtha, who was of an active and penetrating intellect, had learned the disposition of Publius Scipio, the Roman general, and the character of the enemy, he quickly rose, by great exer-

[1] VII. During the Numantine war] *Bello Numantino.* Numantia, which stood near the source of the Durius or *Douro* in Spain, was so strong in its situation and fortifications, that it withstood the Romans for fourteen years. See Florus, ii., 17, 18; Vell. Pat. ii., 4.

tion and vigilance, by modestly submitting to orders, and frequently exposing himself to dangers, to such a degree of reputation, that he was greatly beloved by our men, and extremely dreaded by the Numantines. He was indeed, what is peculiarly difficult, both brave in action, and wise in council; qualities, of which the one, from forethought, generally produces fear, and the other, from confidence, rashness. The general, accordingly, managed almost every difficult matter by the aid of Jugurtha, numbered him among his friends, and grew daily more and more attached to him, as a man whose advice and whose efforts were never useless. With such merits were joined generosity of disposition, and readiness of wit, by which he united to himself many of the Romans in intimate friendship.

VIII. There were at that time, in our army, a number of officers, some of low, and some of high birth, to whom wealth was more attractive than virtue or honour; men who were attached to certain parties, and of consequence in their own country; but, among the allies, rather distinguished than respected. These persons inflamed the mind of Jugurtha, of itself sufficiently aspiring, by assuring him, "that if Micipsa should die, he might have the kingdom of Numidia to himself; for that he was possessed of eminent merit, and that anything might be purchased at Rome."

When Numantia, however, was destroyed, and Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliary troops, and to return to Rome, he led Jugurtha, after having honoured him, in a public assembly, with the noblest presents and applauses, into his own tent; where he privately admonished him "to court the friendship of the Romans rather by attention to them as a body, than by practising on individuals[1]; to bribe no one, as what belonged to many could not without danger be bought from a few; and adding that, if he would but trust to his own merits, glory and regal power would spontaneously fall to his lot; but, should he proceed too rashly, he would only, by the influence of his money, hasten his own ruin."

[1] VIII. Rather by attention to them as a body, than by practising on individuals] *Publicè quàm privatim.* "Universæ potius civitatis, quàm privatorum gratiam quærendo." *Burnouf.* The words can only be rendered periphrastically.

IX. Having thus spoken, he took leave of him, giving him a letter, which he was to present to Micipsa, and of which the following was the purport: "The merit of your nephew Jugurtha, in the war against Numantia, has been eminently distinguished; a fact which I am sure will afford you pleasure. He is dear to us for his services, and we shall strive, with our utmost efforts, to make him equally dear to the senate and people of Rome. As a friend, I sincerely congratulate you; you have a kinsman worthy of yourself, and of his grandfather Masinissa."

Micipsa, when he found, from the letter of the general, that what he had already heard reported was true, being moved, both by the merit of the youth and by the interest felt for him by Scipio, altered his purpose, and endeavoured to win Jugurtha by kindnesses. He accordingly, in a short time[1], adopted him as his son, and made him, by his will, joint-heir with his own children.

A few years afterwards, when, being debilitated by age and disease, he perceived that the end of his life was at hand, he is said, in the presence of his friends and relations, and of Adherbal and Hiempsal his sons, to have spoken with Jugurtha in the following manner:

X. "I received you, Jugurtha, at a very early age, into my kingdom[2], at a time when you had lost your father, and were without prospects or resources, expecting that, in return for my kindness, I should not be less loved by you than by my own children, if I should have any. Nor have my anticipations deceived me; for, to say nothing of your other great and noble deeds, you have lately, on your return from Numantia, brought honour and glory both to me and my king-

[1] IX. In a short time] *Statim.* If what is said in c. 11 be correct, that Jugurtha was adopted within three years of Micipsa's death, his adoption did not take place till twelve years after the taking of Numantia, which surrendered in 619, and Micipsa died in 634. *Statim* is therefore used with great latitude, unless we suppose Sallust to mean that Micipsa signified to Jugurtha his intention to adopt him immediately on his return from Numantia, and that the formal ceremony of the adoption was delayed for some years.

[2] X. I received you—into my kingdom] *In meum regnum accepi.* By these words it is only signified that Micipsa received Jugurtha into his palace so as to bring him up with his own children. The critics who suppose that there is any allusion to the adoption, or a pretended intention of it on the part of Micipsa, are evidently in the wrong.

dom; by your bravery, you have rendered the Romans, from being previously our friends, more friendly to us than ever; the name of our family is revived in Spain; and, finally, what is most difficult among mankind, you have suppressed envy by pre-eminent merit[1].

"And now, since nature is putting a period to my life, I exhort and conjure you, by this right hand, and by the fidelity which you owe to my kingdom[2], to regard these princes, who are your cousins by birth, and your brothers by my generosity, with sincere affection; and not to be more anxious to attach to yourself strangers, than to retain the love of those connected with you by blood. It is not armies, or treasures[3], that form the defences of a kingdom, but friends, whom you can neither command by force nor purchase with gold; for they are acquired only by good offices and integrity. And who can be a greater friend than one brother to another[4]? Or what stranger will you find faithful, if you are at enmity with your own family? I leave you a kingdom, which will be strong if you act honourably, but weak, if you are ill-affected to each other; for by concord even small states are increased, but by discord, even the greatest fall to nothing.

"But on you, Jugurtha, who are superior in age and wisdom, it is incumbent, more than on your brothers, to be cautious that nothing of a contrary tendency may arise; for, in all disputes, he that is the stronger, even though he receive the injury, appears, because his power is greater, to have inflicted it. And do you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, respect and regard a kinsman of such a character; imitate

[1] Pre-eminent merit] *Gloriâ.* Our English word *glory* is too strong.

[2] By the fidelity which you owe to my kingdom] *Per regni fidem.* This seems to be the best of all the explanations that have been offered of these words. "Per fidem quam tu, rex (futurus) mihi regi præstare debes." *Burnouf.* "Per fidem quæ decet in regno, i. e. regem." *Dietsch.* "Per eam fidem, quâ esse decet eum qui regnum obtinet." *Kritzius.*

[3] It is not armies, or treasures, *&c.*] Οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. "It is not this golden sceptre that can preserve a kingdom; but numerous friends are to princes their trust and safest sceptre." Xen. Cyrop. viii., 7, 14.

[4] And who can be a greater friend than one brother to another?] *Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri?* "Νόμιζ' ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς φίλους. Menander." *Wasse.*

his virtues, and make it your endeavour to show that I have not adopted a better son[1] than those whom I have begotten."

XI. To this address, Jugurtha, though he knew that the king had spoken insincerely[2], and though he was himself revolving thoughts of a far different nature, yet replied with good feeling, suitable to the occasion. A few days afterwards Micipsa died.

When the princes had performed his funeral with due magnificence, they met together to hold a discussion on the general condition of their affairs. Hiempsal, the youngest, who was naturally violent, and who had previously shown contempt for the mean birth of Jugurtha, as being inferior on his mother's side, sat down on the right hand of Adherbal, in order to prevent Jugurtha from being the middle one of the three, which is regarded by the Numidians as the seat of honour[3]. Being urged by his brother, however, to yield to superior age, he at length removed, but with reluctance, to the other seat[4].

[1] That I have not adopted a better son, *&c.*] *Ne ego meliores liberos sumsisse videar quàm genuisse.* As there is no allusion to Micipsa's adoption of any other son than Jugurtha, Sallust's expression *liberos sumsisse* can hardly be defended. It is necessary to give *son*, in the singular, in the translation.

[2] XI. Had spoken insincerely] *Ficta locutum.* Jugurtha saw that Micipsa pretended more love for him than he really felt. Compare c. 6, 7.

[3] Which is regarded by the Numidians as the seat of honour] *Quod apud Numidas honori ducitur.* "I incline," says Sir Henry Steuart, "to consider those manuscripts as the most correct, in which the word *et* is placed immediately before *apud*, *Quod et apud Numidas honori ducitur.*" Sir Henry might have learned, had he consulted the commentators, that "*the word* et *is placed immediately before* apud" in no manuscript; that Lipsius was the first who proposed its insertion; and that Crispinus, the only editor who has received it into his text, is ridiculed by Wasse for his folly. "Lipsius," says Cortius, "cùm sciret apud Romanos etiam medium locum honoratiorem fuisse, corrigit: *quod et apud Numidas honori ducitur.* Sed quis talia ab historico exegerit? Si de Numidis narrat, non facilè aliquis intulerit, aliter propterea fuisse apud Romanos."

[4] To the other seat] *In alteram partem.* We must suppose that the three seats were placed ready for the three princes; that Adherbal sat down first, in one of the outside seats; the one, namely, that would be on the right hand of a spectator facing them; and that Hiempsal immediately took the middle seat, on Adherbal's right hand, so as to force Jugurtha to take the other outside one. Adherbal had then to remove Hiempsal *in alteram partem*, that is, to induce him to take the seat corresponding to his own, on the other side of the middle one.

In the course of this conference, after a long debate about the administration of the kingdom, Jugurtha suggested, among other measures, "that all the acts and decrees made in the last five years should be annulled, as Micipsa, during that period, had been enfeebled by age, and scarcely sound in intellect." Hiempsal replied, "that he was exceedingly pleased with the proposal, since Jugurtha himself, within the last three years, had been adopted as joint-heir to the throne." This repartee sunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha than any one imagined. From that very time, accordingly, being agitated with resentment and jealousy, he began to meditate and concert schemes, and to think of nothing but projects for secretly cutting off Hiempsal. But his plans proving slow in operation, and his angry feelings remaining unabated, he resolved to execute his purpose by any means whatsoever.

XII. At the first meeting of the princes, of which I have just spoken, it had been resolved, in consequence of their disagreement, that the treasures should be divided among them, and that limits should be set to the jurisdiction of each. Days were accordingly appointed for both these purposes, but the earlier of the two for the division of the money. The princes, in the mean time, retired into separate places of abode in the neighbourhood of the treasury. Hiempsal, residing in the town of Thirmida, happened to occupy the house of a man, who, being Jugurtha's chief lictor[1], had always been liked and favoured by his master. This man, thus opportunely presented as an instrument, Jugurtha loaded with promises, and induced him to go to his house, as if for the purpose of looking over it, and provide himself with false keys to the gates; for the true ones used to be given to Hiempsal; adding, that he himself, when circumstances should call for his presence, would be at the place with a large body of men. This commission the Numidian speedily executed, and, according to his instructions, admitted Jugurtha's men in the *night*, who,

[1] XII. Chief lictor] *Proxumus lictor.* "The *proximus lictor* was he who, when the lictors walked before the prince or magistrate in a regular line, one behind the other, was last, or next to the person on whom they attended." *Cortius.* He would thus be ready to receive the great man's commands, and be in immediate communication with him. We must suppose either that Sallust merely speaks in conformity with the practice of the Romans, or, what is more probable, that the Roman custom of being preceded by lictors had been adopted in Numidia.

as soon as they had entered the house, went different ways in quest of the prince; some of his attendants they killed while asleep, and others as they met them; they searched into secret places, broke open those that were shut, and filled the whole premises with uproar and tumult. Hiempsal, after a time, was found concealed in the hut of a maid-servant[1], where, in his alarm and ignorance of the locality, he had at first taken refuge. The Numidians, as they had been ordered, brought his head to Jugurtha.

XIII. The report of so atrocious an outrage was soon spread throughout Africa. Fear seized on Adherbal, and on all who had been subject to Micipsa. The Numidians divided into two parties, the greater number following Adherbal, but the more warlike, Jugurtha; who, accordingly, armed as large a force as he could, brought several cities, partly by force and partly by their own consent, under his power, and prepared to make himself sovereign of the whole of Numidia. Adherbal, though he had sent ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate of his brother's murder and his own circumstances, yet, relying on the number of his troops, prepared for an armed resistance. When the matter, however, came to a contest, he was defeated, and fled from the field of battle into our province[2], and from thence hastened to Rome.

Jugurtha, having thus accomplished his purposes[3], and reflecting, at leisure, on the crime which he had committed, began to feel a dread of the Roman people, against whose resentment he had no hopes of security but in the avarice of the nobility, and in his own wealth. A few days afterwards, therefore, he despatched ambassadors to Rome, with a profu-

[1] Hut of a maid-servant] *Tugurio mulieris ancillæ.* Rose renders *tugurio* "a mean apartment," and other translators have given something similar, as if they thought that the servant must have had a room in the house. But she, and other Numidian servants, may have had huts apart from the dwelling-house. *Tugurium* undoubtedly signifies *a hut* in general.

[2] XIII. Into our province] *In Provinciam.* "The word *province*, in this place, signifies that part of Africa which, after the destruction of Carthage, fell to the Romans by the right of conquest, in opposition to the kingdom of Micipsa." *Wasse.*

[3] Having thus accomplished his purposes] *Patratis consiliis.* After *consiliis*, in all the manuscripts, occur the words *postquam omnis Numidiæ potiebatur*, which were struck out by Cortius, as being *turpissima glossa.* The recent editors, Gerlach, Kritz, Dietsch, and Burnouf, have restored them.

sion of gold and silver, whom he directed, in the first place, to make abundance of presents to his old friends, and then to procure him new ones; and not to hesitate, in short, to effect whatever could be done by bribery.

When these deputies had arrived at Rome, and had sent large presents, according to the prince's direction, to his intimate friends[1], and to others whose influence was at that time powerful, so remarkable a change ensued, that Jugurtha, from being an object of the greatest odium, grew into great regard and favour with the nobility; who, partly allured with hope, and partly with actual largesses, endeavoured, by soliciting the members of the senate individually, to prevent any severe measures from being adopted against him. When the ambassadors, accordingly, felt sure of success, the senate, on a fixed day, gave audience to both parties[2]. On that occasion, Adherbal, as I have understood, spoke to the following effect:

XIV. "My father Micipsa, Conscript Fathers, enjoined me, on his death-bed, to look upon the kingdom of Numidia as mine only by deputation[3]; to consider the right and authority as belonging to you; to endeavour, at home and in the field, to be as serviceable to the Roman people as possible; and to regard you as my kindred and relatives[4]: saying that, if I observed these injunctions, I should find, in your friendship, armies, riches, and all necessary defences of my realm. By these precepts I was proceeding to regulate my conduct, when Jugurtha, the most abandoned of all men whom the earth contains, setting at nought your authority, expelled me, the grandson of Masinissa, and the hereditary[5] ally and friend of the Roman people, from my kingdom and all my possessions.

"Since I was thus to be reduced to such an extremity of

[1] His intimate friends] *Hospitibus.* Persons probably with whom he had been intimate at Numantia, or who had since visited him in Numidia.

[2] The senate—gave audience to both parties] *Senatus utrisque datur.* "The ambassadors of Jugurtha, and Adherbal in person, are admitted into the senate-house to plead their cause." *Burnouf.*

[3] XIV. By deputation] *Procuratione.* He was to consider himself only the *procurator*, manager, or deputed governor, of the kingdom.

[4] Kindred—and relatives] *Cognatorum—affinium. Cognatus* is a blood relation; *affinis* is properly a relative by marriage.

[5] Hereditary] *Ab stirpe.*

wretchedness, I could wish that I were able to implore your aid, Conscript Fathers, rather for the sake of my own services than those of my ancestors; I could wish, indeed, above all, that acts of kindness were due to me from the Romans, of which I should not stand in need; and, next to this[1], that, if I required your services, I might receive them as my due. But as integrity is no defence in itself, and as I had no power to form the character of Jugurtha[2], I have fled to you, Conscript Fathers, to whom, what is the most grievous of all things, I am compelled to become a burden before I have been an assistance.

"Other princes have been received into your friendship after having been conquered in war, or have solicited an alliance with you in circumstances of distress; but our family commenced its league with the Romans in the war with Carthage, at a time when their faith was a greater object of attraction than their fortune. Suffer not, then, O Conscript Fathers, a descendant of that family to implore aid from you in vain. If I had no other plea for obtaining your assistance but my wretched fortune; nothing to urge, but that, having been recently a king, powerful by birth, by character, and by resources, I am now dishonoured, afflicted[3], destitute, and dependent on the aid of others, it would yet become the dignity of Rome to protect me from injury, and to allow no man's dominions to be increased by crime. But I am driven from those very territories which the Roman people gave to my ancestors, and from which my father and grandfather, in conjunction with yourselves, expelled Syphax and the Carthaginians. It is what you bestowed that has been wrested from me; in my wrongs you are insulted.

"Unhappy man that I am! Has your kindness, O my father Micipsa, come to this, that he whom you made equal with your children, and a sharer of your kingdom, should be-

[1] Next to this] *Secundum ea.* "Priscianus, lib. xiii., de præpositione agens, *Secundum*, inquit, *quando pro* κατὰ *et* μετὰ *accipitur, loco præpositionis est.* Sallustius in Jugurthino: *secundum ea, uti debitis uterer.* ——Videlicet hoc dicit, *Secundum* in Sallustii exemplo, *post* vel *proximè* significare." *Rivius.*

[2] As I had no power to form the character of Jugurtha] *Neque mihi in manu fuit, qualis Jugurtha foret.* "*In manu fuit* is simply *in potestate fuit.*—— Ter. Hec. iv., 4, 44: *Uxor quid faciat in manu non est meâ.*" *Cortius.*

[3] Dishonoured, afflicted] *Deformatus ærumnis.*

come, above all others[1], the destroyer of your race? Shall our family, then, never be at peace? Shall we always be harassed with war, bloodshed, and exile? Whilst the Carthaginians continued in power, we were necessarily exposed to all manner of troubles; for the enemy were on our frontiers; you, our friends, were at a distance; and all our dependence was on our arms. But after that pest was extirpated, we were happy in the enjoyment of tranquillity, as having no enemies but such as you should happen to appoint us. But lo! on a sudden, Jugurtha, stalking forth with intolerable audacity, wickedness, and arrogance, and having put to death my brother, his own cousin, made his territory, in the first place, the prize of his guilt; and next, being unable to ensnare me with similar stratagems, he rendered me, when under your rule I expected anything rather than violence or war, an exile, as you see, from my country and my home, the prey of poverty and misery, and safer anywhere than in my own kingdom.

"I was always of opinion, Conscript Fathers, as I had often heard my father observe, that those who cultivated your friendship might indeed have an arduous service to perform, but would be of all people the most secure. What our family could do for you, it has done; it has supported you in all your wars; and it is for you to provide for our safety in time of peace. Our father left two of us, brothers; a third, Jugurtha, he thought would be attached to us by the benefits conferred upon him; but one of us has been murdered, and I, the other, have scarcely escaped the hand of lawlessness[2]. What course can I now take? Unhappy that I am, to what place, rather than another, shall I betake myself? All the props of our family are extinct; my father, of necessity, has paid the debt of nature; a kinsman, whom least of all men it became, has wickedly taken the life of my brother; and as for

[1] Above all others] *Potissimum.*

[2] One of us has been murdered, and I, the other, have scarcely escaped the hand of lawlessness] *Alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi.* This is the general reading, but it cannot be right. Adherbal speaks of himself and his brother as two persons, and of Jugurtha as a third, and says that *of those two* the one (*alter*) has been killed; he would then naturally proceed to speak of himself as the other; *i. e.* he would use the word *alter* concerning himself, not apply it to Jugurtha. Allen therefore proposes to read *alter necatus, alter manus impias vix effugi.* This mode of correction strikes out too much; but there is no doubt that the second *alter* should be in the nominative case.

my other relatives, and friends, and connexions, various forms of destruction have overtaken them. Seized by Jugurtha, some have been crucified, and some thrown to wild beasts, while a few, whose lives have been spared, are shut up in the darkness of the dungeon, and drag on, amid suffering and sorrow, an existence more grievous than death itself.

"If all that I have lost, or all that, from being friendly, has become hostile to me[1], remained unchanged, yet, in case of any sudden calamity, it is of you that I should still have to implore assistance, to whom, from the greatness of your empire, justice and injustice in general should be objects of regard. And at the present time, when I am exiled from my country and my home, when I am left alone, and destitute of all that is suitable to my dignity, to whom can I go, or to whom shall I appeal, but to you? Shall I go to nations and kings, who, from our friendship with Rome, are all hostile to my family? Could I go, indeed, to any place where there are not abundance of hostile monuments of my ancestors? Will any one, who has ever been at enmity with you, take pity upon me?

"Masinissa, moreover, instructed us, Conscript Fathers, to cultivate no friendship but that of Rome, to adopt no new leagues or alliances, as we should find, in your good-will, abundance of efficient support; while, if the fortune of your empire should change, we must sink together with it. But, by your own merits, and the favour of the gods, you are great and powerful; the whole world regards you with favour and yields to your power; and you are the better able, in consequence, to attend to the grievances of your allies. My only fear is, that private friendship for Jugurtha, too little understood, may lead any of you astray; for his partisans, I hear, are doing their utmost in his behalf, soliciting and importuning you individually, to pass no decision against one who is absent, and whose cause is yet untried; and saying that I state what is false, and only pretend to be an exile, when I might, if I pleased, have remained still in my kingdom. But would that I could see him[2], by whose unnatural crime I

[1] From being friendly, has become hostile to me] *Ex necessariis adversa facta sunt.* "Si omnia mihi incolumia manerent, neque quidquam rerum mearum (s. præsidiorum) amisissem, neque Jugurtha aliique mihi ex necessariis inimici facti essent." *Kritzius.*

[2] But would that I could see him, *&c.*] *Quod utinam illum—videam.* The *quod*,

am thus reduced to misery, pretending as I now pretend; and would that, either with you or with the immortal gods, there may at length arise some regard for human interests; for then assuredly will he, who is now audacious and triumphant in guilt, be tortured by every kind of suffering, and pay a heavy penalty for his ingratitude to my father, for the murder of my brother, and for the distress which he has brought upon myself.

"And now, O my brother, dearest object of my affection, though thy life has been prematurely taken from thee, and by a hand that should have been the last to touch it, yet I think thy fate a subject for rejoicing rather than lamentation, for, in losing life, thou hast not been cut off from a throne, but from flight, expatriation, poverty, and all those afflictions which now press upon me. But I, unfortunate that I am, cast from the throne of my father into the depths of calamity, afford an example of human vicissitudes, undecided what course to adopt, whether to avenge thy wrongs, whilst I myself stand in need of assistance, or to attempt the recovery of my kingdom, whilst my life or death depends on the aid of others[1].

"Would that death could be thought an honourable termination to my misfortunes, that I might not seem to live an object of contempt, if, sinking under my afflictions, I tamely submit to injustice. But now I can neither live with pleasure, nor can die without disgrace[2]. I implore you, therefore, Conscript Fathers, by your regard for yourselves[3], for

in *quod utinam*, is the same as that in *quod si*, which we commonly translate *but if*. *Quod*, in such expressions, serves as a particle of connexion between what precedes and what follows it; the Latins being fond of connexion by means of relatives. See Zumpt's Lat. Grammar on this point, Sect. 63, 82, Kenrick's translation. Kritzius writes *quodutinam*, *quodsi*, *quodnisi*, *&c.*, as one word. Cortius injudiciously interprets *quod* in this passage as having *facientem* understood with it.

[1] My life or death depends on the aid of others] *Cujus vitæ necisque ex opibus alienis pendet.* On the aid of the Romans. Unless they protected him, he expected to meet with the same fate as Hiempsal at the hands of Jugurtha.

[2] Without disgrace] *Sine dedecore.* That is, if he did not succeed in getting revenge on Jugurtha.

[3] By your regard for yourselves, *&c.*] I have here departed from the text of Cortius, who reads *per, vos, liberos atque parentes*, i. e. *vos (obsecro) per liberos, &c.*, as most critics would explain it, though Cortius himself prefers taking *vos* as the nominative case, and joining it with *subvenite*, which follows. Most other

your children, and for your parents, and by the majesty of the Roman people, to grant me succour in my distress, to arrest the progress of injustice, and not to suffer the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own property, to sink into ruin[1] through villany and the slaughter of our family."

XV. When the prince had concluded his speech, the ambassadors of Jugurtha, depending more on their money than their cause, replied, in a few words, "that Hiempsal had been put to death by the Numidians for his cruelty; that Adherbal, commencing war of his own accord, complained, after he was defeated, of being unable to do injury; and that Jugurtha intreated the senate not to consider him a different person from what he had been known to be at Numantia, nor to set the assertions of his enemy above his own conduct."

Both parties then withdrew from the senate-house, and the senate immediately proceeded to deliberate. The partisans of the ambassadors, with a great many others, corrupted by their influence, expressed contempt for the statements of Adherbal, extolled with the highest encomiums the merits of Jugurtha, and exerted themselves as strenuously, with their interest and eloquence, in defence of the guilt and infamy of another, as they would have striven for their own honour. A few, however, on the other hand, to whom right and justice were of more estimation than wealth, gave their opinion that Adherbal should be assisted, and the murder of Hiempsal severely avenged. Of all these the most for-

editions have *per vos, per liberos, atque parentes vestros*, to which I have adhered. *Per vos*, though an adjuration not used in modern times, is found in other passages of the Roman writers. Thus Liv. xxix., 18: *Per vos, fidemque vestram.* Cic. pro Planc., c. 42: *Per vos, per fortunas vestras.*

[1] To sink into ruin] *Tabescere.* "Paullatim interire." *Cortius.* Lucret. ii., 1172: *Omnia paullatim tabescere et ire Ad capulum.*

"This speech," says Gerlach, "though of less weighty argument than the other speeches of Sallust, is composed with great art. Neither the speaker nor his cause was adapted for the highest flights of eloquence; but Sallust has shrouded Adherbal's weakness in excellent language. That there is a constant recurrence to the same topics, is no ground for blame; indeed, such recurrence could hardly be avoided, for it is natural to all speeches in which the orator earnestly labours to make his hearers adopt his own feelings and views. The Romans were again and again to be supplicated, and again and again to be reminded of the character and services of Masinissa, that they might be induced, if not by the love of justice, yet by the dread of censure, to relieve the distresses of his grandson. . . . He

ward was Æmilius Scaurus[1], a man of noble birth and great energy, but factious, and ambitious of power, honour, and wealth; yet an artful concealer of his own vices. He, seeing that the bribery of Jugurtha was notorious and shameless, and fearing that, as in such cases often happens, its scandalous profusion might excite public odium, restrained himself from the indulgence of his ruling passion[2].

XVI. Yet that party gained the superiority in the senate, which preferred money and interest to justice. A decree was made, "that ten commissioners should divide the kingdom, which Micipsa had possessed, between Jugurtha and Adherbal." Of this commission the leading person was Lucius Opimius[3], a man of distinction, and of great influence

omits no argument or representation that could move the pity of the Romans; and if his abject prostration of mind appears more suitable to a woman than a man, it is to be remembered that it is purposely introduced by Sallust to exhibit the weakness of his character."

[1] XV. Æmilius Scaurus] He was *princeps senatûs* (see c. 25), and seems to be pretty faithfully characterised by Sallust as a man of eminent abilities, but too avaricious to be strictly honest. Cicero, who alludes to him in many passages with commendation (Off. i., 22, 30; Brut. 29; Pro Muræn. 7; Pro Fonteio, 7), mentions an anecdote respecting him (De Orat. ii., 70), which shows that he had a general character for covetousness. See Pliny, H. N. xxxvi., 15. Valerius Maximus (iii., 7, 8) tells another anecdote of him, which shows that he must have been held in much esteem, for whatever qualities, by the public. Being accused before the people of having taken a bribe from Mithridates, he made a few remarks on his own general conduct; and added, "Varius of Sucro says that Marcus Scaurus, being bribed with the king's money, has betrayed the interests of the Roman people. Marcus Scaurus denies that he is guilty of what is laid to his charge. Which of the two do you believe?" The people dismissed the accusation; but the words of Scaurus may be regarded as those of a man rather seeking to convey a notion of his innocence, than capable of proving it. The circumstance which Cicero relates is this. Scaurus had incurred some obloquy for having, as it was said, taken possession of the property of a certain rich man, named Phyrgio Pompeius, without being entitled to it by any will; and being engaged as advocate in some cause, Memmius, who was pleading on the opposite side, seeing a funeral pass by at the time, said, "Scaurus, yonder is a dead man, on his way to the grave; if you can but get possession of his property!" I mention these matters because it has been thought that Sallust, from some ill-feeling, represents Scaurus as more avaricious than he really was.

[2] His ruling passion] *Consuetâ libidine.* Namely, avarice.

[3] XVI. Lucius Opimius] His contention with the party of C. Gracchus may be seen in any history of Rome. For receiving bribes from Jugurtha he was publicly accused, and, being condemned, ended his life, which was protracted to old age, in exile and neglect. Cic. Brut. 33; Planc. 28.

at that time in the senate, from having in his consulship, on the death of Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, prosecuted the victory of the nobility over the plebeians with great severity.

Jugurtha, though he had already counted Scaurus among his friends at Rome, yet received him with the most studied ceremony, and, by presents and promises, wrought on him so effectually, that he preferred the prince's interest to his own character, hónour, and all other considerations. The rest of the commissioners he assailed in a similar way, and gained over most of them; by a few only integrity was more regarded than lucre. In the division of the kingdom, that part of Numidia which borders on Mauretania, and which is superior in fertility and population, was allotted to Jugurtha; of the other part, which, though better furnished with harbours and buildings, was more valuable in appearance than in reality, Adherbal became the possessor.

XVII. My subject seems to require of me, in this place, a brief account of the situation of Africa, and of those nations in it with whom we have had war or alliances. But of those tracts and countries, which, from their heat, or difficulty of access, or extent of desert, have been but little visited, I cannot possibly give any exact description. Of the rest I shall speak with all possible brevity.

In the division of the earth, most writers consider Africa as a third part; a few admit only two divisions, Asia and Europe[1], and include Africa in Europe. It is bounded, on the west, by the strait connecting our sea with the ocean[2]; on the east, by a vast sloping tract, which the natives call the Catabathmos[3]. The sea is boisterous, and deficient in

[1] XVII. Only two divisions, Asia and Europe] Thus Varro, de L. L. iv., 13, ed. Bip. "As all nature is divided into heaven and earth, so the heaven is divided into regions, and the earth into Asia and Europe." See Broukh. ad Tibull. iv., 1, 176.

[2] The strait connecting our sea with the ocean] *Fretum nostri maris et oceani.* That is, the *Fretum Gaditanum*, or Strait of Gibraltar. By *our sea*, he means the Mediterranean. See Pomp. Mela, i., 1.

[3] A vast sloping tract—Catabathmos] *Declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant. Catabathmus—vallis repente convexa*, Plin. H. N. v., 5. *Catabathmus, vallis devexa in Ægyptum*, Pomp. Mela, i., 8. I have translated *declivem latitudinem* in conformity with these passages. *Catabathmus*, a Greek word, means *a descent.* There were two, the *major* and *minor*; Sallust speaks of the *major.*

harbours; the soil is fertile in corn, and good for pasturage, but unproductive of trees. There is a scarcity of water both from rain and from land-springs. The natives are healthy, swift of foot, and able to endure fatigue. Most of them die by the gradual decay of age[1], except such as perish by the sword or beasts of prey; for disease finds but few victims. Animals of a venomous nature they have in great numbers.

Concerning the original inhabitants of Africa, the settlers that afterwards joined them, and the manner in which they intermingled, I shall offer the following brief account, which, though it differs from the general opinion, is that which was interpreted to me from the Punic volumes said to have belonged to King Hiempsal[2], and which the inhabitants of that country believe to be consistent with fact. For the truth of the statement, however, the writers themselves must be responsible.

XVIII. Africa, then, was originally occupied by the Getulians and Libyans[3], rude and uncivilised tribes, who subsisted on the flesh of wild animals, or, like cattle, on the herbage of the soil. They were controlled neither by customs, laws, nor the authority of any ruler; they wandered about, without fixed habitations, and slept in the abodes to which night drove them. But after Hercules, as the Africans think, perished in Spain, his army, which was composed of various nations[4], having lost its leader, and many candi-

[1] Most of them die by the gradual decay of age] *Plerosque senectus dissolvit.* "A happy expression; since the effect of old age on the bodily frame is not to break it in pieces suddenly, but to dissolve it, as it were, gradually and imperceptibly." *Burnouf.*

[2] King Hiempsal] "This is not the prince that was murdered by Jugurtha, but the king who succeeded him; he was grandson of Masinissa, son of Gulussa, and father of Juba. After Juba was killed at Thapsus, Cæsar reduced Numidia to the condition of a province, and appointed Sallust over it, who had thus opportunities of gaining a knowledge of the country, and of consulting the books written in the language of it." *Burnouf.*

[3] XVIII. Getulians and Libyans] *Gætuli et Libyes.* "See Pompon. Mel. i., 4; Plin. H. N. v., 4, 6, 8, v., 2, xxi., 13; Herod. iv., 159, 168." *Gerlach.* The name *Gætuli*, is, however, unknown to Herodotus. They lay to the south of Numidia and Mauretania. See Strabo xvii., 3. *Libyes* is a term applied by the Greek writers properly to the Africans of the North coast, but frequently to the inhabitants of Africa in general.

[4] His army, which was composed of various nations] This seems to have been an amplification of the adventure of Hercules with Geryon, who was a king in

dates severally claiming the command of it, was speedily dispersed. Of its constituent troops, the Medes, Persians, and Armenians[1], having sailed over into Africa, occupied the parts nearest to our sea[2]. The Persians, however, settled more towards the ocean[3], and used the inverted keels of their vessels for huts, there being no wood in the country, and no opportunity of obtaining it, either by purchase or barter, from the Spaniards; for a wide sea, and an unknown tongue, were barriers to all intercourse. These, by degrees, formed intermarriages with the Getulians; and because, from constantly trying different soils, they were perpetually shifting their abodes, they called themselves NUMIDIANS[4]. And to this day the huts of the Numidian boors, which they call *mapalia*, are of an oblong shape, with curved roofs; resembling the hulls of ships.

The Medes and Armenians connected themselves with the Libyans, who dwelt near the African sea; while the Getulians lay more to the sun[5], not far from the torrid heats; and

Spain. But all stories that make Hercules a leader of armies appear to be equally fabulous.

[1] Medes, Persians, and Armenians] De Brosses thinks that these were not real Medes, &c., but that the names were derived from certain companions of Hercules. The point is not worth discussion.

[2] Our sea] The Mediterranean. See above, c. 17.

[3] More towards the ocean] *Intra oceanum magis.* "*Intra oceanum* is differently explained by different commentators. Cortius, Müller, and Gerlach, understand the parts bounded by the ocean, lying close upon it, and stretching toward the west; while Langius thinks that the regions more remote from the Atlantic Ocean, and extending towards the east, are meant. But Langius did not consider that those who had inverted keels of vessels for cottages, could not have strayed far from the ocean, but must have settled in parts *bordering upon it.* And this is what is signified by *intra oceanum.* For *intra aliquam rem* is not always used to denote what is actually *in a thing*, and circumscribed by its boundaries, but what approaches towards it and reaches close to it." *Kritzius.* He then instances *intra modum, intra legem; Hortensii scripta intra famam sunt,* Quintil. xi., 3, 8. But the best example which he produces is Liv. xxv., 11: *Fossa ingens ducta, et vallum* intra eam *erigitur.* Cicero, in Verr. iii., 89, has also, he notices, the same expression, *Locus* intra oceanum *jam nullus est,—quò non nostrorum hominum libido iniquitasque pervaserit,* i. e. *locus oceano conterminus.* Burnouf absurdly follows Langius.

[4] Numidians] *Numidas.* The same as *Nomades*, or wanderers; a term applied to pastoral nations, and which, as Kritzius observes, the Africans must have had from the Greeks, perhaps those of Sicily.

[5] More to the sun] *Sub sole magis.* I have borrowed this expression from Rose. The Getulians were more southward.

these soon built themselves towns[1], as, being separated from Spain only by a strait, they proceeded to open an intercourse with its inhabitants. The name of Medes the Libyans gradually corrupted, changing it, in their barbarous tongue, into Moors[2].

Of the Persians[3] the power rapidly increased; and at length, the children, through excess of population, separating from the parents, they took possession, under the name of Numidians, of those regions bordering on Carthage which are now called Numidia. In process of time, the two parties[4], each assisting the other, reduced the neighbouring tribes, by force or fear, under their sway; but those who had spread towards our sea, made the greater conquests; for the Libyans are less warlike than the Getulians[5]. At last nearly all lower Africa[6] was occupied by the Numidians; and all the conquered tribes were merged in the nation and name of their conquerors.

XIX. At a later period, the Phœnicians, some of whom wished to lessen their numbers at home, and others, ambitious of empire, engaged the populace, and such as were eager for change, to follow them, founded Hippo[7], Adrume-

[1] These soon built themselves towns] That is, the united Medes, Armenians, and Libyans.

[2] Medes—into Moors] *Mauros pro Medis.* A most improbable, not to say impossible, corruption.

[3] Of the Persians] *Persarum.* That is, of the Persians and Getulians united.

[4] The two parties] *Utrique.* The older Numidians, and the younger, who had emigrated towards Carthage.

[5] Those who had spread towards our sea—for the Libyans are less warlike than the Getulians] *Magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant; quia Libyes quàm Gætuli minùs bellicosi.* The Persians and Getulians (under the name of Numidians), and their colonists, who were more towards the Mediterranean, and were more warlike than the Libyans (who were united with the Medes and Armenians), took from them portions of their territories by conquest. This is clearly the sense, as deducible from the preceding portion of the text.

[6] Lower Africa] *Africæ pars inferior.* The part nearest to the sea. The ancients called the maritime parts of a country *the lower parts*, and the inland parts *the higher*, taking the notion, probably, from the course of the rivers. Lower Egypt was the part at the mouth of the Nile.

[7] XIX. Hippo] "It is not Hippo Regius" (now called *Bona*) "that is meant, but another Hippo, otherwise called *Diarrhytum* or *Zarytum*, situate in Zengitana, not far from Utica. This is shown by the order in which the places are named, as has already been observed by Cortius." *Kritzius.*

tum, Leptis[1], and other cities, on the sea-coast; which, soon growing powerful, became partly a support, and partly an honour, to their parent state. Of Carthage I think it better to be silent, than to say but little; especially as time bids me hasten to other matters.

Next to the Catabathmos[2], then, which divides Egypt from Africa, the first city along the sea-coast[3] is Cyrene, a colony of Theræans[4]; after which are the two Syrtes[5], with Leptis[6] between them; then the Altars of the Philæni[7], which the Carthaginians considered the boundary of their dominion on the side of Egypt; beyond these are the other Punic towns. The other regions, as far as Mauretania, the Numidians occupy; the Moors are nearest to Spain. To the south of Numidia[8], as we are informed, are the Getulians, of whom some live in huts, and others lead a vagrant and less civilised life; beyond these are the Ethiopians; and farther on, regions parched by the heat of the sun.

At the time of the Jugurthine war, most of the Punic towns, and the territories which Carthage had lately possessed[9], were under the government of Roman prætors; a great part of the Getulians, and Numidia as far as the river Mulucha, were subject to Jugurtha; while the whole of the Moors were governed by Bocchus, a king who knew nothing of the Romans but their name, and who, before this period, was as little known to us, either in war or peace. Of Africa

[1] Leptis] There were two cities of this name. Leptis Major, now *Lebida*, lay between the two Syrtes; Leptis Minor, now *Lempta*, between the smaller Syrtis and Carthage. It is the latter that is meant here, and in c. 77, 78.

[2] Next to the Catabathmos] *Ad Catabathmon.* *Ad* means, on the side of the country towards the Catabathmos. "Catabathmon *initium* ponens Sallustius ab eo *discedit*." Kritzius.

[3] Along the sea-coast] *Secundo mari.* "Si quis secundum mare pergat." *Wasse.*

[4] Of Theræans] *Therææn.* From the island of Thera, one of the Sporades, in the Ægean Sea, now called *Santorin.* Battus was the leader of the colony. See Herod. iv., 145; Strab. xvii., 3; Pind. Pyth. iv.

[5] Two Syrtes] See c. 78.

[6] Leptis] That is, *Leptis Major.* See above on this c.

[7] Altars of the Philæni] See c. 79.

[8] To the south of Numidia] *Super Numidiam.* "Ultra Numidiam, meridiem versus." *Burnouf.*

[9] Had lately possessed] *Novissimè habuerant.* In the interval between the second and third Punic wars.

and its inhabitants I have now said all that my narrative requires.

XX. When the commissioners, after dividing the kingdom, had left Africa, and Jugurtha saw that, contrary to his apprehensions, he had obtained the object of his crimes; he then, being convinced of the truth of what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, "that all things were purchasable at Rome," and being also encouraged by the promises of those whom he had recently loaded with presents, directed his views to the domain of Adherbal. He was himself bold and warlike, while the other, at whose destruction he aimed, was quiet, unfit for arms, of a mild temper, a fit subject for injustice, and a prey to fear rather than an object of it. Jugurtha, accordingly, with a powerful force, made a sudden irruption into his dominions, took several prisoners, with cattle and other booty, set fire to the buildings, and made hostile demonstrations against several places with his cavalry. He then retreated, with all his followers, into his own kingdom, expecting that Adherbal, roused by such provocation, would avenge his wrongs by force, and thus furnish a pretext for war. But Adherbal, thinking himself unable to meet Jugurtha in the field, and relying on the friendship of the Romans more than on the Numidians, merely sent ambassadors to Jugurtha to complain of the outrage; and, although they brought back but an insolent reply, yet he resolved to endure anything rather than have recourse to war, which, when he attempted it before, had ended in his defeat. By such conduct the eagerness of Jugurtha was not at all allayed; for he had now, indeed, in imagination, possessed himself of all Adherbal's dominions. He therefore renewed hostilities, not, as before, with a predatory band, but at the head of a large army which he had collected, and openly aspired to the sovereignty of all Numidia. Wherever he marched, he ravaged the towns and the fields, drove off booty, and raised confidence in his own men and dismay among the enemy.

XXI. Adherbal, when he found that matters had arrived at such a point, that he must either abandon his dominions, or defend them by force of arms, collected an army from necessity, and advanced to meet Jugurtha. Both armies

took up[1] their position near the town of Cirta[2], at no great distance from the sea; but, as evening was approaching, encamped without coming to an engagement. But when the night was far advanced, and twilight was beginning to appear[3], the troops of Jugurtha, at a given signal, rushed into the camp of the enemy, whom they routed and put to flight, some half asleep, and others resuming their arms. Adherbal, with a few of his cavalry, fled to Cirta; and, had there not been a number of Romans[4] in the town, who repulsed his Numidian pursuers from the walls, the war between the two princes would have been begun and ended on the same day.

Jugurtha proceeded to invest the town, and attempted to storm it with the aid of mantelets, towers, and every kind of machines; being anxious, above all things, to take it before the ambassadors could arrive at Rome, who, he was informed, had been despatched thither by Adherbal before the battle was fought. But as soon as the senate heard of their contention, three young men[5] were sent as deputies into Africa, with directions to go to both of the princes, and to announce to them, in the words of the senate and people of Rome, "that it was their will and resolution that they should lay down their arms, and settle their disputes rather by arbitra-

[1] XXI. Both armies took up, *&c.*] I have omitted the word *interim* at the beginning of this sentence, as it would be worse than useless in the translation. It signifies, *during the interval before the armies came to an engagement;* but this is sufficiently expressed at the termination of the sentence.

[2] Cirta] Afterwards named *Sittianorum Cŏlonia*, from P. Sittius Nucerinus (mentioned in Cat., c. 21), who assisted Cæsar in the African war, and was rewarded by him with the possession of this city and its lands. It is now called *Constantina*, from Constantine the Great, who enlarged and restored it when it had fallen into decay. Strabo describes it, xvii., 3.

[3] Twilight was beginning to appear] *Obscuro etiam tum lumine.* Before day had fairly dawned.

[4] Romans] *Togatorum.* Romans, with, perhaps, some of the allies, engaged in merchandise or other peaceful occupations, and therefore wearing the *toga.* They are called *Italici* in c. 26.

[5] Three young men] *Tres adolescentes.* Cortius includes these words in brackets, regarding them as the insertion of some sciolist. But a sciolist, as Burnouf observes, would hardly have thought of inserting *tres adolescentes.* The words occur in all the MSS., and are pretty well confirmed by what is said below, c. 25, that when the senate next sent a deputation, they took care to make it consist of *majores natu, nobiles.* See on *adolescens*, Cat., c. 38.

tion than by the sword; since to act thus would be to the honour both of the Romans and themselves."

XXII. These deputies soon arrived in Africa, using the greater despatch, because, whilst they were preparing for their journey, a report was spread at Rome of the battle which had been fought, and of the siege of Cirta; but this report told much less than the truth[1]. Jugurtha, having given them an audience, replied, "that nothing was of greater weight with him, nothing more respected, than the authority of the senate; that it had been his endeavour, from his youth, to deserve the esteem of all men of worth; that he had gained the favour of Publius Scipio, a man of the highest eminence, not by dishonourable practices, but by merit; that, for the same good qualities, and not from want of heirs to the throne, he had been adopted by Micipsa; but that, the more honourable and spirited his conduct had been, the less could his feelings endure injustice; that Adherbal had formed designs against his life, on discovering which, he had counteracted his malice; that the Romans would act neither justly nor reasonably, if they withheld from him the common right of nations[2]; and, in conclusion, that he would soon send ambassadors to Rome to explain the whole of his proceedings." On this understanding, both parties separated. Of addressing Adherbal the deputies had no opportunity.

XXIII. Jugurtha, as soon as he thought that they had quitted Africa, surrounded the walls of Cirta, which, from the nature of its situation, he was unable to take by assault, with a rampart and a trench; he also erected towers, and manned them with soldiers; he made attempts on the place, by force or by stratagem, day and night; he held out bribes, and sometimes menaces, to the besieged; he roused his men, by exhortations, to efforts of valour, and resorted, with the utmost perseverance, to every possible expedient.

[1] XXII. Told much less than the truth] *Sed is rumor clemens erat.* "It fell below the truth, not telling the whole of the atrocity that had been committed." *Gruter.* "Priscian (xviii., 26) interprets *clemens* 'non nimius,' alluding to this passage of Sallust." *Kritzius.* All the later commentators have adopted this interpretation, except Burnouf, who adopts the supposition of Ciacconius, that a *vague and uncertain* rumour is meant.

[2] Right of nations] *Jure gentium.* "That is, the right of avenging himself." *Rupertus.*

Adherbal, on the other hand, seeing that his affairs were in a desperate condition, that his enemy was determined on his ruin, that there was no hope of succour, and that the siege, from want of provisions, could not long be protracted, selected, from among those who had fled with him to Cirta, two of his most resolute supporters, whom he induced, by numerous promises, and an affecting representation of his distress, to make their way in the night, through the enemy's lines, to the nearest point of the coast, and from thence to Rome.

XXIV. The Numidians, in a few days, executed their commission; and a letter from Adherbal was read in the senate, of which the following was the purport:

"It is not through my own fault, Conscript Fathers, that I so often send requests to you; but the violence of Jugurtha compels me; whom so strong a desire for my destruction has seized, that he pays no regard[1] either to you or to the immortal gods; my blood he covets beyond everything. Five months, in consequence, have I, the ally and friend of the Roman people, been besieged with an armed force; neither the remembrance of my father Micipsa's benefits, nor your decrees, are of any avail for my relief; and whether I am more closely pressed by the sword or by famine, I am unable to say.

"From writing further concerning Jugurtha, my present condition deters me; for I have experienced, even before[2], that little credit is given to the unfortunate. Yet I can perceive that his views extend further than to myself, and that he does not expect to possess, at the same time, your friendship and my kingdom; which of the two he thinks the more desirable, must be manifest to every one. For, in the first place, he murdered my brother Hiempsal; and, in the next, expelled me from my dominions; which, however, may be regarded as our own wrongs, and as having no reference to you. But now he occupies your kingdom with an army; he keeps me, whom you appointed a king over the Numidians, in a state of blockade; and in what estimation he holds the words of your ambassadors, my perils may serve to show.

[1] XXIV. Pays no regard] *Neque—in animo habeat.* This letter of Adherbal's, both in matter and tone, is very similar to his speech in c. 14.

[2] I have experienced, even before] *Jam antea expertus sum.* He means, in the result of his speech to the senate.

What then is left, except your arms, that can make an impression upon him?

"I could wish, indeed, that what I now write, as well as the complaints which I lately made before the senate, were false, rather than that my present distresses should confirm the truth of my statements. But since I am born to be an example of Jugurtha's villany, I do not now beg a release from death or distress, but only from the tyranny of an enemy, and from bodily torture. Respecting the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own property, determine as you please, but if the memory of my grandfather Masinissa is still cherished by you, deliver me, I intreat you, by the majesty of your empire, and by the sacred ties of friendship, from the inhuman hands of Jugurtha."

XXV. When this letter was read, there were some who thought that an army should be despatched into Africa, and relief afforded to Adherbal, as soon as possible; and that the senate, in the mean time, should give judgment on the conduct of Jugurtha, in not having obeyed the ambassadors. But by the partisans of Jugurtha, the same that had before supported his cause, effectual exertions were made to prevent any decree from being passed; and thus the public interest, as is too frequently the case, was defeated by private influence.

An embassy was, however, despatched into Africa, consisting of men of advanced years, and of noble birth, and who had filled the highest offices of the state; among whom was Marcus Scaurus, already mentioned, a man who had held the consulship, and who was at that time chief of the senate[1]. These ambassadors, as their business was an affair of public odium, and as they were urged by the entreaties of the Numidians, embarked in three days; and having soon arrived at Utica, sent a letter from thence to Jugurtha, desiring him

[1] XXV. Chief of the senate] *Princeps senatûs.* "He whose name was first entered in the censors' books was called *Princeps Senatûs*, which title used to be given to the person who of those alive had been censor first (*qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent, fuisset*), but after the year 544, to him whom the censors thought most worthy, Liv. xxvii., 13. This dignity, although it conferred no command or emolument, was esteemed the very highest, and was usually retained for life, Liv. xxxiv., 44; xxxix., 52. It is called *Principatus;* and hence afterwards the Emperor was named *Princeps*, which word properly denotes rank, and not power." Adam's Rom. Antiq., p. 8.

"to come to the province as quickly as possible, as they were deputed by the senate to meet him."

Jugurtha, when he found that men of eminence, whose influence at Rome he knew to be powerful, were come to put a stop to his proceedings, was at first perplexed, and distracted between fear and cupidity. He dreaded the displeasure of the senate, if he should disobey the ambassadors; while his eager spirit, blinded by the lust of power, hurried him on to complete the injustice which he had begun. At length the evil incitements of ambition prevailed[1]. He accordingly drew his army round the city of Cirta, and endeavoured, with his utmost efforts, to force an entrance; having the strongest hopes, that, by dividing the attention of the enemy's troops, he should be able, by force or artifice, to secure an opportunity of success. When his attempts, however, were unavailing, and he found himself unable, as he had designed, to get Adherbal into his power before he met the ambassadors, fearing that, by further delay, he might irritate Scaurus, of whom he stood in great dread, he proceeded with a small body of cavalry into the Province. Yet, though serious menaces were repeated to him in the name of the senate, because he had not desisted from the siege, nevertheless, after spending a long time in conference, the ambassadors departed without making any impression upon him.

XXVI. When news of this result was brought to Cirta, the Italians[2], by whose exertions the city had been defended, and who trusted that, if a surrender were made, they would be able, from respect to the greatness of the Roman power, to escape without personal injury, advised Adherbal to deliver himself and the city to Jugurtha, stipulating only that his life should be spared, and leaving all other matters to the care of the senate. Adherbal, though he thought nothing less trustworthy than the honour of Jugurtha, yet, knowing that those who advised could also compel him if he resisted, surrendered the place according to their desire. Jugurtha immediately proceeded to put Adherbal to death with torture, and massacred all the inhabitants that were of age, whether Numidians or Italians, as each fell in the way of his troops.

[1] At length the evil incitements of ambition prevailed] *Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium.* "Evil propensities gained the ascendancy in his ambitious disposition."

[2] XXVI. The Italians] *Italici.* See c. 21.

XXVII. When this outrage was reported at Rome, and became a matter of discussion in the senate, the former partisans of Jugurtha applied themselves, by interrupting the debates and protracting the time, sometimes exerting their interest, and sometimes quarrelling with particular members, to palliate the atrocity of the deed. And had not Caius Memmius, one of the tribunes of the people elect, a man of energy, and hostile to the power of the nobility, convinced the people of Rome that an attempt was being made, by the agency of a small faction, to have the crimes of Jugurtha pardoned, it is certain that the public indignation against him would have passed off under the protraction of the debates; so powerful was party interest, and the influence of Jugurtha's money. When the senate, however, from consciousness of misconduct, became afraid of the people, Numidia and Italy, by the Sempronian law[1], were appointed as provinces to the succeeding consuls, who were declared to be Publius Scipio Nasica[2], and Lucius Bestia Calpurnius[3]. Numidia fell to Calpurnius, and Italy to Scipio. An army was then raised to be sent into Africa; and pay, and all other necessaries of war, were decreed for its use.

XXVIII. When Jugurtha received this news, which was utterly at variance with his expectations, as he had felt convinced that all things were purchasable at Rome, he sent his son, with two of his friends, as deputies to the senate, and directed them, like those whom he had sent on the murder of Hiempsal, to attack everybody with bribes. Upon

[1] XXVII. By the Sempronian law] *Lege Sempronia.* This was the *Lex Sempronia de Provinciis.* In the early ages of the republic, the provinces were decreed by the senate to the consuls after they were elected; but by this law, passed A.U.C. 631, the senate fixed on two provinces for the future consuls before their election (Cic. Pro Dom., 9; De Prov. Cons., 2), which they, after entering on their office, divided between themselves by lot or agreement. The law was passed by Caius Gracchus. See Adam's Rom. Antiq., p. 105.

[2] Publius Scipio Nasica] "The great-grandson of him who was pronounced by the senate to be *vir optimus;* and son of him who, though holding no office at the time, took part in putting to death Tiberius Gracchus. He was consul with Bestia, A.U.C. 643, and died in his consulship. Cic. Brut., 34." *Burnouf.*

[3] Lucius Bestia Calpurnius] "He had been on the side of the nobility against the Gracchi, and was therefore in favour with the senate. After his consulship he was accused and condemned by the Mamilian law (c. 40), for having received money from Jugurtha, Cic. Brut. c. 34. De Brosses thinks that he was the grandfather of that Bestia who was engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline." *Burnouf.*

the approach of these deputies to Rome, the senate was consulted by Bestia, whether they would allow them to be admitted within the gates; and the senate decreed, "that, unless they came to surrender Jugurtha's kingdom and himself, they must quit Italy within the ten following days." The consul directed this decree to be communicated to the Numidians, who consequently returned home without effecting their object.

Calpurnius, in the mean time, having raised an army, chose for his officers men of family and intrigue, hoping that whatever faults he might commit, would be screened by their influence; and among these was Scaurus, of whose disposition and character we have already spoken. There were, indeed, in our consul Calpurnius, many excellent qualities, both mental and personal, though avarice interfered with the exercise of them; he was patient of labour, of a penetrating intellect, of great foresight, not inexperienced in war, and extremely vigilant against danger and surprise.

The troops were conducted through Italy to Rhegium, from thence to Sicily, and from Sicily into Africa; and Calpurnius's first step, after collecting provisions, was to invade Numidia with spirit, where he took many prisoners, and several towns, by force of arms.

XXIX. But when Jugurtha began, through his emissaries, to tempt him with bribes, and to show the difficulties of the war which he had undertaken to conduct, his mind, corrupted with avarice, was easily altered. His accomplice, however, and manager in all his schemes, was Scaurus; who, though he had at first, when most of his party were corrupted, displayed violent hostility to Jugurtha, yet was afterwards seduced, by a vast sum of money, from integrity and honour to injustice and perfidy. Jugurtha, however, at first sought only to purchase a suspension of hostilities, expecting to be able, during the interval, to make some favourable impression, either by bribery or by interest, at Rome; but when he heard that Scaurus was co-operating with Calpurnius, he was elated with great hopes of regaining peace, and resolved upon a conference with them in person respecting the terms of it. In the mean time, for the sake of giving confidence[1]

[1] XXIX. For the sake of giving confidence] *Fidei causâ.* "In order that Jugurtha might have confidence in Bestia, Sextius the quæstor was sent as a sort of hostage into one of Jugurtha's towns." *Cortius.*

to Jugurtha, Sextus the quæstor was despatched by the consul to Vaga, one of the prince's towns; the pretext for his journey being the receiving of corn, which Calpurnius had openly demanded from Jugurtha's emissaries, on the ground that a truce was observed through their delay to make a surrender. Jugurtha then, as he had determined, paid a visit to the consul's camp, where, having made a short address to the council, respecting the odium cast upon his conduct, and his desire for a capitulation, he arranged other matters with Bestia and Scaurus in secret; and the next day, as if by an evident majority of voices[1], he was formally allowed to surrender. But, as was demanded in the hearing of the council, thirty elephants, a considerable number of cattle and horses, and a small sum of money, were delivered into the hands of the quæstor. Calpurnius then returned to Rome to preside at the election of magistrates[2], and peace was observed throughout Numidia and the Roman army.

XXX. When rumour had made known the affairs transacted in Africa, and the mode in which they had been brought to pass, the conduct of the consul became a subject of discussion in every place and company at Rome. Among the people there was violent indignation; as to the senators, whether they would ratify so flagitious a proceeding, or annul the act of the consul, was a matter of doubt. The influence of Scaurus, as he was said to be the supporter and accomplice of Bestia, was what chiefly restrained the senate from acting

[1] As if by an evident majority of voices] *Quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis.* "The opinions being taken in a confused manner," or, as we say, *in the lump.* The sense manifestly is, that there was (or was said to be) such a preponderating majority in Jugurtha's favour, that it was not necessary to ask the opinion of each individual in order. *Satura*, which some think to be always an adjective, with *lanx* understood, though *lanx*, according to Scheller, is never found joined with it in ancient authors, was *a plate filled with various kinds of fruit, such as was annually offered to the gods.* "Lanx plena diversis frugibus in templum Cereris infertur, quæ satura nomine appellatur," Acron. ad Hor. Sat. i., 1, *init.* "Lanx, referta variis multisque primitiis, sacris Cereris inferebatur," Diomed. iii., p. 483. "Satura, cibi genus ex variis rebus conditum," Festus *sub voce.* See Casaubon. de Rom. Satirâ, ii., 4; Kritzius ad h. l., and Scheller's Lex. v., *Satur.* In the Pref. to Justinian's Pandects, that work is called *opus sparsim et quasi per saturam collectum, utile cum inutilibus mixtim.*

[2] To preside at the election of magistrates] *Ad magistratus rogandos.* The presiding magistrate had *to ask* the consent of the people, saying *Velitis, jubeatis, —rogo, Quirites.*

with justice and honour. But Caius Memmius, of whose boldness of spirit, and hatred to the power of the nobility, I have already spoken, excited the people by his harangues, during the perplexity and delay of the senators, to take vengeance on the authors of the treaty; he exhorted them not to abandon the public interest or their own liberty; he set before them the many tyrannical and violent proceedings of the nobles, and omitted no art to inflame the popular passions. But as the eloquence of Memmius, at that period, had great reputation and influence, I have thought proper to give in full[1] one out of many of his speeches; and I take, in preference to others, that which he delivered in the assembly of the people, after the return of Bestia, in words to the following effect:

XXXI. "Were not my zeal for the good of the state, my fellow-citizens, superior to every other feeling, there are many considerations which would deter me from appearing in your cause; I allude to the power of the opposite party, your own tameness of spirit, the absence of all justice, and, above all, the fact that integrity is attended with more danger than honour. Indeed, it grieves me to relate, how, during the last fifteen years[2], you have been a sport to the arrogance of an oligarchy; how dishonourably, and how utterly unavenged, your defenders have perished[3]; and how your spirit has become degenerate by sloth and indolence; for not even

[1] XXX. To give in full] *Perscribere.* "To write at length." The reader might suppose, at first, that Sallust transcribed this speech from some publication; but in that case, as Burnouf observes, he would rather have said *exscribere.* Besides, the following *hujuscemodi* shows that Sallust did not profess to give the exact words of Memmius. And the speech is throughout marked with Sallustian phraseology. "The commencement of it, there is little doubt, is imitated from Cato, of whose speech *de Lusitanis* the following fragment is extant in Aul. Gell. xiii., 24: *Multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, ætas, vox, vires, senectus.*" Kritzius.

[2] XXXI. During the last fifteen years] *His annis quindecim.* "It was at this time, A.U.C. 641, twenty-two years since the death of Tiberius Gracchus, and ten since that of Caius; Sallust, or Memmius, not to appear to make too nice a computation, takes a mean." *Burnouf.* The manuscripts, however, vary; some read *fifteen*, and others *twelve.* Cortius conjectured *twenty*, as a rounder number, which Kritzius and Dietsch have inserted in their texts. *Twenty* is also found in the Editio Victoriana, Florence, 1576.

[3] Your defenders have perished] *Perierint vestri defensores.* Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, and their adherents.

now, when your enemies are in your power, will you rouse yourselves to action, but continue still to stand in awe of those to whom you should be a terror.

"Yet, notwithstanding this state of things, I feel prompted to make an attack on the power of that faction. That liberty of speech[1], therefore, which has been left me by my father, I shall assuredly exert against them; but whether I shall use it in vain, or for your advantage, must, my fellow-citizens, depend upon yourselves. I do not, however, exhort you, as your ancestors have often done, to rise in arms against injustice. There is at present no need of violence, no need of secession; for your tyrants must work their fall by their own misconduct.

"After the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, whom they accused of aspiring to be king, persecutions were instituted against the common people of Rome; and after the slaughter of Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius, many of your order were put to death in prison. But let us leave these proceedings out of the question; let us admit that to restore their rights to the people, was to aspire to sovereignty; let us allow that what cannot be avenged without shedding the blood of citizens, was done with justice. You have seen with silent indignation, however, in past years, the treasury pillaged; you have seen kings, and free people, paying tribute to a small party of Patricians, in whose hands were both the highest honours and the greatest wealth; but to have carried on such proceedings with impunity, they now deem but a small matter; and, at last, your laws and your honour, with every civil and religious obligation[2], have been sacrificed for the benefit of your enemies. Nor do they, who have done these things, show either shame or contrition, but parade proudly before your faces, displaying their sacerdotal dignities, their consulships, and some of them their triumphs, as if they regarded them as marks of honour, and not as fruits of their dishonesty. Slaves, purchased with money[3],

[1] Liberty of speech] *Libertatem.* Liberty of speech is evidently intended.

[2] Every civil and religious obligation] *Divina et humana omnia.* "They offended against the laws, when they took bribes from an enemy; against the honour of Rome, when they did what was unworthy of it, and greatly to its injury; and against gods and men, against all divine and human obligations, when they granted to a wicked prince not only impunity, but even rewards, for his crimes." *Dietsch.*

[3] Slaves purchased with money, *&c.*] *Servi, ære parati, &c.* This is taken from

will not submit to unjust commands from their masters; yet you, my fellow-citizens, who are born to empire, tamely endure oppression.

"But who are these, that have thus taken the government into their hands? Men of the most abandoned character, of blood-stained hands, of insatiable avarice, of enormous guilt, and of matchless pride; men by whom integrity, reputation, public spirit[1], and indeed everything, whether honourable or dishonourable, is converted to a means of gain. Some of them make it their defence that they have killed tribunes of the people; others, that they have instituted unjust prosecutions; others, that they have shed your blood; and thus, the more atrocities each has committed, the greater is his security; while your oppressors, whom the same desires, the same aversions, and the same fears, combine in strict union (a union which among good men is friendship, but among the bad confederacy in guilt), have excited in you, through your want of spirit, that terror which they ought to feel for their own crimes.

"But if your concern to preserve your liberty were as great as their ardour to increase their power of oppression, the state would not be distracted as it is at present; and the marks of favour which proceed from you[2], would be conferred, not on the most shameless, but on the most deserving. Your forefathers, in order to assert their rights and establish their authority, twice seceded in arms to Mount Aventine; and will not you exert yourselves, to the utmost of your power, in defence of that liberty which you received from them? Will you not display so much the more spirit in the cause, from the reflection that it is a greater disgrace to lose[3] what has been gained, than not to have gained it at all?

another speech of Cato, of which a portion is preserved in Aul. Gell. x., 3: *Servi injurias nimis ægre ferunt; quid illos bono genere natos, magnâ virtute præditos, animi habuisse atque habituros, dum vivent?* "Slaves are apt to be too impatient of injuries; and what feelings do you think that men of good family, and of great merit, must have had, and will have as long as they live?"

[1] Public spirit] *Pietas.* Under this word are included all duties that we ought to perform to those with whom we are intimately connected, or on whom we are dependent, as our parents, our country, and the gods. I have borrowed my translation of the word from Rose.

[2] The marks of favour which proceed from you] *Beneficia vestra.* Offices of state, civil and military.

[3] A greater disgrace to lose, &c.] *Quòd majus dedecus est parta amittere quàm*

"But some will ask me, 'What course of conduct, then, would you advise us to pursue?' I would advise you to inflict punishment on those who have sacrificed the interests of their country to the enemy; not, indeed, by arms, or any violence (which would be more unbecoming, however, for you to inflict than for them to suffer), but by prosecutions, and by the evidence of Jugurtha himself, who, if he has really surrendered, will doubtless obey your summons; whereas, if he shows contempt for it, you will at once judge what sort of a peace or surrender it is, from which springs impunity to Jugurtha for his crimes, immense wealth to a few men in power, and loss and infamy to the republic.

"But perhaps you are not yet weary of the tyranny of these men; perhaps these times please you less than those[1] when kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, the administration of justice, war and peace, and indeed everything civil and religious, was in the hands of an oligarchy; while you, that is, the people of Rome, though unconquered by foreign enemies, and rulers of all nations around, were content with being allowed to live; for which of you had spirit to throw off your slavery? For myself, indeed, though I think it most disgraceful to receive an injury without resenting it, yet I could easily allow you to pardon these basest of traitors, because they are your fellow-citizens, were it not certain that your indulgence would end in your destruction. For such is their presumption, that to escape punishment for their misdeeds will have but little effect upon them, unless they be deprived, at the same time, of the power of doing mischief; and endless anxiety will remain for you, if you shall have to reflect that you must either be slaves or preserve your liberty by force of arms.

"Of mutual trust, or concord, what hope is there? They wish to be lords, you desire to be free; they seek to inflict injury, you to repel it; they treat your allies as enemies,

omnino non paravisse. Αἰσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτώμενους ἀτυχῆσαι. Thucyd. ii., 62.

[1] These times please you less than those, *&c.*] *Illa quàm hæc tempora magis placent, &c.* "*Those times*, which immediately succeeded the deaths of the Gracchi, and which were distinguished for the tyranny of the nobles, and the humiliation of the people; *these times*, in which the people have begun to rouse their spirit and exert their liberty." *Burnouf.*

your enemies as allies. With feelings so opposite, can peace or friendship subsist between you? I warn, therefore, and exhort you, not to allow such enormous dishonesty to go unpunished. It is not an embezzlement of the public money[1] that has been committed; nor is it a forcible extortion of money from your allies; offences which, though great, are now, from their frequency, considered as nothing; but the authority of the senate, and your own power, have been sacrificed to the bitterest of enemies, and the public interest has been betrayed for money, both at home and abroad; and unless these misdeeds be investigated, and punishment be inflicted on the guilty, what remains for us but to live the slaves of those who committed them? For those who do what they will with impunity are undoubtedly kings[2].

"I do not, however, wish to encourage you, O Romans, to be better satisfied at finding your fellow-citizens guilty than innocent, but merely to warn you not to bring ruin on the good, by suffering the bad to escape. It is far better, in any government, to be unmindful of a service than of an injury; for a good man, if neglected, only becomes less active; but a bad man, more daring. Besides, if the crimes of the wicked are suppressed[3], the state will seldom need extraordinary support from the virtuous."

XXXII. By repeating these and similar sentiments, Memmius prevailed on the people to send Lucius Cassius[4], who

[1] Embezzlement of the public money] *Peculatus ærarii.* "Peculator, qui furtum facit pecuniæ publicæ." Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Verr. i.

[2] Kings] I have substituted the plural for the singular. "No name was more hated at Rome than that of a king; and no sentiment, accordingly, could have been better adapted to inflame the minds of Memmius's hearers, than that which he here utters." *Dietsch.*

[3] If the crimes of the wicked are suppressed, &c.] *Si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxilii egeas.* "Some foolishly interpret *auxilium* as signifying *auxilium tribunicium*, the aid of the tribunes; but it is evident to me that Sallust means *aid against the injuries of bad men*, i. e. revenge or punishment." *Kritzius.* "If injuries are repressed, or prevented, there will be less need for the help of good men, and it will be of less consequence if they become inactive." *Dietsch.*

[4] XXXII. Lucius Cassius] This is the man from whom came the common saying *cui bono?* "Lucius Cassius, whom the Roman people thought the most accurate and wisest of judges, was accustomed constantly to inquire, in the progress of a cause, *cui bono fuisset*, of what advantage anything had been." Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 30. "His tribunal," says Valerius Maximus (iii., 7), "was called, from his excessive severity, the rock of the accused." It was probably on account of this quality in his character that he was now sent into Numidia.

was then prætor, to Jugurtha, and to bring him, under guarantee of the public faith[1], to Rome, in order that, by the prince's evidence, the misconduct of Scaurus and the rest, whom they charged with having taken bribes, might more easily be made manifest.

During the course of these proceedings at Rome, those whom Bestia had left in Numidia in command of the army, following the example of their general, had been guilty of many scandalous transactions. Some, seduced by gold, had restored Jugurtha his elephants; others had sold him his deserters; others had ravaged the lands of those at peace with us; so strong a spirit of rapacity, like the contagion of a pestilence, had pervaded the breasts of all.

Cassius, when the measure proposed by Memmius had been carried, and whilst all the nobility were in consternation, set out on his mission to Jugurtha, whom, alarmed as he was, and despairing of his fortune, from a sense of guilt, he admonished "that, since he had surrendered himself to the Romans, he had better make trial of their mercy than their power." He also pledged his own word, which Jugurtha valued not less than that of the public, for his safety. Such, at that period, was the reputation of Cassius.

XXXIII. Jugurtha, accordingly, accompanied Cassius to Rome, but without any mark of royalty, and in the garb, as much as possible, of a suppliant[2]; and, though he felt great confidence on his own part, and was supported by all those through whose power or villany he had accomplished his projects, he purchased, by a vast bribe, the aid of Caius Bæbius, a tribune of the people, by whose audacity he hoped to be protected against the law, and against all harm.

An assembly of the people being convoked, Memmius, although they were violently exasperated against Jugurtha, (some demanding that he should be cast into prison, others that, unless he should name his accomplices in guilt, he should be put to death, according to the usage of their ancestors,

[1] Under guarantee of the public faith] *Interpositâ fide publicâ.* See Cat. 47, 48. So a little below, *fidem suam interponit. Interpono* is "to pledge."

[2] XXXIII. In the garb, as much as possible, of a suppliant] *Cultu quàm maximè miserabili.* "In such a garb as accused persons, or suppliants, were accustomed to adopt, when they wished to excite compassion, putting on a mean dress, and allowing their hair and beard to grow." *Burnouf.*

as a public enemy), yet, regarding rather their character than their resentment, endeavoured to calm their turbulence and mitigate their rage; and assured them that, as far as depended on him, the public faith should not be broken. At length, when silence was obtained, he brought forward Jugurtha, and addressed them. He detailed the misdeeds of Jugurtha at Rome and in Numidia, and set forth his crimes towards his father and brothers; and admonished the prince, "that the Roman people, though they were well aware by whose support and agency he had acted, yet desired further testimony from himself; that, if he disclosed the truth, there was great hope for him in the honour and clemency of the Romans; but if he concealed it, he would certainly not save his accomplices, but ruin himself and his hopes for ever."

XXXIV. But when Memmius had concluded his speech, and Jugurtha was expected to give his answer, Caius Bæbius, the tribune of the people, whom I have just noticed as having been bribed, enjoined the prince to hold his peace[1]; and though the multitude, who formed the assembly, were desperately enraged, and endeavoured to terrify the tribune by outcries, by angry looks, by violent gestures, and by every other act to which anger prompts[2], his audacity was at last

[1] XXXIV. Enjoined the prince to hold his peace] A single tribune might, by such intervention, offer an effectual opposition to almost any proceeding. On the great power of the tribunes, see Adam's Rom. Ant., under the head "Tribunes of the People."

[2] Every other act to which anger prompts] *Aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat.* "These words have given rise to wonderful hallucinations; for Quintilian, ix., 3, 17, having observed that many expressions of Sallust are borrowed from the Greek, as *Vulgus amat fieri*, all interpreters, from Cortius downwards, have thought that the structure of Sallust's words must be Greek, and have taken *ira*, in this passage, for an ablative, and *quæ* for a nominative plural. Gerlach has even gone so far as to take liberties with the words cited by Quintilian, and to correct them, please the gods, into *quæ in vulgus amat fieri.* But how could there have been such want of penetration in learned critics, such deficiency in the knowledge of the two languages, that, when the imitation of the Greek, noticed by Quintilian, has reference merely to the word φιλεῖ, *amat*, they should think of extending it to the dependence of a singular verb on a neuter plural? With truth, indeed, though with much simplicity, does Gerlach observe, that you will in vain seek for instances of this mode of expression in other writers." *Kritzius.* Dietsch agrees with Kritzius; and there will, I hope, be no further doubt that that *quæ* is the accusative and *ira* the nominative; the sense being, "which anger loves or desires to be done." Another mode of explanation has been suggested; namely, to understand *multitudo* as the nominative case to *amat*, making *ira* the ablative; but this

triumphant. The people, mocked and set at nought, withdrew from the place of assembly; and the confidence of Jugurtha, Bestia, and the others, whom this investigation had alarmed, was greatly augmented.

XXXV. There was at this period in Rome a certain Numidian named Massiva, a son of Gulussa and grandson of Masinissa, who, from having been, in the dissensions among the princes, opposed to Jugurtha, had been obliged, after the surrender of Cirta and the murder of Adherbal, to make his escape out of Africa. Spurius Albinus, who was consul with Quintus Minucius Rufus the year after Bestia, prevailed upon this man, as he was of the family of Masinissa, and as odium and terror hung over Jugurtha for his crimes, to petition the senate for the kingdom of Numidia. Albinus, being eager for the conduct of a war, was desirous that affairs should be disturbed[1], rather than sink into tranquillity; especially as, in the division of the provinces, Numidia had fallen to himself, and Macedonia to Minucius.

When Massiva proceeded to carry these suggestions into execution, Jugurtha, finding that he had no sufficient support in his friends, as a sense of guilt deterred some, and evil report or timidity others, from coming forward in his behalf, directed Bomilcar, his most attached and faithful adherent, to procure by the aid of money, by which he had already effected so much, assassins to kill Massiva; and to do it secretly if he could; but, if secrecy should be impossible, to cut him off in any way whatsoever. This commission Bomilcar soon found means to execute; and, by the agency of men versed in such service, ascertained the direction of his journeys, his hours of leaving home, and the times at which he resorted to particular places[2], and, when all was ready, placed his assassins in ambush. One of their number sprung upon Massiva, though with too little caution, and killed him; but being himself caught, he made, at the instigation of many,

method is far more cumbersome, and less in accordance with the style of Sallust. The words quoted by Quintilian do not refer, as Cortius erroneously supposes, to this passage, but to some part of Sallust's works that is now lost.

[1] XXXV. Should be disturbed] *Movere* is the reading of Cortius; *moveri* that of most other editors, in conformity with most of the MSS. and early editions.

[2] The times at which he resorted to particular places] *Loca atque tempora cuncta.* "All his places and times." There can be no doubt that the sense is what I have given in the text.

and especially of Albinus the consul, a full confession. Bomilcar was accordingly committed for trial, though rather on the principles of reason and justice than in accordance with the law of nations[1], as he was in the retinue of one who had come to Rome on a pledge of the public faith for his safety. But Jugurtha, though clearly guilty of the crime, did not cease to struggle against the truth, until he perceived that the infamy of the deed was too strong for his interest or his money. For which reason, although, at the commencement of the proceedings[2], he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar, yet, thinking more of his kingdom than of the sureties, he sent him off privately into Numidia; for he feared that if such a man should be executed, his other subjects would be deterred from obeying him[3]. A few days after, he himself departed, having been ordered by the senate to quit Italy. But, as he was going from Rome, he is said, after frequently looking back on it in silence, to have at last exclaimed, "That it was a venal city, and would soon perish, if it could but find a purchaser[4]!"

XXXVI. The war being now renewed, Albinus hastened

[1] In accordance with the law of nations, *&c.*] As the public faith had been pledged to Jugurtha for his security, his retinue was on the same footing as that of ambassadors, the persons of whose attendants are considered as inviolable as their own, as long as they commit no offence against the laws of the country in which they are resident. If any such offence is committed by an attendant of an ambassador, an application is usually made by the government to the ambassador to deliver him up for trial. Bomilcar seems to have been apprehended without any application having been made to Jugurtha; as, in our own country, the Portuguese ambassador's brother, who was one of his retinue, was apprehended and executed for a murder, by Oliver Cromwell. See, on this point, Grotius De Jure Bell. et Pac. xviii., 8; Vattel, iv., 9; Burlamaqui on Politic Law, part iv., ch. 15. Jugurtha, says Vattel, should have given up Bomilcar; but such was not Jugurtha's object.

[2] At the commencement of the proceedings] *In priori actione.* That is, when Bomilcar was apprehended and charged with the murder.

[3] His other subjects would be deterred from obeying him] *Reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi.* "Fear of obeying him should take possession of his other subjects."

[4] That it was a venal city, *&c.*] *Urbem venalem, &c.*, I consider, with Cortius, that this is the proper way of taking these words. Some would render them *O venal city, &c.*, because Livy, Epit. lxiv., has *O urbem venalem*, but this seems to require that the verb should be in the second person; and it is probable that in Livy we should either eject the *O* or read *inveneris.* Florus, iii., 1, gives the words in the same way as Sallust.

to transport provisions, money, and other things necessary for the army, into Africa, whither he himself soon followed, with the hope that, before the time of the comitia, which was not far distant, he might be able, by an engagement, by capitulation, or by some other method, to bring the contest to a conclusion. Jugurtha, on the other hand, tried every means of protracting the war, continually inventing new causes for delay; at one time he promised to surrender, at another he feigned distrust; he retreated when Albinus attacked him, and then, lest his men should lose courage, attacked in return, and thus amused the consul with alternate procrastinations of war and of peace.

There were some, at that time, who thought that Albinus understood Jugurtha's object, and who believed that so ready a protraction of the war, after so much haste at the commencement, was to be attributed less to tardiness than to treachery. However this might be, Albinus, when time passed on, and the day of the comitia approached, left his brother Aulus in the camp as proprætor[1], and returned to Rome.

XXXVII. The republic, at this time, was grievously distracted by the contentions of the tribunes. Two of them, Publius Lucullus and Lucius Annius, were struggling, against the will of their colleagues, to prolong their term of office; and this dispute put off the comitia throughout the year[2]. In consequence of this delay, Aulus, who, as I have just said, was left as proprætor in the camp, conceiving hopes either of finishing the war, or of extorting money from Jugurtha by the terror of his army, drew out his troops, in the month of January, from their winter-quarters into the field, and by forced marches, during severe weather, made his way to the town of Suthul, where Jugurtha's treasures were deposited. And though this place, both from the inclemency of the season, and from its advantageous situation, could neither be taken nor besieged; for around its walls, which were built on the edge of a steep hill[3], a marshy plain, flooded by the rains of winter,

[1] XXXVI. As proprætor] *Pro prætore.* With the power of lieutenant-general.

[2] XXXVII. Throughout the year] *Totius anni.* That is, all that remained of the year.

[3] On the edge of a steep hill] *In prærupti montis extremo.* "*In extremo* a scholiast rightly interprets *in margine.*" Gerlach. Cortius, whom Langius fol-

had been converted into a lake; yet Aulus, either as a feint to strike terror into Jugurtha, or blinded by avarice, began to move forward his vineæ[1], to cast up a rampart, and to hasten all necessary preparations for a siege.

XXXVIII. Jugurtha, seeing the proprætor's vanity and ignorance, artfully strengthened his infatuation; he sent him, from time to time, deputies with submissive messages, whilst he himself, as if desirous to escape, led his army away through woody defiles and cross-roads. At length he succeeded in alluring Aulus, by the prospect of a surrender on conditions, to leave Suthul, and pursue him, as if in full retreat, into the remoter parts of the country. Meanwhile, by means of skilful emissaries, he tampered night and day with our men, and prevailed on some of the officers, both of infantry and cavalry, to desert to him at once, and upon others to quit their posts at a given signal, that their defection might thus be less observed[2]. Having prepared matters according to his wishes, he suddenly surrounded the camp of Aulus, in the dead of night, with a vast body of Numidians. The Roman soldiers were alarmed with an unusual disturbance; some of them seized their arms, others hid themselves, others encouraged those that were afraid; but consternation prevailed everywhere; for the number of the enemy was great, the sky was thick with clouds and darkness, the danger was indiscernible, and it was uncertain whether it were safer to flee or to remain. Of those whom I have just mentioned as being bribed, one cohort of Ligurians, with two troops of

lows, considers that *in extremo* means *at the bottom;* a notion which Kritzius justly condemns; for, as Gerlach asks, what would that have to do with the strength of the place? Müller would have us believe that *in extremo* means *at the top;* but if Sallust had meant to say that the city was at the top, he would hardly have chosen the word *extremus* for the purpose. Doubtless, as Gerlach observes, the city was on the top of the hill, which was broad enough to hold it; but the words *in extremo* signify that the walls were even with the side of the hill. Of the site of the town of Suthul no traces are now to be found.

[1] Vineæ] Defences made of hurdles or other wood, and often covered with raw hides, to defend the soldiers who worked the battering-ram. The word that comes nearest to *vineæ* in our language is *mantelets.* Before this word, in many editions, occurs the phrase *ob thesauros oppidi potiundi,* which Cortius, whom I follow, omits.

[2] XXXVIII. That their defection might thus be less observed] *Ita delicta occultiora fore.* Cortius transferred these words to this place from the end of the preceding sentence; Kritzius and Dietsch have restored them to their former place. Gerlach thinks them an intruded gloss.

Thracian horse, and a few common soldiers, went over to Jugurtha; and the chief centurion[1] of the third legion allowed the enemy an entrance at the very post which he had been appointed to defend, and at which all the Numidians poured into the camp. Our men fled disgracefully, the greater part having thrown away their arms, and took possession of a neighbouring hill. Night, and the spoil of the camp, prevented the enemy from making full use of this victory. On the following day, Jugurtha, coming to a conference with Aulus, told him, "that though he held him hemmed in by famine and the sword, yet that, being mindful of human vicissitudes, he would, if they would make a treaty with him, allow them to depart uninjured; only that they must pass under the yoke, and quit Numidia within ten days." These terms were severe and ignominious; but, as death was the alternative[2], peace was concluded as Jugurtha desired.

XXXIX. When this affair was made known at Rome, consternation and dismay pervaded the city; some were concerned for the glory of the republic; others, ignorant of war, trembled for their liberty. But all were indignant at Aulus, and especially those who had often been distinguished in the field, because, with arms in his hands, he had sought safety in disgrace rather than in resistance. The consul Albinus, apprehending, from the delinquency of his brother,

[1] The chief centurion] *Centurio primi pili.* There were sixty centurions in a Roman legion; the one here meant was the first, or oldest, centurion of the Triarii, or Pilani.

[2] As death was the alternative] *Quia mortis metu mutabant.* Neither manuscripts nor critics are agreed about this passage. Cortius, from a suggestion of Palmerius, adopted *mutabant;* most other editors have *mutabantur;* but both are to be taken in the same sense; for *mutabant* is equivalent to *mutabant se.* Cortius's interpretation appears the most eligible: "Permutabantur cum metuendâ morte," *i. e.* there were those conditions on one side, and death on the other, and if they did not accept the conditions, they must die. Kritzius fancifully and strangely interprets, *propter mortis metum se mutabant,* i. e. *alia videbantur atque erant,* or the acceptance of the terms appeared excusable to the soldiers, because they were threatened with death if they did not accept them. It is worth while to notice the variety of readings exhibited in the manuscripts collated by Cortius: ten exhibit *mutabantur;* three, *minitabantur;* three, *multabantur;* three, *tenebantur;* one, *tenebatur;* one, *cogebantur;* one, *cogebatur;* one, *angustiabantur;* one, *urgebantur;* and one, *mortis metuebant pericula.* There is also, he adds, in some copies, *nutabant,* which the Bipont editors and Müller absurdly adopted.

odium and danger to himself, consulted the senate on the treaty which had been made, but, at the same time, raised recruits for the army, sent for auxiliaries to the allies and Latins, and made general preparations for war. The senate, as was just, decreed, "that no treaty could be made without their own consent and that of the people."

The consul, though he was hindered by the influence of the tribunes from taking with him the force which he had raised, set out in a few days for the province of Africa, where the whole army, being withdrawn, according to the agreement, from Numidia, had gone into winter-quarters. When he arrived there, although he longed to pursue Jugurtha, and diminish the odium that had fallen on his brother, yet, when he saw the state of the troops, whom, besides the flight and relaxation of discipline, licentiousness and debauchery had corrupted, he determined, under all the circumstances of the case[1], to attempt nothing.

XL. At Rome, in the mean time, Caius Mamilius Limetanus, one of the tribunes, proposed that the people should pass a bill for instituting an inquiry into the conduct of those by whose influence Jugurtha had set at nought the decrees of the senate, as well as of those who, whether as ambassadors or commanders, had received money from him, or who had restored to him his elephants and deserters, or had made any compacts with the enemy relative to peace or war. To this bill some, who were conscious of guilt, and others, who apprehended danger from the jealousy of parties, secretly raised obstructions through the agency of friends, and especially of men among the Latins and Italian allies[2], since they could not openly resist it, without admitting that these and similar practices met their approbation. But as to the people, it is incredible what eagerness they displayed, and with what spirit they approved, voted, and passed the bill, though rather from hatred to the nobility, against whom

[1] XXXIX. Under all the circumstances of the case] *Ex copiâ rerum.* From the number of things which he had to consider.

[2] XL. The Latins and Italian allies] *Per homines nominis Latini, et socios Italicos.* "The right of voting was not extended to all the Latin people till A.U.C. 664, and the Italian allies did not obtain it till some years afterwards." *Kritzius.* So that at this period, which was twenty years earlier, their influence could only be employed in an underhand way. Compare c. 42.

these severe measures were directed, than from concern for the republic; so violent was the fury of party.

Whilst the rest of the delinquents were in trepidation, Marcus Scaurus[1], whom I have previously noticed as Bestia's lieutenant, contrived, amidst the exultation of the populace, the dismay of his own party, and the continued agitation in the city, to have himself elected one of the three commissioners who were appointed by the bill of Mamilius to carry it into execution. But the investigation, notwithstanding, was conducted[2] with great rigour and violence, under the influence of common rumour and popular caprice; for the insolence of success, which had often distinguished the nobility, on this occasion characterised the people.

XLI. The prevalence of parties among the people, and of factions in the senate, and of all evil practices attendant on them, had its origin at Rome, a few years before, during a period of tranquillity, and amidst the abundance of all that mankind regard as desirable. For, before the destruction of Carthage, the senate and people managed the affairs of the republic with mutual moderation and forbearance; there were no contests among the citizens for honour or ascendancy; but the dread of an enemy kept the state in order. When that fear, however, was removed from their minds, licentiousness and pride, evils which prosperity loves to foster, immediately began to prevail; and thus peace, which they had so eagerly desired in adversity, proved, when they had obtained it, more grievous and fatal than adversity itself. The patricians carried their authority, and the people their liberty, to excess; every man took, snatched, and seized[3] what he could. There was a complete division into two factions, and the republic was torn in pieces between them.

[1] Marcus Scaurus] See c. 15. That he was appointed on this occasion, is an evident proof of his commanding influence.

[2] But the investigation, notwithstanding, was conducted, *&c.*] *Sed quæstio exercita, &c.* Scaurus, it is probable, did what he could to mitigate the violence of the proceedings. Cicero, however, says that Caius Galba a *sacerdos*, with four *consulares*, Bestia, Caius Cato, Albinus, and Opimius, were condemned and exiled by this law of Mamilius. See Brut. c. 34.

[3] XLI. Took, snatched, and seized] *Ducere, trahere, rapere.* "*Ducere* conveys the notion of cunning and fraud; *trahere* of some degree of force; *rapere* of open violence." *Müller.* The words chiefly refer to offices in the state, as is apparent from what follows.

Yet the nobility still maintained an ascendancy by conspiring together; for the strength of the people, being disunited and dispersed among a multitude, was less able to exert itself. Things were accordingly directed, both at home and in the field, by the will of a small number of men, at whose disposal were the treasury, the provinces, offices, honours, and triumphs; while the people were oppressed with military service and with poverty, and the generals divided the spoils of war with a few of their friends. The parents and children of the soldiers[1], meantime, if they chanced to dwell near a powerful neighbour, were driven from their homes. Thus avarice, leagued with power, disturbed, violated, and wasted everything, without moderation or restraint; disregarding alike reason and religion, and rushing headlong, as it were, to its own destruction. For whenever any arose among the nobility[2], who preferred true glory to unjust power, the state was immediately in a tumult, and civil discord spread with as much disturbance as attends a convulsion of the earth.

XLII. Thus when Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose forefathers had done much to increase the power of the state in the Punic and other wars, began to vindicate the liberty of the people, and to expose the misconduct of the few, the nobility, conscious of guilt, and seized with alarm, endea-

[1] The parents and children of the soldiers, *&c.*]

Quid quod usque proximos
Revellis agri terminos, et ultra
Limites clientium
Salis avarus? Pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens deos
Et uxor et vir, sordidosque natos.
Hor. Od., ii., 18.

What can this impious av'rice stay?
Their sacred landmarks torn away,
You plunge into your neighbour's grounds,
And overleap your client's bounds.
Helpless the wife and husband flee,
And in their arms, expell'd by thee,
Their household gods, adored in vain,
Their infants, too, a sordid train.
Francis.

[2] Among the nobility] *Ex nobilitate.* Cortius injudiciously omits these words. The reference is to the Gracchi.

voured, sometimes by means of the allies and Latins[1], and sometimes by means of the equestrian order, whom the hope of coalition with the patricians had detached from the people, to put a stop to the proceedings of the Gracchi; and first they killed Tiberius, and a few years after Caius, who pursued the same measures as his brother, the one when he was tribune, and the other when he was one of a triumvirate for settling colonies; and with them they cut off Marcus Fulvius Flaccus. In the Gracchi, indeed, it must be allowed that, from their ardour for victory, there was not sufficient prudence. But to a reasonable man it is more agreeable to submit[2] to injustice than triumph over it by improper means. The nobility, however, using their victory with wanton extravagance, exterminated numbers of men by the sword or by exile, yet rather increased, for the time to come, the dread with which they were regarded, than their real power. Such proceedings have often ruined powerful states; for of two parties, each strives to suppress the other by any means whatever, and to take vengeance with undue severity on the vanquished.

But were I to attempt to treat of the animosities of parties, and of the morals of the state, with minuteness of detail, and suitably to the vastness of the subject, time would fail me sooner than matter. I therefore return to my subject.

XLIII. After the treaty of Aulus, and the disgraceful flight of our army, Quintus Metellus and Marcus Silanus, the consuls elect, divided the provinces between them; and Numidia fell to Metellus, a man of energy, and, though an

[1] By means of the allies and Latins] See on; c. 40.

[2] But to a reasonable man it is more agreeable to submit, *&c.*] *Sed bono vinci satius est, quàm malo more injuriam vincere. Bono*, sc. *viro*. "That is, if the nobility had been truly worthy characters, they would rather have yielded to the Gracchi, than have revenged any wrong that they had received from them, in an unprincipled manner." *Dietsch.* Thus this is a reflexion on the nobles; in which notion of the passage Allen concurs with Dietsch. Others, as Cortius, think it a reflection on the too great violence of the Gracchi. The brevity with which Sallust had expressed himself makes it difficult to decide. Kritzius, who thinks that the remark is in praise of the Gracchi, supplies the ellipse thus: "Sane concedi debet Gracchis non satis moderatum animum fuisse; *quæ res ipsis adeo interitum attulit;* sed *sic quoque egregii viri putandi sunt; nam* bono vinci," *&c.* Langius and Burnouf join *bono* with *more*, but do not differ much in their interpretations of the passage from that given by Dietsch.

opponent of the popular party, yet of a character uniformly irreproachable[1]. He, as soon as he entered on his office, regarded all other things as common to himself and his colleague[2], but directed his chief attention to the war which he was to conduct. Distrusting, therefore, the old army, he began to raise new troops, to procure auxiliaries from all parts, and to provide arms, horses, and other military requisites, besides provisions in abundance, and everything else which was likely to be of use in a war varied in its character, and demanding great resources. To assist in accomplishing these objects, the allies and Latins, by the appointment of the senate, and different princes[3] of their own accord, sent supplies; and the whole state exerted itself in the cause with the greatest zeal. Having at length prepared and arranged everything according to his wishes, Metellus set out for Numidia, attended with sanguine expectations on the part of his fellow-citizens, not only because of his other excellent qualities, but especially because his mind was proof against gold; for it was through the avarice of our commanders, that, down to this period, our affairs in Numidia had been ruined, and those of the enemy rendered prosperous.

XLIV. When he arrived in Africa, the command of the army was resigned to him by Albinus, the proconsul[4]; but it was an army spiritless and unwarlike; incapable of encountering either danger or fatigue; more ready with the tongue than with the sword; accustomed to plunder our allies, while itself was the prey of the enemy; unchecked by discipline, and void of all regard to its character. The new

[1] XLIII. Of a character uniformly irreproachable] *Famâ tamen æquabili et inviolatâ. Æquabilis* is uniform, always the same, keeping an even tenor.

[2] Regarded all other things as common to himself and his colleague] *Alia omnia sibi cum collegâ ratus.* "Other matters, unconnected with the war against Jugurtha, he thought that he would have to manage in conjunction with his colleague, and that, consequently, he might give but partial attention to them; but that the war in Numidia was committed to his sole care." *Cortius.* Other interpretations of these words have been suggested; but they are fanciful, and unworthy of notice.

[3] Princes] *Reges.* Who these were, the commentators have not attempted to conjecture.

[4] XLIV. By Spurius Albinus, the proconsul] *A Spurio Albino proconsule.* This is the general reading. Cortius has, *Spurii Albini pro consule*, with which we may understand *agentis* or *imperantis*, but can hardly believe it to be what Sallust wrote. Kritzius reads, *Spurii Albini proconsulis.*

general, accordingly, felt more anxiety from the corrupt morals of the men, than confidence or hope from their numbers. He determined, however, though the delay of the comitia had shortened his summer campaign, and though he knew his countrymen to be anxious for the result of his proceedings, not to commence operations, until, by a revival of the old discipline, he had brought the soldiers to bear fatigue. For Albinus, dispirited by the disaster of his brother Aulus and his army, and having resolved not to leave the province during the portion of the summer that he was to command, had kept the soldiers, for the most part, in a stationary camp[1], except when stench, or want of forage, obliged them to remove. But neither had the camp been fortified[2], nor the watches kept, according to military usage; every one had been allowed to leave his post when he pleased. The camp-followers, mingled with the soldiers, wandered about day and night, ravaging the country, robbing the houses, and vying with each other in carrying off cattle and slaves, which they exchanged with traders for foreign wine[3] and other luxuries; they even sold the corn, which was given them from the public store, and bought bread from day to day; and, in a word, whatever abominations, arising from idleness and licentiousness, can be expressed or imagined, and even more, were to be seen in that army.

XLV. But I am assured that Metellus, in these difficult circumstances, no less than in his operations against the enemy, proved himself a great and wise man; so just a medium did he observe between an affectation of popularity and an excessive enforcement of discipline. His first

[1] In a stationary camp] *Stativis castris.* In contradistinction to that which the soldiers formed at the end of a day's march.

[2] But neither had the camp been fortified, *&c.*] *Sed neque muniebantur ea* (sc. castra), *neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur.* "The words *sed neque muniebantur ea* are wanting in almost all the manuscripts, as well as in all the editions, except that of Cyprianus Popma." *Kritzius.* Gerlach, however, had, previously to Kritz, inserted them in his text, though in brackets; for he supposed them to be a mere conjecture of some scribe, who was not satisfied with a single *neque.* But they have been found in a codex of Fronto, by Angelo Mai, and have accordingly been received as genuine by Kritz and Dietsch. Pottier and Burnouf have omitted the *ea*, thinking, I suppose, that in such a position it could hardly be Sallust's; but the verb requires a nominative case to prevent it from being referred to the following *vigiliæ.*

[3] Foreign wine] *Vino advectitio.* Imported. Africa does not abound in wine.

measure was to remove incentives to idleness, by a general order that no one should sell bread, or any other dressed provisions, in the camp; that no sutlers should follow the army; and that no common soldier should have a servant, or beast of burden, either in the camp or on a march. He made the strictest regulations, too, with regard to other things[1]. He moved his camp daily, exercising the soldiers by marches across the country; he fortified it with a rampart and a trench, exactly as if the enemy had been at hand; he placed numerous sentinels[2] by night, and went the rounds with his officers; and, when the army was on the march, he would be at one time in the front, at another in the rear, and at another in the centre, to see that none quitted their ranks, that the men kept close to their standards, and that every soldier carried his provisions and his arms. Thus by preventing rather than punishing irregularities, he in a short time rendered his army effective.

XLVI. Jugurtha, meantime, having learned from his emissaries how Metellus was proceeding, and having heard, when he was in Rome, of the integrity of the consul's character, began to despair of his plans, and at length actually endeavoured to effect a capitulation. He therefore sent deputies to the consul with proposals of submission, stipulating only for his own life and that of his children, and offering to surrender everything else to the Romans. But Metellus had already learned by experience, that the Numidians were a faithless race, of unsettled disposition, and fond of change; and he accordingly applied himself to each of the deputies separately, and after gradually sounding them, and finding them proper instruments for his purpose, prevailed on them, by large promises, to deliver Jugurtha into his hands; bringing him alive, if they could, or dead, if to take him alive should be impracticable. In public, however, he directed that such an answer should be given to the king as would be agreeable to his wishes.

A few days afterwards, he led the army, which was now

[1] XLV. With regard to other things] *Cæteris.* Cortius, whom Gerlach follows, considers this word as referring to the men or officers; but Kritzius and Dietsch, with better judgment, understand *rebus.*

[2] Numerous sentinels] *Vigilias crebras.* At short intervals, says Kritzius, from each other.

vigorous and resolute, into Numidia, where, instead of any appearance of war, he found the cottages full of people, and the cattle and labourers in the fields, while the officers of Jugurtha came from the towns and villages[1] to meet him, offering to supply him with corn, to convey provisions for him, and to do whatever might be required of them. Metellus, notwithstanding, made no diminution in the caution with which he marched, but kept as much on the defensive as if an enemy had been at hand; and he despatched scouts to explore the country, thinking that these signs of submission were but pretence, and that the Numidians were watching an opportunity for treachery. He himself, with some light-armed cohorts, and a select body of slingers and archers, advanced always in the front; while Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, at the head of the cavalry, had charge of the rear. The auxiliary horse, distributed among the tribunes of the legions and prefects of the cohorts, he placed on the flanks, so that, with the aid of the light troops mixed with them, they might repel the enemy wherever an approach should be made. For such was the subtlety of Jugurtha, and such his knowledge of the country and the art of war, that it was doubtful whether he was more formidable absent or present, offering peace or threatening hostilities.

XLVII. There lay, not far from the route which Metellus was pursuing, a city of the Numidians named Vaga, the most celebrated place for trade in the whole kingdom, in which many Italian merchants were accustomed to reside and traffic. Here the consul, to try the disposition of the inhabitants, and, should they allow him, to take advantage of the situation of the place[2], established a garrison, and ordered

[1] LXVI. Villages] *Mapalibus.* See c. xviii. The word is here used for a collection of huts, a village.

[2] XLVII. Here the consul, to try the disposition of the inhabitants, and, should they allow him, to take advantage of the situation of the place, *&c.*] *Huc consul, simul tentandi gratiâ, et si paterentur, opportunitatis loci, præsidium imponit.* This is a *locus vexatissimus*, about which no editor has satisfied himself. I have deserted Cortius and followed Dietsch, who seems to have settled the passage, on the basis of Havercamp's text, with more judgment than any other commentator. Cortius read, *Huc consul, simul tentandi gratiâ, si paterent opportunitates loci, &c.*, taking *opportunitates* in the sense of *munitiones*, "defences;" but would Sallust have said *that Metellus put a garrison in the place, to try if its defences would be open to him?* Havercamp's reading is, *simul tentandi gratiâ, et si paterentur*

the people to furnish him with corn, and other necessaries for war; thinking, as circumstances indeed suggested, that the concourse of merchants, and frequent arrival of supplies[1], would add strength to his army, and further the plans which he had already formed.

In the midst of these proceedings, Jugurtha, with extraordinary earnestness[1], sent deputies to sue for peace, offering to resign everything to Metellus, except his own life and that of his children. These, like the former, the consul first seduced to treachery, and then sent back; the peace which Jugurtha asked, he neither granted nor refused, but waited, during these delays, the performance of the deputies' promises.

XLVIII. Jugurtha, on comparing the words of Metellus with his actions, perceived that he was assailed with his own artifices; for though peace was offered him in words, a most vigorous war was in reality pursued against him; one of his strongest cities was wrested from him; his country was explored by the enemy, and the affections of his subjects alienated. Being compelled, therefore, by the necessity of circumstances, he resolved to try the fortune of a battle. Having, with this view, informed himself of the exact route of the enemy, and hoping for success from the advantage of the ground, he collected as large a force of every kind as

opportunitates loci, &c. Palmerius conjectured *simul tentandi gratiâ, si paterentur; et opportunitate loci*, which Gerlach and Kritzius adopt, except that they change the place of the *et*, and put it before *si*. Allen thinks that he has amended the passage by reading *Huc consul, simul si paterentur tentandi, et opportunitatis loci, gratiâ;* but this conjecture is liable to similar objection with that of Cortius. Other varieties of reading it is needless to notice. But it is observable that four manuscripts, as Kritzius remarks, have *propter opportunitates*, which led me long ago to suppose that the true reading must be *simul tentandi gratiâ, simul propter opportunitates loci. Simul propter* might easily have been corrupted into *si paterentur*.

[1] Frequent arrival of supplies] *Commeatum.* "Frumenti et omnium rerum, quarum in bello usus est, largam copiam." *Kritzius.* I follow the text of Cortius, (retaining the words *juvaturum exercitum*) which Kritzius sufficiently justifies. There is a variety of readings, but all much the same in sense.

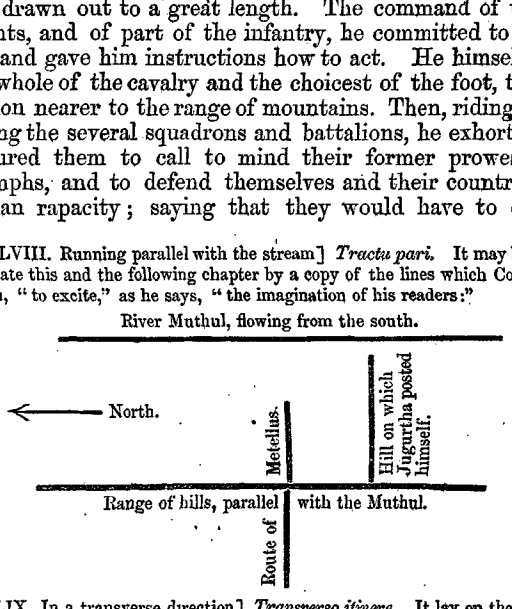
[2] Extraordinary earnestness] *Impensius modo.* Cortius and Kritzius interpret this *modo* as the ablative case of *modus*; i. e. *quâm modus erat*, or *supra modum;* but Dietsch and Burnouf question the propriety of this interpretation, and consider the *modo* to be the same as that in *tantummodo, dummodo*, &c. The same expression occurs again in c. 75.

he could, and, marching by cross-roads, got in advance of Metellus's army.

There was, in that part of Numidia, of which, on the division of the kingdom, Adherbal had become possessor, a river named Muthul, flowing from the south; and, about twenty miles from it, was a range of mountains running parallel with the stream[1], wild and uncultivated; but from the centre of it stretched a kind of hill, reaching to a vast distance, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and other trees, such as grow in a dry and sandy soil. The plain, which lay between the mountains and the Muthul, was uninhabited from want of water, except the parts bordering on the river, which were planted with trees, and full of cattle and inhabitants.

XLIX. On this hill, which I have just mentioned, stretching in a transverse direction[2], Jugurtha took post with his line drawn out to a great length. The command of the elephants, and of part of the infantry, he committed to Bomilcar, and gave him instructions how to act. He himself, with the whole of the cavalry and the choicest of the foot, took his station nearer to the range of mountains. Then, riding round among the several squadrons and battalions, he exhorted and conjured them to call to mind their former prowess and triumphs, and to defend themselves and their country from Roman rapacity; saying that they would have to engage

[1] XLVIII. Running parallel with the stream] *Tractu pari.* It may be well to illustrate this and the following chapter by a copy of the lines which Cortius has drawn, "to excite," as he says, "the imagination of his readers:"



[2] XLIX. In a transverse direction] *Transverso itinere.* It lay on the flank of the Romans as they marched towards the river, *in dextero latere*, c. 49, *fin.*

with those whom they had already conquered and sent under the yoke, and that, though their commander was changed, there was no alteration in their spirit. He added, that he had provided for his men everything becoming a general; that he had chosen the higher ground, where they, being well acquainted with the country[1], would contend with adversaries ignorant of it; nor would they engage, inferior in numbers or skill, with a larger or more experienced force; and that they should therefore be ready, when the signal should be given, to fall vigorously on the Romans, as that day would either crown[2] all their labours and victories, or be a prelude to the most grievous calamities. He also addressed himself, individually, to any one whom he had rewarded with money or honours for military desert, reminding him of his favours, and pointing him out as an example to the rest; and finally he excited all his men, some in one way and some in another, by threats or entreaties, according to the different dispositions of each.

Metellus, who was still ignorant of the enemy's position, was now seen[3] descending the mountain with his army. He was at first doubtful what the strange appearance before him indicated; for the Numidians, both cavalry and infantry, had taken post among the wood, not entirely concealing themselves, by reason of the lowness of the trees, yet rendering it uncertain[4] what they were, as both themselves and their standards were screened as well by the nature of the ground as by artifice; but soon perceiving that there were men in ambush, he halted a while, and, having altered the arrangement of his troops, he drew up those in the right wing, which was nearest to the enemy, in three lines[5]; he distri-

[1] Well acquainted with the country] *Prudentes.* "Periti loci et regionis." *Cortius.* Or it may mean knowing what they were to do, while the enemy would be *imperiti*, surprised and perplexed.

[2] Would crown] *Confirmaturum.* Would establish, settle, put the last hand to them.

[3] Was seen] *Conspicitur.* This is the reading adopted by Cortius, Müller, and Allen, as being that of all the manuscripts. Havercamp, Kritzius, and Dietsch admitted into their texts, on the sole authority of Donatus ad Ter. Eun. ii., 3, *conspicatur*, i. e. (Metellus) *catches sight* of the enemy. The latter reading, perhaps, makes a better connexion.

[4] Rendering it uncertain] *Incerti.* Presenting such an appearance that a spectator could not be certain what they were.

[5] He drew up those in the right wing—in three lines] *In dextero latere—tri-*

buted the slingers and archers among the infantry, posted all the cavalry on the flanks, and having made a brief address, such as time permitted, to his men, he led them down, with the front changed into a flank[1], towards the plain.

L. But when he observed that the Numidians remained quiet, and did not offer to descend from the hill, he became apprehensive that his army, from the season of the year and the scarcity of water, might be overcome with thirst, and therefore sent Rutilius, one of his lieutenant-generals, with the light-armed cohorts and a detachment of cavalry, towards the river, to secure ground for an encampment, expecting that the enemy, by frequent charges and attacks on his flank, would endeavour to impede his march, and, as they despaired of success in arms, would try the effect of fatigue and thirst on his troops. He then continued to advance by degrees, as his circumstances and the ground permitted, in the same order in which he had descended from the range of mountains. He assigned Marius his post behind the front line[2], and took on himself the command of the cavalry on the left wing, which, on the march, had become the van[3].

plicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit. In the other passages in which Sallust has the word *subsidia* (Cat., c. 59), he uses it for *the lines behind the front.* Thus he says of Catiline, *Octo cohortes in fronte constituit; reliqua signa in subsidiis arctiùs collocat;* and of Petreius, *Cohortes veteranas—in fronte; post eas reliquum exercitum in subsidiis locat.* But whether he uses the word in the same sense here; whether we might, as Cortius thinks (whom Gerlach and Dietsch follow), call the division of Metellus's troops *quadruple* instead of *triple*, or whether he arranged them, as De Brosses and others suppose, in the usual disposition of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, who shall place beyond dispute? The probability, however, if Sallust is consistent with himself in his use of the word, lies with Cortius. Gerlach refers to Cæsar, De Bell. Civ. iii., 89: *Celeriter ex tertiâ acie singulas cohortes detraxit, atque ex his quartam instituit;* but this does not illustrate Sallust's use of the word *subsidia:* Cæsar forms a fourth *acies;* Metellus draws up one *acies* "triplicibus subsidiis."

[1] With the front changed into a flank] *Transversis principiis.* He made the whole army wheel to the left, so that what was their front line, or *principia*, as they faced the enemy on the hill, became their flank as they marched from the mountains toward the river.

[2] L. Behind the front line] *Post principia.* The *principia* are the same as those mentioned in the preceding note, that is, the front line when the army faced that of Jugurtha on the hill, but which presented its flank to the enemy when the army was on its march. So that Marius commanded in the centre ("in medio agmine," says Dietsch), while Metellus took the lead with the cavalry of the left wing. See the following note.

[3] Cavalry on the left wing—which, on the march, had become the van] *Sinistræ*

When Jugurtha perceived that the rear of the Roman army had passed his first line, he took possession of that part of the mountain from which Metellius had descended, with a body of about two thousand infantry, that it might not serve the enemy, if they were driven back, as a place of retreat, and afterwards as a post of defence; and then, ordering the signal to be given, suddenly commenced his attack. Some of his Numidians made havoc in the rear of the Romans, while others assailed them on the right and left wings; they all advanced and charged furiously, and everywhere threw the consul's troops into confusion. Even those of our men who made the stoutest resistance, were baffled by the enemy's versatile method of fighting, and wounded from a distance, without having the power of wounding in return, or of coming to close combat; for the Numidian cavalry, as they had been previously instructed by Jugurtha, retreated whenever a troop of Romans attempted to pursue them, but did not keep in a body, or collect themselves into one place, but dispersed as widely as possible. Thus, being superior in numbers, if they could not deter the Romans from pursuing, they surrounded them, when disordered, on the rear or flank, or, if the hill seemed more convenient for retreat than the plain, the Numidian horses, being accustomed to the brushwood, easily made their way among it, whilst the difficulty of the ascent, and want of acquaintance with the ground, impeded those of the Romans.

LI. The aspect of the whole struggle[1] was indeed various, perplexing, direful, and lamentable; the men, separated from their comrades, were partly fleeing, partly pursuing; neither standards nor ranks were regarded, but wherever danger pressed, there they made a stand and defended themselves; arms and weapons, horses and men, enemies, and fellow-countrymen, were all mingled in confusion; nothing was done by direction or command, but chance ordered everything. Though the day, therefore, was now far advanced,

alæ equitibus,—qui in agmine principes facti erant. When Metellus halted (c. 49, fin.), and drew up his troops fronting the hill on which Jugurtha was posted, he placed all his cavalry in the wings; consequently, when the army wheeled to the left, and marched forward, the cavalry of the left wing became the van.

[1] LI. Of the whole struggle] *Totius negotii.* That is, on the side of the Romans.

the event of the contest was still uncertain. At last, however, when all were faint with exertion and the heat of the day, Metellus, observing that the Numidians were less vigorous in their charges, drew his troops together by degrees, restored order among them, and led four cohorts of the legions against the enemy's infantry, of whom a great number, overcome with fatigue, had seated themselves on the high ground. He at the same time entreated and exhorted his men not to lose courage, nor to suffer a flying enemy to be victorious; adding that they had neither camp nor citadel to which they could flee, but that their only dependence was on their arms. Nor was Jugurtha, in the mean time, inactive; he rode round among his troops, cheered them, renewed the contest, and, at the head of a select body, made every possible effort for victory; supporting his own men, charging such of the enemy as wavered, and repressing with missiles such as he saw remaining unshaken.

LII. Thus did these two commanders, both eminent men, maintain the contest against each other. In personal ability they were equal, but in circumstances unequal. Metellus had resolute troops, but a disadvantageous position; Jugurtha had everything in his favour except men. At last the Romans, seeing that they had no place of refuge, that the enemy allowed no opportunity for a regular engagement, and that the evening was fast approaching, forced their way, according to the orders which were given, up the hill. The Numidians were thus driven from their position, routed, and put to flight; a few of them were slain, but their speed, and the enemy's ignorance of the country[1], saved the greater number of them.

Meanwhile Bomilcar, who, as I have said before, was appointed by Jugurtha over the elephants and a part of the infantry, having seen Rutilius pass by him, led down his men gradually into the plain, and whilst Rutilius hastened to the river, to which he had been despatched, quietly drew them up in such order as circumstances required; not omitting, at the same time, to watch every movement of the enemy. When he learned that Rutilius had taken his position, and seemed free from apprehension of danger, and heard, at the

[1] LII. The enemy's ignorance of the country] *Regio hostibus ignara. Ignara* for *ignota*; a country unknown to the enemy.

same time, an increasing noise where Jugurtha was engaged, fearing lest the lieutenant-general, taking the alarm, should go to the support of his countrymen in difficulties, he, in order to intercept his march, increased the extent of his lines, which, from distrust of the bravery of his men, he had previously condensed, and advanced in this order towards Rutilius's camp.

LIII. The Romans, on a sudden, observed a vast cloud of dust, which, as the ground, thickly covered with bushes, obstructed their view, they at first supposed to be only sand raised by the wind; but at length, when they saw that it continued uniform, and approached nearer and nearer as the line advanced, they understood the real cause of it, and, hastily seizing their arms, drew up, as their commander directed, before the camp. When the enemy came up, both sides rushed to the encounter with loud shouts. But the Numidians maintained the contest only as long as they trusted for support to their elephants; for, when they saw the animals entangled in the boughs of the trees, and dispersed or surrounded by the enemy, they betook themselves to flight, and most of them, having thrown away their arms, escaped, by favour of the hill, or of the night, which was now coming on, without injury. Of the elephants, four were taken, and the rest, to the number of forty, were killed.

The Romans, though fatigued and exhausted[1] with their march, the construction of their camp, and the engagement, yet, as Metellus was longer in coming than they expected, advanced to meet him in regular and steady order. The subtlety of the Numidians, indeed, allowed them neither rest nor relaxation. But as the two parties drew together, in the obscurity of the night, each occasioned, by a noise like that of enemies approaching, alarm and trepidation in the other; and, had not parties of horse, sent forward from both sides, ascertained the truth, a fatal disaster was on the point of happening from the mistake. However, in place of fear, joy

[1] LIII. Fatigued and exhausted] *Fessi lassique.* I am once more obliged to desert Cortius, who reads *lætique.* The sense, as Kritzius and Dietsch observe, shows that *læti* cannot be the reading, for there must evidently be a complete antithesis between the two parts of the sentence; an antithesis which would be destroyed by the introduction of *læti.* Gerlach, though he retains *læti* in his text, condemns it in his notes.

quickly succeeded; the soldiers met with mutual congratulations, relating their adventures, or listening to those of others, and each extolling his own achievements to the skies. For thus it is with human affairs; in success, even cowards may boast; whilst defeat lowers the character even of heroes.

LIV. Metellus remained four days in the same camp. He carefully provided for the recovery of the wounded, rewarded, in military fashion, such as had distinguished themselves in the engagements, and praised and thanked them all in a public address; exhorting them to maintain equal resolution in their future labours, which would be less arduous, as they had fought sufficiently for victory, and would now have to contend only for spoil. In the mean time he despatched deserters, and other eligible persons, to ascertain where Jugurtha was, or what he was doing; whether he had but few followers, or a large army; and how he conducted himself under his defeat. The prince, he found, had retreated to places full of wood, well defended by nature, and was there collecting an army, which would be more numerous indeed than the former, but inactive and inefficient, as being composed of men better acquainted with husbandry and cattle than with war. This had happened from the circumstance, that, in case of flight, none of the Numidian troops, except the royal cavalry, follow their king; the rest disperse, wherever inclination leads them; nor is this thought any disgrace to them as soldiers, such being the custom of the people.

Metellus, therefore, seeing that Jugurtha's spirit was still unsubdued; that a war was being renewed, which could only be conducted[1] according to the prince's pleasure; and that he was struggling with the enemy on unequal terms, as the Numidians suffered a defeat with less loss than his own men gained a victory, he resolved to manage the contest, not by pitched battles or regular warfare, but in another method. He accordingly marched into the richest parts of Numidia, captured and burnt many fortresses and towns, which were insufficiently or wholly undefended, put the youth to the sword, and gave up everything else as plunder to his soldiers. From the terror caused by these proceedings, many persons

LIV. Which could only be conducted, *&c.*] *Quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri non posset.* Cortius omits the *non* before *posset*, but almost every other editor, except Allen, has retained it, from a conviction of its necessity.

were given up as hostages to the Romans; corn, and other necessaries, were supplied in abundance; and garrisons were admitted wherever Metellus thought fit.

These measures alarmed Jugurtha much more than the loss of the late battle; for he, whose whole security lay in flight, was compelled to pursue; and he who could not defend his own part of the kingdom, was obliged to make war in that which was occupied by others. Under these circumstances, however[1], he adopted what seemed the most eligible plan. He ordered the main body of his army to continue stationary; whilst he himself, with a select troop of cavalry, went in pursuit of Metellus, and coming upon him unperceived, by means of night marches and bye-roads, he fell upon such of the Romans as were straggling about, of whom the greater number, being unarmed, were slain, and several others made prisoners; not one of them, indeed, escaped unharmed; and the Numidians, before assistance could arrive from the camp, fled, as they had been ordered, to the nearest hills.

LV. In the mean time great joy appeared at Rome when the proceedings of Metellus were reported, and when it was known how he was conducting himself and his army conformably to the ancient discipline; how, on adverse ground, he had gained a victory by his valour; how he was securing possession of the enemy's territory; and how he had driven Jugurtha, when elated by the weakness of Aulus, to depend for safety on the desert or on flight. For these successes, accordingly, the senate decreed a thanksgiving[2] to the immortal gods; the city, which had been full of anxiety, and apprehensive as to the event of the war, was now filled with joy; and the fame of Metellus was raised to the utmost height.

The consul's eagerness to gain a complete victory was thus increased; he exerted himself in every possible way, taking care, at the same time, to give the enemy no opportunity of attacking him to advantage. He remembered that envy is

[1] Under these circumstances, however] *Ex copiâ tamen.* With *copiâ* we must understand *consiliorum* or *rerum*, as at the end of c. 39. All the manuscripts, except two, have *inopiâ*, which editors have justly rejected as inconsistent with the sense.

[2] LV. A thanksgiving] *Supplicia.* The same as *supplicatio*, on which the reader may consult Adam's Rom. Ant., or Dr. Smith's Dictionary.

the concomitant of glory, and thus, the more renowned he became, the greater was his caution and circumspection. He never went out to plunder, after the sudden attack of Jugurtha, with his troops in scattered parties; when corn or forage was sought, a body of cohorts, with the whole of the cavalry, were stationed as a guard. He himself conducted part of the army, and Marius the rest. The country was wasted, however, more by fire than by spoliation. They had separate camps, not far from each other; whenever there was occasion for force, they formed a union; but, that desolation and terror might spread the further, they acted separately. Jugurtha, meanwhile, continued to follow them along the hills, watching for a favourable opportunity or situation for an attack. He destroyed the forage, and spoiled the water, which was scarce, wherever he found that the enemy were coming. He presented himself sometimes to Metellus, and sometimes to Marius; he would attack their rear upon a march, and instantly retreat to the hills; he would threaten sometimes one point, and sometimes another, neither giving battle nor allowing rest, but making it his great object to retard the progress of the enemy.

LVI. The Roman commander, finding himself thus harassed by artifices, and allowed no opportunity of coming to a general engagement, resolved on laying siege to a large city, named Zama, which was the bulwark of that part of the kingdom in which it was situate; expecting that Jugurtha, as a necessary consequence, would come to the relief of his subjects in distress, and that a battle would then follow. But the king, being apprised by some deserters of the consul's design, reached the place, by rapid marches, before him, and exhorted the inhabitants to defend their walls, giving them, as a reinforcement, a body of deserters; a class of men, who, of all the royal forces, were the most to be trusted, inasmuch as they dared not be guilty of treachery[1]. He also promised to sup-

[1] LVI. Dared not be guilty of treachery] *Fallere nequibant.* "Through dread of the severest punishments if they should fall into the hands of the Romans. Valerius Maximus, ii., 7, speaks of deserters having been deprived of their hands by Quintus Fabius Maximus; of others who were crucified or beheaded by the elder Africanus; of others who were thrown to wild beasts by Africanus the younger; and of others who were sentenced by Paulus Æmilius to be trampled to death by elephants. Hence it appears that the punishment of deserters was left to the pleasure of the general." *Burnouf.*

port them, whenever it should be necessary, with his whole army.

Having taken these precautions, he retired into the deserts of the interior; where he soon after learned that Marius, with a few cohorts, had been despatched from the line of march to bring provisions from Sicca[1], a town which had been the first to revolt from him after his defeat. To this place he hastened by night, accompanied by a select body of cavalry, and attacked the Romans at the gate, just as they were leaving the city; calling to the inhabitants, at the same time, with a loud voice, to surround the cohorts in the rear; adding, that Fortune had given them an opportunity for a glorious exploit; and that, if they took advantage of it, he would henceforth enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberty, without fear. And had not Marius hastened to advance the standards, and to escape from the town, it is certain that all, or the greater part of the inhabitants, would have changed their allegiance; so great is the fickleness which the Numidians exhibit in their conduct. The soldiers of Jugurtha, animated for a time by their king, but finding the enemy pressing them with superior force, betook themselves, after losing a few of their number, to flight.

LVII. Marius arrived at Zama. This town, built on a plain, was better fortified by art than by nature. It was well supplied with necessaries, and contained plenty of arms and men. Metellus, having made arrangements suitable for the time and the place, encompassed the whole city with his army, assigning to each of his officers his post of command. At a given signal, a loud shout was raised on every side, but without exciting the least alarm in the Numidians, who awaited the attack full of spirit and resolution. The assault was consequently commenced; the Romans were allowed to act each according to his inclination; some annoyed the enemy with slings and stones from a distance; others came close up to the walls, and attempted to undermine or scale them, desiring to engage in close combat with the besieged. The Zamians, on the other hand, rolled down stones, and hurled

[1] Sicca] It stood on the banks of the Bagradas, at some distance from the coast, and contained a celebrated Temple of Venus. Val Max. ii., 6. D'Anville thinks it the same as the modern *Kef*.

burning stakes, javelins[1], and wood smeared with pitch and sulphur, on the nearest assailants. Nor was caution a sufficient protection to those who kept aloof; for darts, discharged from engines or by the hand, inflicted wounds on most of them; and thus the brave and the timid, though of unequal merit, were exposed to equal danger.

LVIII. While the struggle was thus continued at Zama, Jugurtha, at the head of a large force, suddenly attacked the camp of the Romans, and, through the remissness of those left to guard it, who expected anything rather than an attack, effected an entrance at one of the gates. Our men, struck with sudden consternation, acted each on his own impulse; some fled, others seized their arms; and many of them were wounded or slain. About forty, however, out of the whole number, mindful of the honour of Rome, formed themselves into a body, and took possession of a slight eminence, from which they could not be dislodged by the utmost efforts of the enemy, but hurled back the darts discharged at them, and, as they were few against many, not without execution. If the Numidians came near them, they displayed their courage, and slaughtered, repulsed, and dispersed them, with the greatest fury. Metellus, meanwhile, who was vigorously pursuing the siege, heard a noise, as of enemies, in his rear, and, turning round his horse, perceived a party of soldiers in flight towards him; a certain proof that they were his own men. He instantly, therefore, despatched the whole of the cavalry to the camp, and immediately afterwards Caius Marius, with the cohorts of the allies, intreating him with tears, by their mutual friendship, and by his regard for the public welfare, to allow no stain to rest on a victorious army, and not to let the enemy escape with im-

[1] LVII. Javelins] *Pila.* This *pilum* may have been, as Müller suggests, similar to the *falarica* which Livy (xxi., 8) says that the Saguntines used against their besiegers. *Falarica erat Saguntinis, missile telum hastili abiegno,—id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppâ circumligabant, linebantque pice:—quod cum medium accensum mitteretur, &c.* Of Sallust's other words, in the latter part of this sentence, the sense is clear, but the readings of different editors are extremely various. Cortius and Gerlach have *sudes, pila, præterea picem sulphure et tædâ mixtam ardentia mittere;* but it can scarcely be believed that Sallust wrote *picem —tædâ mixtam.* Havercamp gives *pice et sulphure tædam mixtam ardentia mittere*, which has been adopted by Kritzius and Dietsch, except that they have changed *ardentia*, on the authority of some of the manuscripts, into *ardenti.*

punity. Marius soon executed his orders. Jugurtha, in consequence, after being embarrassed in the entrenchments of the camp, while some of his men threw themselves over the ramparts, and others, in their haste, obstructed each other at the gates, fled, with considerable loss, to his strongholds. Metellus, not succeeding in his attempt on the town, retired with his forces, at the approach of night, into his camp.

LIX. On the following day, before he marched out to resume the siege, he ordered the whole of his cavalry to take their station before the camp, on the side where the approach of Jugurtha was to be apprehended; assigning the gates, and adjoining posts, to the charge of the tribunes. He then marched towards the town, and commenced an assault upon the walls as on the day before. Jugurtha, meanwhile, issuing from his concealment, suddenly attacked our men in the camp, of whom those stationed in advance were for the moment alarmed and thrown into confusion; but the rest soon came to their support; nor would the Numidians have longer maintained their ground, had not their foot, which were mingled with the cavalry, done great execution in the struggle; for the horse, relying on the infantry, did not, as is common in actions of cavalry, charge and then retreat, but pressed impetuously forward, disordering and breaking the ranks, and thus, with the aid of the light-armed foot, almost succeeded in giving the enemy a defeat[1].

LX. The conflict at Zama, at the same time, was continued with great fury. Wherever any lieutenant or tribune commanded, there the men exerted themselves with the utmost vigour. No one seemed to depend for support on others, but every one on his own exertions. The townsmen, on the other side, showed equal spirit. Attacks, or preparations for defence, were made in all quarters[2]. All appeared

[1] LIX. And thus, with the aid of the light-armed foot, almost succeeded in giving the enemy a defeat] *Ita expeditis peditibus suis hostes pæne victos dare.* Cortius, Kritzius, and Allen, concur in regarding *expeditis peditibus* as an ablative of the instrument, i. e. as equivalent to *per expeditos pedites*, and *victos dare* as nothing more than *vincere*. This appears to be the right mode of explanation; but most of the translators, French as well as English, have taken *expeditis peditibus* as a dative, and given to the passage the sense that "the cavalry delivered up the enemy, when nearly conquered, to be despatched by the light-armed foot."

[2] LX. Attacks, or preparations for defence, were made in all quarters] *Oppug-*

more eager to wound their enemies than to protect themselves. Shouts, mingled with exhortations, cries of joy, and the clashing of arms, resounded through the heaven. Darts flew thick on every side. If the besiegers, however, in the least relaxed their efforts, the defenders of the walls immediately turned their attention to the distant engagement of the cavalry; they were to be seen sometimes exhibiting joy, and sometimes apprehension, according to the varying fortune of Jugurtha, and, as if they could be heard or seen by their friends, uttering warnings or exhortations, making signs with their hands, and moving their bodies to and fro, like men avoiding or hurling darts. This being noticed by Marius, who commanded on that side of the town, he artfully relaxed his efforts, as if despairing of success, and allowed the besieged to view the battle at the camp unmolested. Then, whilst their attention was closely fixed on their countrymen, he made a vigorous assault on the wall, and the soldiers, mounting their scaling-ladders, had almost gained the top, when the townsmen rushed to the spot in a body, and hurled down upon them stones, firebrands, and every description of missiles. Our men made head against these annoyances for a while, but at length, when some of the ladders were broken, and those who had mounted them dashed to the ground, the rest of the assailants retreated as they could, a few indeed unhurt, but the greater number miserably wounded. Night put an end to the efforts of both parties.

LXI. When Metellus saw that all his attempts were vain; that the town was not to be taken; that Jugurtha was resolved to abstain from fighting, except from an ambush, or on his own ground, and that the summer was now far advanced, he withdrew his army from Zama, and placed garrisons in such of the cities that had revolted to him as were sufficiently strong in situation or fortifications. The rest of his forces he settled in winter quarters, in that part of our province nearest to Numidia[1].

nare aut parare omnibus locis. There is much discussion among the critics whether these verbs are to be referred to the besiegers or the besieged. Cortius and Gerlach attribute *oppugnare* to the Romans, and *parare* to the men of Zama; a distinction which Kritzius justly condemns. There can be little doubt that they are spoken of both parties equally.

[1] LXI. The rest of his forces—in that part of our province nearest to Numidia]

This season of repose, however, he did not, like other commanders, abandon to idleness and luxury; but as the war had been but slowly advanced by fighting, he resolved to try the effect of treachery on the king through his friends, and to employ their perfidy instead of arms. He accordingly addressed himself, with large promises, to Bomilcar, the same nobleman who had been with Jugurtha at Rome, and who had fled from thence, notwithstanding he had given bail, to escape being tried for the murder of Massiva; selecting this person for his instrument, because, from his great intimacy with Jugurtha, he had the best opportunities of betraying him. He prevailed on him, in the first place, to come to a conference with him privately, when, having given him his word, "that, if he should deliver up Jugurtha, alive or dead, the senate would grant him a pardon, and the full possession of his property," he easily brought him over to his purpose, especially as he was naturally faithless, and also apprehensive that, if peace were made with the Romans, he himself would be surrendered to justice by the terms of it.

LXII. Bomilcar took the earliest opportunity of addressing Jugurtha, at a time when he was full of anxiety, and lamenting his ill success. He exhorted and implored him, with tears in his eyes, to take at length some thought for himself and his children, as well as for the people of Numidia, who had so much claim upon him. He reminded him that they had been defeated in every battle; that the country was laid waste; that numbers of his subjects had been captured or slain; that the resources of the kingdom were greatly reduced; that the valour of his soldiers, and his own fortune, had been already sufficiently tried; and that he should beware, lest, if he delayed to consult for his people, his people should consult for themselves. By these and similar appeals, he prevailed with Jugurtha to think of a surrender. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the Roman general, announcing

Cæterum exercitum in provinciam, quæ proxima est Numidiæ, hiemandi gratiâ collocat. "The words *quæ proxima est Numidiæ* Cortius would eject as superfluous and spurious. But it is to be understood that Metellus did not distribute his troops through the whole of the province, but in that part which is nearest to Numidia, in order that they might be easily assembled in case of an attack of the enemy or any other emergency. There is, therefore, no need to read with the Bipont edition and Müller, *quâ proxima, &c.*, though this is in itself not a bad conjecture." *Kritzius.*

that Jugurtha was ready to submit to whatever he should desire, and to trust himself and his kingdom unconditionally to his honour. Metellus, on receiving this statement, summoned such of his officers as were of senatorial rank, from their winter quarters; of whom, with others whom he thought eligible, he formed a council. By a resolution of this assembly, in conformity with ancient usage, he demanded of Jugurtha, through his ambassadors, two hundred thousand pounds' weight of silver, all his elephants, and a portion of his horses and arms. These requisitions being immediately complied with, he next desired that all the deserters should be brought to him in chains. A large number of them were accordingly brought; but a few, when the surrender first began to be mentioned, had fled into Mauretania to king Bocchus.

When Jugurtha, however, after being thus despoiled of arms, men, and money, was summoned to appear in person at Tisidium[1], to await the consul's commands, he began again to change his mind, dreading, from a consciousness of guilt, the punishment due to his crimes. Having spent several days in hesitation, sometimes, from disgust at his ill success, believing anything better than war, and sometimes considering with himself how grievous would be the fall from sovereignty to slavery, he at last determined, notwithstanding that he had lost so many and so valuable means of resistance, to commence hostilities anew.

At Rome, meanwhile, the senate, having been consulted about the provinces, had decreed Numidia to Metellus.

LXIII. About the same time, as Caius Marius, who happened to be at Utica, was sacrificing to the gods[2], an augur

[1] LXII. Was summoned to appear in person at Tisidium, *&c.*] *Cùm ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur.* The gerund is used, as grammarians say, in a passive sense. "The town of Tisidium is nowhere else mentioned. Strabo (xvii., 3, p. 488, Ed. Tauch.) speaks of a place named Τισιαυοὶ, which was utterly destroyed, and not a vestige of it left." *Gerlach.*

[2] LXIII. Sacrificing to the gods] *Per hostias dis supplicante.* Supplicating or worshipping the gods with sacrifices, and trying to learn their intentions as to the future by inspection of the entrails. "Marius was either a sincere believer in the absurd superstitions and dreams of the soothsayers, or pretended to be so, from a knowledge of the nature of mankind, who are eager to listen to wonders, and are more willing to be deceived than to be taught." *Burnouf.* See Plutarch, Life of

told him that great and wonderful things were presaged to him; that he might therefore pursue whatever designs he had formed, trusting to the gods for success; and that he might try fortune as often as he pleased, for that all his undertakings would prosper. Previously to this period, an ardent longing for the consulship had possessed him; and he had, indeed, every qualification for obtaining it, except antiquity of family; he had industry, integrity, great knowledge of war, and a spirit undaunted in the field; he was temperate in private life, superior to pleasure and riches, and ambitious only of glory. Having been born at Arpinum, and brought up there during his boyhood, he employed himself, as soon as he was of age to bear arms, not in the study of Greek eloquence, nor in learning the refinements of the city, but in military service; and thus, amidst the strictest discipline, his excellent genius soon attained full vigour. When he solicited the people, therefore, for the military tribuneship, he was well known by name, though most were strangers to his face, and unanimously elected by the tribes. After this office he attained others in succession, and conducted himself so well in his public duties, that he was always deemed worthy of a higher station than he had reached. Yet, though such had been his character hitherto (for he was afterwards carried away by ambition), he had not ventured to stand for the consulship. The people, at that time, still disposed of[1] other civil offices, but the nobility transmitted the consulship from hand to hand among themselves. Nor had any commoner appeared, however famous or distinguished by his achievements, who would not have been thought unworthy of that honour, and, as it were, a disgrace to it.

LXIV. But when Marius found that the words of the augur pointed in the same direction as his own inclinations prompted him, he requested of Metellus leave of ab-

Marius. He could interpret omens for himself, according to Valerius Maximus, i., 5.

[1] The people—disposed of, *&c.*] *Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas, inter se per manus tradebat.* The commentators have seen the necessity of understanding a verb with *plebes*. Kritzius suggests *habebat;* Gerlach *gerebat* or *accipiebat.*

[2] A disgrace to it] *Pollutus.* He was considered, as it were, unclean. See Cat., c. 23, *fin.*

sence, that he might offer himself a candidate for the consulship. Metellus, though eminently distinguished by virtue, honour, and other qualities valued by the good, had yet a haughty and disdainful spirit, the common failing of the nobility. He was at first, therefore, astonished at so extraordinary an application, expressed surprise at Marius's views, and advised him, as if in friendship, "not to indulge such unreasonable expectations, or elevate his thoughts above his station; that all things were not to be coveted by all men; that his present condition ought to satisfy him; and, finally, that he should be cautious of asking from the Roman people what they might justly refuse him." Having made these and similar remarks, and finding that the resolution of Marius was not at all affected by them, he told him "that he would grant what he desired as soon as the public business would allow him[1]." On Marius repeating his request several times afterwards, he is reported to have said, "that he need not be in a hurry to go, as he would be soon enough if he became a candidate with his own son[2]." Metellus's son was then on service in the camp with his father[3], and was about twenty years old.

This taunt served only to rouse the feelings of Marius, as well for the honour at which he aimed, as against Metellus. He suffered himself to be actuated, therefore, by ambition and resentment, the worst of counsellors. He omitted nothing henceforward, either in deeds or words, that could increase his own popularity. He allowed the soldiers, of whom he had the command in the winter quarters, more relaxation of discipline than he had ever granted them before. He talked of the war among the merchants, of whom there was a great number at Utica, censoriously with respect to Metellus, and vauntingly with regard to himself; saying "that if but half of the army were granted him, he would in a few days have

[1] LXIV. As soon as the public business would allow him] *Ubi primùm potuisset per negotia publica.* As soon as he could through (regard to) the public business.

[2] With his own son] *Cum filio suo.* With the son of Metellus. He tells Marius that it would be soon enough for him to stand for the consulship in twenty-three years' time, the legitimate age for the consulship being forty-three.

[3] In the camp with his father] *Contubernio patris.* He was among the young noblemen in the consul's retinue, who were sent out to see military service under him. This was customary. See Cic. Pro Cœl. 30; Pro Planc. 11.

Jugurtha in chains; but that the war was purposely protracted by the consul, because, being a man of vanity and regal pride, he was too fond of the delights of power." All these assertions appeared the more credible to the merchants, as, by the long continuance of the war, they had suffered in their fortunes; and to impatient minds no haste is sufficient.

LXV. There was then in our army a Numidian named Gauda, the son of Mastanabal, and grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa, in his will, had appointed next heir to his immediate successors. This man had been debilitated by ill-health, and, from the effect of it, was somewhat impaired in his understanding. He had petitioned Metellus to allow him a seat, like a prince, next to himself, and a troop of horse for a body-guard; but Metellus had refused him both; the seat, because it was granted only to those whom the Roman people had addressed as kings, and the guard, because it would be an indignity to Roman cavalry to act as guards to a Numidian. While Gauda was discontented at these refusals, Marius paid him a visit, and prompted him, with his assistance, to seek revenge for the affronts put upon him by the general; inflating his mind, which was as weak as his body[1], with flattering speeches, telling him that he was a prince, a great man, and the grandson of Masinissa; that if Jugurtha were taken or killed, he would immediately become king of Numidia; and that this event might soon happen, if he himself were sent as consul to the war.

Thus partly the influence of Marius himself, and partly the hope of obtaining peace, induced Gauda, as well as most of the Roman knights, both soldiers and merchants[2], to write to their friends at Rome, in a style of censure, respecting Metellus's management of the war, and to intimate that Marius should be appointed general. The consulship, accordingly, was solicited for him by numbers of people, with the most honourable demonstrations in his favour[3]. It happened

[1] LXV. Which was as weak as his body] *Ob morbos—parum valido.* Sallust had already expressed this a few lines above.

[2] Merchants] *Negotiatores.* "Every one knows that Romans of equestrian dignity were accustomed to trade in the provinces." *Burnouf.*

[3] With the most honourable demonstrations in his favour] *Honestissimâ suffragatione.* "*Suffragatio* was the zealous recommendation of those who solicited the votes of their fellow-citizens in favour of some candidate. See Festus, s. v. *Suffragatores*, p. 266, Lindem." *Dietsch.* It was honourable, in the case of

that the people too, at this juncture, having just triumphed over the nobility by the Mamilian law[1], were eager to raise commoners to office. Hence everything was favourable to Marius's views.

LXVI. Jugurtha, meantime, who, after relinquishing his intention to surrender, had renewed the war, was now hastening the preparations for it with the utmost diligence. He assembled an army; he endeavoured, by threats or promises, to recover the towns that had revolted from him; he fortified advantageous positions[2]; he repaired or purchased arms, weapons, and other necessaries, which he had given up on the prospect of peace; he tried to seduce the slaves of the Romans, and even tempted with bribes the Romans themselves who occupied the garrisons; he, indeed, left nothing untried or neglected, but put every engine in motion.

Induced by the entreaties of their king, from whom, indeed, they had never been alienated in affection, the leading inhabitants of Vacca, a city in which Metellus, when Jugurtha began to treat for peace, had placed a garrison, entered into a conspiracy against the Romans. As for the common people of the town, they were, as is generally the case, and especially among the Numidians, of a fickle disposition, factious and turbulent, and therefore already desirous of a change, and adverse to peace and quiet. Having arranged their plans, they fixed upon the third day following for the execution of them, because that day, being a festival, celebrated throughout Africa, would promise merriment and dissipation rather than alarm. When the time came, they invited the centurions and military tribunes, with Titus Turpilius Silanus, the governor of the town, to their several houses, and butchered them all, except Turpilius, at their banquets; and then fell upon the common soldiers, who, as was to be expected on such a day, when discipline was relaxed, were wandering about without their arms. The populace followed the example of their chiefs, some of them having been previously instructed to do so, and others induced by a liking for

Marius, as it was without bribery, and seemed to have the good of the republic in view.

[1] The Mamilian law] See c. 40.

[2] LXVI. Advantageous positions] *Suos locos.* Places favourable for his views. See Kritzius on c. 54.

such disorders, and, though ignorant of what had been done or intended, finding sufficient gratification in tumult and variety. LXVII. The Roman soldiers, perplexed with sudden alarm, and not knowing what was best for them to do, were in trepidation. At the citadel[1], where their standards and shields were, was posted a guard of the enemy; and the city-gates, previously closed, prevented escape. Women and children, too, on the roofs of the houses[2], hurled down upon them, with great eagerness, stones and whatever else their position furnished. Thus neither could such twofold danger be guarded against, nor could the bravest resist the feeblest; the worthy and the worthless, the valiant and the cowardly, were alike put to death unavenged. In the midst of this slaughter, whilst the Numidians were exercising every cruelty, and the town was closed on all sides, Turpilius was the only one, of all the Italians, that escaped unhurt. Whether his flight was the consequence of compassion in his entertainer, of compact, or of chance, I have never discovered; but since, in such a general massacre, he preferred inglorious safety to an honourable name, he seems to have been a worthless and infamous character[3].

LXVIII. When Metellus heard of what had happened at Vacca, he retired for a time, overpowered with sorrow, from the public gaze; but at length, as indignation mingled with his grief, he hastened, with the utmost spirit, to take vengeance for the outrage. He led forth, at sunset, the legion that was in winter quarters with him, and as many Numidian horse as he could, and arrived, about the third hour on the following day, at a certain plain surrounded by rising

[1] LXVII. Were in trepidation. At the citadel, *&c.*] I have translated this passage in conformity with the texts of Gerlach, Kritzius, Dietsch, Müller, and Allen, who put a point between *trepidare* and *ad arcem*. Cortius, Havercamp, and Burnouf have *trepidare ad arcem*, without any point. Which method gives the better sense, any reader can judge.

[2] On the roofs of the houses] *Pro tectis ædificiorum.* In front of the roofs of the houses; that is, at the parapets. "In primâ tectorum parte." *Kritzius.* The roofs were flat.

[3] Worthless and infamous character] *Improbus intestabilisque.* These words are taken from the twelve tables of the Roman law: See Aul. Gell. vi., 7; xv., 3. Horace, in allusion to them, has *intestabilis et sacer*, Sat. ii., 3, 181. *Intestabilis* signified a person to be of so infamous a character that he was not allowed to give evidence in a court of justice.

grounds. Here he acquainted the soldiers, who were now exhausted with the length of their march, and averse to further exertion[1], that the town of Vacca was not above a mile distant; and that it became them to bear patiently the toil that remained, with the hope of exacting revenge for their countrymen, the bravest and most unfortunate of men. He likewise generously promised them the whole of the plunder. Their courage being thus revived, he ordered them to resume their march, the cavalry maintaining an extended line in front, and the infantry, with their standards concealed, keeping the closest order behind.

LXIX. The people of Vacca, perceiving an army coming towards them, judged rightly at first that it was Metellus, and shut their gates; but, after a while, when they saw that their fields were not laid waste, and that the front consisted of Numidian cavalry, they imagined that it was Jugurtha, and went out with great joy to meet him. A signal being immediately given, both cavalry and infantry commenced an attack; some cut down the multitude pouring from the town, others hurried to the gates, others secured the towers, revenge and the hope of plunder prevailing over their weariness. Thus Vacca triumphed only two days in its treachery; the whole city, which was great and opulent, was given up to vengeance and spoliation. Turpilius, the governor, whom we mentioned as the only person that escaped, was summoned by Metellus to answer for his conduct, and not being able to clear himself, was condemned, as a native of Latium[2], to be scourged and put to death.

LXX. About this time, Bomilcar, at whose persuasion

[1] LXVIII. Averse to further exertion] *Tum abnuentes omnia.* Most of the translators have understood by these words that the troops refused to obey orders; but Sallust's meaning is only that they expressed, by looks and gestures, their unwillingness to proceed.

[2] LXIX. As a native of Latium] *Nam is civis ex Latio erat.* "As he was a Latin, he was not protected by the Porcian law (see Cat., c. 51), though how far this law had power in the camp, is not agreed." *Allen.* Gerlach thinks that it had the same power in the camp as elsewhere, with reference to Roman citizens. But Roman citizenship was not extended to the Latins till the end of the Social War, A.U.C. 662. Plutarch, however, in his Life of Caius Gracchus (c. 9), speaks of Livius Drusus having been abetted by the patricians in proposing a law for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, about thirty years earlier; and it seems to have been passed, but, from this passage of Sallust appears not to

Jugurtha had entered upon the capitulation which he had discontinued through fear, being distrusted by the king, and distrusting him in return, grew desirous of a change of government. He accordingly meditated schemes for Jugurtha's destruction, racking his invention night and day. At last, to leave nothing untried, he sought an accomplice in Nabdalsa, a man of noble birth and great wealth, who was in high regard and favour with his countrymen, and who, on most occasions, used to command a body of troops distinct from those of the king, and to transact all business to which Jugurtha, from fatigue, or from being occupied with more important matters, was unable to attend[1]; employments by which he had gained both honours and wealth. By these two men in concert, a day was fixed for the execution of their treachery; succeeding matters they agreed to settle as the exigencies of the moment might require. Nabdalsa then proceeded to join his troops, which he kept in readiness, according to orders, among the winter quarters of the Romans[2], to prevent the country from being ravaged by the enemy with impunity.

But as Nabdalsa, growing alarmed at the magnitude of

have remained in force. Lipsius touches on this obscure point in his *Militia Romana*, v., 18, but settles nothing.

Plutarch, in his Life of Marius, c. 8, says that Turpilius was an old retainer of the family of Metellus, whom he attended, in this war, as *præfectus fabrûm*, or master of the artificers; that, being afterwards appointed governor of Vacca, he exercised his office with great justice and humanity; that his life was spared by Jugurtha at the solicitation of the inhabitants; that, when he was brought to trial, Metellus thought him innocent, and that he would not have been condemned but for the malice of Marius, who exasperated the other members of the council against him. He adds, that after his death, his innocence became apparent, and that Marius boasted of having planted in the breast of Metellus an avenging fury, that would not fail to torment him for having put to death the innocent friend of his family. Hence Sir Henry Steuart has accused Sallust of wilfully misrepresenting the character of Turpilius, as well as the whole transaction. But as much credit is surely due to Sallust as to Plutarch.

[1] LXX. To which Jugurtha—was unable to attend] *Quæ Jugurthæ, fesso, aut majoribus astricto, superaverant.* "Which had remained to (or been too much for) Jugurtha, when weary, or engaged in more important affairs."

[2] Among the winter quarters of the Romans] *Inter hiberna Romanorum.* It is stated in c. 61, as Kritzius observes, that Metellus, when he put his army into winter quarters, had, at the same time, placed garrisons in such of Jugurtha's towns as had revolted to him. The forces of the Romans being thus dispersed, Nabdalsa might justly be said to have his army *inter hiberna*, "*among* their winter quarters."

the undertaking, failed to appear at the appointed time, and allowed his fears to hinder their plans, Bomilcar, eager for their execution, and disquieted at the timidity of his associate, lest he should relinquish his original intentions and adopt some new course, sent him a letter by some confidential persons, in which he "reproached him with pusillanimity and irresolution, and conjured him by the gods, by whom he had sworn, not to turn the offers of Metellus to his own destruction;" assuring him "that the fall of Jugurtha was approaching; that the only thing to be considered was whether he should perish by their hand or by that of Metellus; and that, in consequence, he might consider whether to choose rewards, or death by torture."

LXXI. It happened that when this letter was brought, Nabdalsa, overcome with fatigue, was reposing on his couch, where, after reading Bomilcar's letter, anxiety at first, and afterwards, as is usual with a troubled mind, sleep overpowered him. In his service there was a certain Numidian, the manager of his affairs, a person who possessed his confidence and esteem, and who was acquainted with all his designs except the last. He, hearing that a letter had arrived, and supposing that there would be occasion, as usual, for his assistance or suggestions, went into the tent, and, whilst his master was asleep, took up the letter thrown carelessly upon the cushion behind his head[1], and read it; and, having thus discovered the plot, set off in haste to Jugurtha. Nabdalsa, who awoke soon after, missing the letter, and hearing of the whole affair, and how it had happened, at first attempted to pursue the informer, but finding that pursuit was vain, he went himself to Jugurtha, to try to appease him; saying that the disclosure which he intended to make, had been anticipated by the perfidy of his servant; and beseeching him with tears, by his friendship, and by his own former proofs of fidelity, not to think that he could be guilty of such treachery.

LXXII. To these intreaties the king replied with a mildness far different from his real feelings. After putting to death Bomilcar, and many others whom he knew to be privy to the plot, he refrained from any further manifestation of

[1] LXXI. Behind his head] *Super caput.* On the back of the bolster that supported his head; part of which might be higher than the head itself.

resentment, lest an insurrection should be the consequence of it. But after this occurrence he had no peace either by day or by night; he thought himself safe neither in any place, nor with any person, nor at any time; he feared his subjects and his enemies alike; he was always on the watch, and was startled at every sound; he passed the night sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, and often in places little suited to royal dignity; and sometimes, starting from his sleep, he would seize his arms and raise an alarm. He was indeed so agitated by extreme terror, that he appeared under the influence of madness.

LXXIII. Metellus, hearing from some deserters of the fate of Bomilcar, and the discovery of the conspiracy, made fresh preparations for action, and with the utmost despatch, as if entering upon an entirely new war. Marius, who was still importuning him for leave of absence, he allowed to go home; thinking that as he served with reluctance, and bore him personal enmity, he was not likely to prove a very useful officer.

The common people at Rome, having learned the contents of the letters written from Africa concerning Metellus and Marius, had listened to the accounts given of both with eagerness. But the noble birth of Metellus, which had previously been a motive for paying him honour, had now become a cause of unpopularity; while the obscurity of Marius's origin had procured him favour. In regard to both, however, party feeling had more influence than the good or bad qualities of either. The factious tribunes[1], too, inflamed the populace, charging Metellus, in their harangues, with offences worthy of death, and exaggerating the excellent qualities of Marius. At length the people were so excited, that all the artisans and rustics, whose whole subsistence and credit depended on their labour, quitting their several employments, attended Marius in crowds, and thought less of their own wants than of his exaltation. Thus the nobility being borne down, the consulship, after the lapse of many years[2], was

[1] LXXIII. The factious tribunes] *Seditiosi magistratus.*

[2] After the lapse of many years] *Post multas tempestates.* Apparently the period since A.U.C. 611, when Quintus Pompeius, who, as Cicero says (in Verr. ii., 5), was *humili atque obscuro loco natus*, obtained the consulship; that is, a term of forty-three or forty-four years.

once more given to a man of humble birth. And afterwards, when the people were asked by Manilius Mancinus, one of their tribunes, whom they would appoint to carry on the war against Jugurtha, they, in a full assembly, voted it to Marius. The senate had previously decreed it to Metellus; but that decree was thus rendered abortive[1].

LXXIV. During this period, Jugurtha, as he was bereft of his friends (of whom he had put to death the greater number, while the rest, under the influence of terror, had fled partly to the Romans, and partly to Bocchus), as the war, too, could not be carried on without officers, and as he thought it dangerous to try the faith of new ones after such perfidy among the old, was involved in doubt and perplexity; no scheme, no counsel, no person could satisfy him; he changed his route and his captains daily; he hurried sometimes against the enemy, and sometimes towards the deserts; depended at one time on flight, and at another on resistance; and was unable to decide whether he could less trust the courage or the fidelity of his subjects. Thus, in whatever direction he turned his thoughts, the prospect was equally disheartening.

In the midst of his irresolution, Metellus suddenly made his appearance with his army. The Numidians were assembled and drawn up by Jugurtha, as well as time permitted; and a battle was at once commenced. Where the king commanded in person, the struggle was maintained for some time; but the rest of his force was routed and put to flight at the first onset. The Romans took a considerable number of standards and arms, but not many prisoners; for, in almost every battle, their feet afforded more security to the Numidians than their swords.

LXXV. In consequence of this defeat, Jugurtha, feeling

[1] That decree was thus rendered abortive] *Ea res frustra fuit.* By a *lex Sempronia*, a law of Caius Gracchus, it was enacted that the senate should fix the provinces for the future consuls before the *comitia* for electing them were held. But from Jug. c. 26, it appears that the consuls might settle by lot, or by agreement between themselves, which of those two provinces each of them should take. How far the senate were allowed or accustomed, in general, to interfere in the arrangement, it is not easy to discover; but on this occasion they had taken upon themselves to pass a resolution in favour of the patrician. Lest similar scenes, however, to those of the Sempronian times should be enacted, they yielded the point to the people.

less confidence in the state of his affairs than ever, retreated with the deserters, and part of his cavalry, first into the deserts, and afterwards to Thala[1], a large and opulent city, where lay the greater portion of his treasures, and where there was magnificent provision for the education of his children. When Metellus was informed of this, although he knew that there was, between Thala and the nearest river, a dry and desert region fifty miles broad, yet, in the hope of finishing the war if he should gain possession of the town, he resolved to surmount all difficulties, and to conquer even Nature herself. He gave orders that the beasts of burden, therefore, should be lightened of all the baggage excepting ten days' provision; and that they should be laden with skins and other utensils for holding water. He also collected from the fields as many labouring cattle as he could find, and loaded them with vessels of all sorts, but chiefly wooden, taken from the cottages of the Numidians. He directed such of the neighbouring people, too, as had submitted to him after the retreat of Jugurtha, to bring him as much water as they could carry, appointing a time and place for them to be in attendance. He then loaded his beasts from the river, which, as I have intimated, was the nearest water to the town, and, thus provided, set out for Thala.

When he came to the place at which he had desired the Numidians to meet him, and had pitched and fortified his camp, so copious a fall of rain is said to have happened, as would have furnished more than sufficient water for his whole army. Provisions, too, were brought him far beyond his expectations; for the Numidians, like most people after a recent surrender, had done more than was required of them[2]. The men, however, from a religious feeling, preferred using the rain-water; the fall of which greatly increased their courage,

[1] LXXV. Thala] The river on which this town stood is not named by Sallust, but it appears to have been the Bagrada. It seems to have been nearly destroyed by the Romans, after the defeat of Juba, in the time of Julius Cæsar; though Tacitus, Ann. iii., 21, mentions it as having afforded a refuge to the Romans in the insurrection of the Numidian chief, Tacfarinas. D'Anville, and Dr. Shaw, *Travels in Bombay*, vol. i., pt. 2, ch. 5, think it the same with Telepte, now *Ferre-anah;* but this is very doubtful. See Cellar. iv., 5. It was in ruins in the time of Strabo.

[2] Had done more than was required of them] *Officia intenderant.* "Auxit *intenditque* sævitiam exacerbatus indicio filii sui Drusi." Suet. Tib. 62.

for they thought themselves the peculiar care of the gods. On the next day, to the surprise of Jugurtha, they arrived at Thala. The inhabitants, who had thought themselves secured by the difficulties of the approach to them, were astonished at so strange and unexpected a sight, but, nevertheless, prepared for their defence. Our men showed equal alacrity on their side.

LXXVI. But Jugurtha himself, believing that to Metellus, who, by his exertions, had triumphed over every obstacle, over arms, deserts, seasons, and finally over Nature herself that controls all, nothing was impossible, fled with his children, and a great portion of his treasure, from the city during the night. Nor did he ever, after this time, continue[1] more than one day or night in any place; pretending to be hurried away by business, but in reality dreading treachery, which he thought he might escape by change of residence, as schemes of such a kind are the consequence of leisure and opportunity.

Metellus, seeing that the people of Thala were determined on resistance, and that the town was defended both by art and situation, surrounded the walls with a rampart and a trench. He then directed his machines against the most eligible points, threw up a mound, and erected towers upon it to protect[2] the works and the workmen. The townsmen, on the other hand, were exceedingly active and diligent; and nothing was neglected on either side. At last the Romans, though exhausted with much previous fatigue and fighting, got possession, forty days after their arrival, of the town, and the town only; for all the spoil had been destroyed by the deserters; who, when they saw the walls shaken by the battering-ram, and their own situation desperate, had conveyed the gold and silver, and whatever else is esteemed valuable, to the royal palace, where, after being sated with wine and luxuries, they destroyed the treasures, the building,

[1] LXXVI. Nor did he ever—continue, *&c.*] *Neque postea—moratus, simulabat, &c.* Most editors take *moratus* for *morans:* Allen places a colon after it, as if it were for *moratus est.*

[2] And erected towers upon it to protect, *&c.*] *Et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari.* "And protected the work and the workmen with towers placed on the mound." *Impositis turribus* is not the ablative absolute, but the ablative of the instrument.

and themselves, by fire, and thus voluntarily submitted to the sufferings which, in case of being conquered, they dreaded at the hands of the enemy.

LXXVII. At the very time that Thala was taken, there came to Metellus ambassadors from the city of Leptis[1], requesting him to send them a garrison and a governor; saying "that a certain Hamilcar, a man of rank, and of a factious disposition, against whom the magistrates and the laws were alike powerless, was trying to induce them to change sides; and that unless he attended to the matter promptly, their own safety[2], and the allies of Rome, would be in the utmost danger." For the people at Leptis, at the very commencement of the war with Jugurtha, had sent to the consul Bestia, and afterwards to Rome, desiring to be admitted into friendship and alliance with us. Having been granted their request, they continued true and faithful adherents to us, and promptly executed all orders from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. They therefore readily obtained from the general the aid which they solicited; and four cohorts of Ligurians were despatched to Leptis, with Caius Annius to be governor of the place.

LXXVIII. This city was built by a party of Sidonians, who, as I have understood, being driven from their country through civil dissensions, came by sea into those parts of Africa. It is situated between the two Syrtes, which take their name from their nature[3]. These are two gulfs almost at the extremity of Africa[4], of unequal size, but of similar

[1] LXXVII. Leptis] Leptis Major, now *Lebida*. In c. 19, Leptis Minor is meant.

[2] Their own safety] *Suam salutem:* i. e. the safety of the people of Leptis.

[3] LXXVIII. Which take their name from their nature] *Quibus nomen ex re inditum.* From *σύρειν, to draw*, because the stones and sand were drawn to and fro by the force of the wind and tide. But it has been suggested that this etymology is probably false; it is less likely that their name should be from the Greek than from the Arabic, in which *sert* signifies a desert tract or region, a term still applied to the desert country bordering on the Syrtes. See Ritter, Allgem. vergleich. Geog. vol. i., p. 929. The words which, in Havercamp, close this description of the Syrtes, "Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ," and which Gruter and Putschius suspected not to be Sallust's, Cortius omitted; and his example has been followed by Müller and Burnouf; Gerlach, Kritzius, and Dietsch, have retained them. Gerlach, however, thinks them a gloss, though they are found in every manuscript but one.

[4] Almost at the extremity of Africa] *Prope in extremâ Africâ.* "By *extremâ*

character. Those parts of them next to the land are very deep; the other parts sometimes deep and sometimes shallow, as chance may direct; for when the sea swells, and is agitated by the winds, the waves roll along with them mud, sand, and huge stones; and thus the appearance of the gulfs changes with the direction of wind.

Of this people, the language alone[1] has been altered by their intermarriages with the Numidians; their laws and customs continue for the most part Sidonian; which they have preserved with the greater ease, through living at so great a distance from the king's dominions[2]. Between them and the populous parts of Numidia lie vast and uncultivated deserts.

LXXIX. Since the affairs of Leptis have led me into these regions, it will not be foreign to my subject to relate the noble and singular act of two Carthaginians, which the place has brought to my recollection.

At the time when the Carthaginians were masters of the greater part of Africa, the Cyrenians were also a great and powerful people. The territory that lay between them was sandy, and of a uniform appearance, without a stream or a hill to determine their respective boundaries; a circumstance which involved them in a severe and protracted war. After armies and fleets had been routed and put to flight on both sides, and each people had greatly weakened their opponents, fearing lest some third party should attack both victors and vanquished in a state of exhaustion, they came to an agreement, during a short cessation of arms, "that on a certain day deputies should leave home on either side, and that the spot where they should meet should be the common boundary between the two states." From Carthage, accordingly, were despatched two brothers, who were named Philæni[3],

Africa Gerlach rightly understands the eastern part of Africa, bordering on Egypt, and at a great distance from Numidia." *Kritzius.*

[1] The language alone] *Lingua modò.*

[2] From the king's dominions] *Ab imperio regis.* "Understand Masinissa's, Micipsa's, or Jugurtha's." *Burnouf.*

[3] LXXIX. Philæni] The account of these Carthaginian brothers with a Greek name, φίλαινοι, *praise-loving*, is probably a fable. Cortius thinks that the inhabitants, observing two mounds rising above the surrounding level, fancied they must have been raised, not by nature, but by human labour, and invented a story to account for their existence. "The altars," according to Mr. Rennell (Geog

and who travelled with great expedition. The deputies of the Cyrenians proceeded more slowly; but whether from indolence or accident I have not been informed. However, a storm of wind in these deserts will cause obstruction to passengers not less than at sea; for when a violent blast, sweeping over a level surface devoid of vegetation[1], raises the sand from the ground, it is driven onward with great force, and fills the mouth and eyes of the traveller, and thus, by hindering his view, retards his progress. The Cyrenian deputies, finding that they had lost ground, and dreading punishment at home for their mismanagement, accused the Carthaginians of having left home before the time; quarrelling about the matter, and preferring to do anything rather than submit. The Philæni, upon this, asked them to name any other mode of settling the controversy, provided it were equitable; and the Cyrenians gave them their choice, "either that they should be buried alive in the spot which they claimed as the boundary for their people, or that they themselves, on the same conditions, should be allowed to go forward to whatever point they should think proper." The Philæni, having accepted the conditions, sacrificed themselves[2] to the interest of their country, and were interred alive. The people of Carthage consecrated altars to the brothers on the spot; and other honours were instituted to them at home. I now return to my subject.

LXXX. After the loss of Thala, Jugurtha, thinking no place sufficiently secure against Metellus, fled with a few followers into the country of the Getulians, a people savage and

of Herod., p. 640), "were situated about seven-ninths of the way from Carthage to Cyrene; and the deception," he adds, "would have been too gross, had it been pretended that the Carthaginian party had travelled seven parts in nine, while the Cyrenians had travelled no more than two such parts of the way." Pliny (H. N. v. 4) says that the altars were of sand; Strabo (lib. iii.) says that in his time they had vanished. Pomponius Mela and Valerius Maximus repeat the story, but without adding anything to render it more probable.

[1] Devoid of vegetation] *Nuda gignentium.* So c. 93, *cuncta gignentium natura.* Kritzius justly observes that *gignentia* is not to be taken in the sense of *genita*, as Cortius and others interpret, but in its own active sense; the ground was bare *of all that was productive*, or *of whatever generates anything.* This interpretation is suggested by Perizonius ad Sanctii Minerv. i., 15.

[2] Sacrificed themselves] *Seque vitamque—condonavere.* "Nihil aliud est quàm *vitam suam*, sc. ἐν διὰ δυοῖν." *Allen.*

uncivilised, and, at that period, unacquainted with even the name of Rome. Of these barbarians he collected a great multitude, and trained them by degrees to march in ranks, to follow standards, to obey the word of command, and to perform other military exercises. He also gained over to his interest, by large presents and larger promises, the intimate friends of king Bocchus, and working upon the king by their means, induced him to commence war against the Romans. This was the more practicable and easy, because Bocchus, at the commencement of hostilities with Jugurtha, had sent an embassy to Rome to solicit friendship and alliance; but a faction, blinded by avarice, and accustomed to sell their votes on every question honourable or dishonourable[1], had caused his advances to be rejected, though they were of the highest consequence to the war recently begun. A daughter of Bocchus, too, was married to Jugurtha[2]; but such a connexion, among the Numidians and Moors, is but lightly regarded; for every man has as many wives as he pleases, in proportion to his ability to maintain them; some ten, others more, but the kings most of all. Thus the affection of the husband is divided among a multitude; no one of them becomes a companion to him[3], but all are equally neglected.

LXXXI. The two kings, with their armies[4], met in a place settled by mutual agreement, where, after pledges of amity

[1] LXXX. Sell—honourable or dishonourable] *Omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere.* See Cat. c. 30. They had been bribed by Jugurtha to use their influence against Bocchus.

[2] A daughter of Bocchus, too, was married to Jugurtha] *Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat.* Several manuscripts and old editions have *Boccho*, making Bocchus the son-in-law of Jugurtha. But Plutarch (Vit. Mar. c. 10, Sull. c. 3) and Florus (iii., 1) agree in speaking of him as Jugurtha's father-in-law. Bocchus was doubtless an older man than Jugurtha, having a grown up son, Volux, c. 105. Castilioneus and Cortius, therefore, saw the necessity of reading *Bocchi*, and other editors have followed them, except Gerlach, "who," says Kritzius, "has given *Bocchi* in his larger, and *Boccho* in his smaller and more recent edition, in order that readers using both may have an opportunity of making a choice."

[3] No one of them becomes a companion to him] *Nulla pro socià obtinet.* The use of *obtinet* absolutely, or with the word dependent on it understood, prevails chiefly among the later Latin writers. Livy, however, has *fama obtinuit*, xxi., 46. "The *tiro* is to be reminded," says Dietsch, "that *obtinet* is not the same as *habetur*, but is always for *locum obtinet.*"

[4] LXXXI. The two kings, with their armies] The text has only *exercitus.*

were given and received, Jugurtha inflamed the mind of Bocchus by observing that the Romans were a lawless people, of insatiable covetousness, and the common enemies of mankind; that they had the same motive for making war on Bocchus as on himself and other nations, the lust of dominion; that all independent states were objects of hatred to them; at present, for instance, himself; a little before, the Carthaginians had been so, as well as king Perses; and that, in future, as any sovereign became conspicuous for his power, so would he assuredly be treated as an enemy by the Romans."

Induced by these and similar considerations, they determined to march against Cirta, where Metellus had deposited his plunder, prisoners, and baggage. Jugurtha supposed that, if he took the city, there would be ample recompense for his exertions; or that, if the Roman general came to succour his adherents, he would have the opportunity of engaging him in the field. He also hastened this movement from policy, to lessen Bocchus's chance of peace[1]; lest, if delay should be allowed, he should decide upon something different from war.

LXXXII. Metellus, when he heard of the confederacy of the kings, did not rashly, or in every place, give opportunities of fighting, as he had been used to do since Jugurtha had been so often defeated, but, fortifying his camp, awaited the approach of the kings at no great distance from Cirta; thinking it better, when he should have learned something of the Moors[2], as they were new enemies in the field, to give battle on an advantage.

In the mean time he was informed, by letters from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius, of whose election to the consulship he had already heard.

Being affected at these occurrences beyond what was proper and decorous, he could neither restrain his tears nor govern

[1] To lessen Bocchus's chance of peace] *Bocchi pacem imminuere.* He wished to engage Bocchus in some act of hostility against the Romans, so as to render any coalition between them impossible.

[2] LXXXII. Should have learned something of the Moors] *Cognitis Mauris*, i. e. after knowing something of the Moors, *and not before. Cognitis militibus* is used in the same way in c. 89; and Dietsch says that *amicitia Jugurthæ parum cognita* is for *nondum cognita*, c. 14.

his tongue; for though he was a man eminent in other respects, he had too little firmness in bearing trouble of mind. His irritation was by some imputed to pride; others said that a noble spirit was wounded by insult; many thought him chagrined because victory, just attained, was snatched from his grasp. But to me it is well known that he was more troubled at the honour bestowed on Marius than at the injustice done to himself; and that he would have shown much less uneasiness if the province of which he was deprived had been given to any other than Marius.

LXXXIII. Discouraged, therefore, by such a mortification, and thinking it folly to promote another man's success at his own hazard, he sent deputies to Bocchus, intreating him "not to become an enemy to the Romans without cause;" and observing "that he had a fine opportunity of entering into friendship and alliance with them, which were far preferable to war; that though he might have confidence in his resources, he ought not to change certainties for uncertainties; that a war was easily begun, but discontinued with difficulty; that its commencement and conclusion were not dependent on the same party; that any one, even a coward, might commence hostilities, but that they could be broken off only when the conqueror thought proper; and that he should therefore consult for his interest and that of his kingdom, and not connect his own prosperous circumstances with the ruined fortunes of Jugurtha." To these representations the king mildly answered, "that he desired peace, but felt compassion for the condition of Jugurtha, to whom if suitable proposals were made, all would easily be arranged." Metellus, in reply to this request of Bocchus, sent deputies with overtures, of which the king approved some, and rejected others. Thus, in sending messengers to and fro, the time passed away, and the war, according to the consul's desire, was protracted without being advanced.

LXXXIV. Marius, who, as I said before, had been made consul with great eagerness on the part of the populace, began, though he had always been hostile to the patricians, to inveigh against them, after the people gave him the province of Numidia, with great frequency and violence; he attacked them sometimes individually and sometimes in a body; he said that he had snatched from them the consulship as

spoils from vanquished enemies; and uttered other remarks laudatory to himself and offensive to them. Meanwhile he made the provision for the war his chief object; he asked for reinforcements for the legions; he sent for auxiliaries from foreign states, kings, and allies; he also enlisted all the bravest men from Latium, most of whom were known to him by actual service, some few only by report, and induced, by earnest solicitation, even discharged veterans[1] to accompany him. Nor did the senate, though adverse to him, dare to refuse him anything; the additions to the legions they had voted even with eagerness, because military service was thought to be unpopular with the multitude, and Marius seemed likely to lose either the means of warfare[2], or the favour of the people. But such expectations were entertained in vain, so ardent was the desire of going with Marius that had seized on almost all. Every one cherished the fancy[3] that he should return home laden with spoil, crowned with victory, or attended with some similar good fortune. Marius himself, too, had excited them in no small degree by a speech; for, when all that he required was granted, and he was anxious to commence a levy, he called an assembly of the people, as well to encourage them to enlist, as to inveigh, according to his practice, against the nobility. He spoke, on the occasion, as follows:

LXXXV. "I am aware, my fellow-citizens, that most men do not appear as candidates before you for an office, and conduct themselves in it when they have obtained it, under the same character; that they are at first industrious, humane, and modest, but afterwards lead a life of indolence and arrogance. But to me it appears that the contrary should be the case; for as the whole state is of greater consequence than the single office of consulate or prætorship, so its interests ought to be managed[4] with greater solicitude than

[1] LXXXIV. Discharged veterans] *Homines emeritis stipendiis.* Soldiers who had completed their term of service.

[2] Means of warfare] *Usum belli.* That is *ea quæ belli usus posceret*, troops and supplies.

[3] Cherished the fancy] *Animis trahebant.* "*Trahere animo* is always to revolve in the mind, not to let the thought of a thing escape from the mind." *Kritzius.*

[4] LXXXV. Its interests ought to be managed, &c.] *Majore curâ illam administrari quàm hæc peti debere.* Cortius injudiciously omits the word *illam.* No one has followed him but Allen.

these magistracies are sought. Nor am I insensible how great a weight of business I am, through your kindness, called upon to sustain. To make preparations for war, and yet to be sparing of the treasury; to press those into the service whom I am unwilling to offend; to direct everything at home and abroad; and to discharge these duties when surrounded by the envious, the hostile[1], and the factious, is more difficult, my fellow-citizens, than is generally imagined. In addition to this, if others fail in their undertakings, their ancient rank, the heroic actions of their ancestors, the power of their relatives and connexions, their numerous dependents, are all at hand to support them; but as for me, my whole hopes rest upon myself, which I must sustain by good conduct and integrity; for all other means are unavailing.

"I am sensible, too, my fellow-citizens, that the eyes of all men are turned upon me; that the just and good favour me, as my services are beneficial to the state, but that the nobility seek occasion to attack me. I must therefore use the greater exertion, that you may not be deceived in me[2], and that their views may be rendered abortive. I have led such a life, indeed, from my boyhood to the present hour, that I am familiar with every kind of toil and danger; and that exertion, which, before your kindness to me, I practised gratuitously, it is not my intention to relax after having received my reward. For those who have pretended to be men of worth only to secure their election[3], it may be difficult to conduct themselves properly in office; but to me, who have passed my whole life in the most honourable occupations, to act well has from habit become nature.

"You have commanded me to carry on the war against Jugurtha; a commission at which the nobility are highly offended. Consider with yourselves, I pray you, whether it would be a change for the better, if you were to send to this, or

[1] Hostile] *Occursantis.* Thwarting, opposing.

[2] That you may not be deceived in me] *Ut neque vos capiamini.* "This verb is undoubtedly used in this passage for *decipere.* Compare Tibull. Eleg. iii., 6, 45: *Nec vos aut capiant pendentia brachia collo, Aut fallat blandâ sordida lingua prece.* Cic. Acad. iv., 20: *Sapientis vim maximam esse cavere, ne capiatur.*" Gerlach.

[3] To secure their election] *Per ambitionem. Ambire* is to canvass for votes; to court the favour of the people.

to any other such appointment, one of yonder crowd of nobles[1], a man of ancient family, of innumerable statues, and of no military experience; in order, forsooth, that in so important an office, and being ignorant of everything connected with it, he may exhibit hurry and trepidation, and select one of the people to instruct him in his duty. For so it generally happens, that he whom you have chosen to direct, seeks another to direct him. I know some, my fellow-citizens, who, after they have been elected[2] consuls, have begun to read the acts of their ancestors, and the military precepts of the Greeks; persons who invert the order of things[3]; for though to discharge the duties of the office[4] is posterior, in point of time, to election, it is, in reality and practical importance, prior to it.

"Compare now, my fellow-citizens, me, who am *a new man*, with those haughty nobles[5]. What they have but heard or read, I have witnessed or performed. What they have learned from books, I have acquired in the field; and whether deeds or words are of greater estimation, it is for you to consider. They despise my humbleness of birth; I contemn their imbecility. My condition[6] is made an objection to me; their mis-

[1] Of yonder crowd of nobles] *Ex illo globo nobilitatis. Illo, δεικτικῶς.*

[2] I know some—who, after they have been elected, *&c.*] "At whom Marius directs this observation, it is impossible to tell. Gerlach, referring to Cic. Quæst. Acad. ii., 1, 2, thinks that Lucullus is meant. But if he supposes that Lucullus was present *to the mind of Marius* when he spoke, he is egregiously deceived, for Marius was forty years antecedent to Lucullus. It is possible, however, that *Sallust*, thinking of Lucullus when he wrote Marius's speech, may have fallen into an anachronism, and have attributed to Marius, whose character he had assumed, an observation which might justly have been made in his own day." *Kritzius.*

[3] Persons who invert the order of things] *Homines præposteri.* Men who do that last which should be done first.

[4] For though to discharge the duties of the office, *&c.*] *Nam gerere, quàm fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.* With *gerere* is to be understood *consulatum;* with *fieri, consulem.* This is imitated from Demosthenes, Olynth. iii.: *Τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν, ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστι.* "Acting is posterior in order to speaking and voting, but prior and superior in effect."

[5] With those haughty nobles] *Cum illorum superbiâ. Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Lælî.*

[6] My condition] *Mihi fortuna.* "That is, my lot, or condition, in which I was born, and which I had no hand in producing." *Dietsch.*

conduct is a reproach to them. The circumstance of birth[1], indeed, I consider as one and the same to all; but think that he who best exerts himself is the noblest. And could it be inquired of the fathers[2], of Albinus and Bestia, whether they would rather be the parents of them or of me, what do you suppose that they would answer, but that they would wish the most deserving to be their offspring? If the patricians justly despise me, let them also despise their own ancestors, whose nobility, like mine, had its origin in merit. They envy me the honour that I have received; let them also envy me the toils, the abstinence[3], and the perils, by which I obtained that honour. But they, men eaten up with pride, live as if they disdained all the distinctions that you can bestow, and yet sue for those distinctions as if they had lived so as to merit them. Yet those are assuredly deceived, who expect to enjoy, at the same time, things so incompatible as the pleasures of indolence and the rewards of honourable exertion[4].

"When they speak before you, or in the senate, they

[1] The circumstance of birth, &c.] *Naturam unam et communem omnium existumo.* "Nascendi sortem" is the explanation which Dietsch gives to *naturam.* One man *is born* as well as another, but the difference between men is made by their different modes of action; a difference which the nobles falsely suppose to proceed from fortune. "Voltaire, Mahomet, Act. I. sc. iv., has expressed the sentiment of Sallust exactly:

> Les mortels sont égaux, ce n'est point la naissance,
> C'est la seule vertu qui fait leur différence." *Burnouf.*

[2] And could it be inquired of the fathers, &c.] *Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiæ quæri posset, &c. Patres,* in this passage, is not, as Anthon imagines, the same as *majores;* as is apparent from the word *gigni.* The fathers of Albinus and Bestia were probably dead at the time that Marius spoke. The passage which Anthon quotes from Plutarch to illustrate *patres,* is not applicable, for the word there is προγονοι: Ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν παρόντων, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ὄιονται προγόνους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἂν ἔυξασθαι παραπλησίους ἐκγόνους ἀπολιπεῖν, ἅτε δὴ μήδ' αὐτοὺς δι' ἐυγένειαν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐνδόξους γενομένους. Vit. Mar. c. 9. "He would then ask the people whether they did not think that the ancestors of those men would have wished rather to leave a posterity like him, since they themselves had not risen to glory by their high birth, but by their virtue and heroic achievements?" *Langhorne.*

[3] Abstinence] *Innocentiæ.* Abstinence from all vicious indulgence.

[4] Honourable exertion] *Virtutis.* See notes on Cat. c. 1, and Jug. c. 1.

occupy the greatest part of their orations in extolling their ancestors[1]; for, they suppose that, by recounting the heroic deeds of their forefathers, they render themselves more illustrious. But the reverse of this is the case; for the more glorious were the lives of their ancestors, the more scandalous is their own inaction. The truth, indeed, is plainly this, that the glory of ancestors sheds a light on their posterity[2], which suffers neither their virtues nor their vices to be concealed. Of this light, my fellow-citizens, I have no share; but I have, what confers much more distinction, the power of relating my own actions. Consider, then, how unreasonable they are; what they claim to themselves for the merit of others, they will not grant to me for my own; alleging, forsooth, that I have no statues, and that my distinction is newly acquired; but it is surely better to have acquired such distinction myself than to bring disgrace on that received from others.

"I am not ignorant, that, if they were inclined to reply to me, they would make an abundant display of eloquent and artful language. Yet, since they attack both you and myself, on occasion of the great favour which you have conferred upon me, I did not think proper to be silent before them, lest any one should construe my forbearance into a consciousness of demerit. As for myself, indeed, nothing that is said of me, I feel assured[3], can do me injury; for what is true, must of necessity speak in my favour; what is false, my life and character will refute. But since your judgment, in bestowing on me so distinguished an honour and so important a trust, is called in question, consider, I beseech you, again and again, whether you are likely to repent of what you have done. I cannot, to raise your confidence in me, boast

[1] They occupy the greatest part of their orations in extolling their ancestors] *Plerâque oratione majores suos extollunt.* "They extol their ancestors in the greatest part of their speech."

[2] The glory of ancestors sheds a light on their posterity] Juvenal, viii., 138:

Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
Nobilitas, claramque facem præferre pudendis.

Thy fathers' virtues, clear and bright, display
Thy shameful deeds, as with the light of day.

[3] I feel assured] *Ex animi sententiâ.* "It was a common form of strong asseveration." *Gerlach.*

of the statues, or triumphs, or consulships of my ancestors; but, if it be thought necessary, I can show you spears[1], a banner[2], caparisons[3] for horses, and other military rewards; besides the scars of wounds on my breast. These are my statues; this is my nobility; honours, not left, like theirs, by inheritance, but acquired amidst innumerable toils and dangers.

"My speech, they say, is inelegant; but that I have ever thought of little importance. Worth sufficiently displays itself; it is for my detractors to use studied language, that they may palliate base conduct by plausible words. Nor have I learned Greek; for I had no wish to acquire a tongue that adds nothing to the valour[4] of those who teach it. But I have gained other accomplishments, such as are of the utmost benefit to a state; I have learned to strike down an enemy; to be vigilant at my post[5]; to fear nothing but dis-

[1] Spears] *Hastas.* "A *hasta pura*, that is a spear without iron, was anciently the reward of a soldier the first time that he conquered in battle, Serv. ad Virg. Æn. vi., 760; it was afterwards given to one who had struck down an enemy in a sally or skirmish, Lips. ad Polyb. de Milit. Rom. v., 17." *Burnouf.*

[2] A banner] *Vexillum.* "Standards were also military rewards. Vopiscus relates that ten *hastæ puræ*, and four standards of two colours, were presented to Aurelian. Suetonius (Aug. 25) says that Agrippa was presented by Augustus, after his naval victory, with a standard of the colour of the sea. These standards therefore, were not, as Badius Ascensius thinks, always taken from the enemy; though this was sometimes the case, as appears from Sil. Ital. xv., 261:

Tunc hasta viris, tunc martia cuique
Vexilla, ut meritum, et prædæ libamina, dantur." *Burnouf.*

[3] Caparisons] *Phaleras.* "Sil. Ital. xv., 255:

Phaleris hic pectora fulget:
Hic *torque* aurato circumdat bellica colla.

Juvenal, xv., 60:

Ut læti *phaleris* omnes et *torquibus* omnes.

These passages show that *phaleræ*, a name for the ornaments of horses, were also decorations of men; but they differed from the *torques*, or collars, in this respect, that the *phaleræ* hung down over the breast, and the *torques* only encircled the neck. See Lips. ad Polyb. de Milit. Rom. v., 17." *Burnouf.*

[4] Valour] *Virtutem.* "The Greeks, those illustrious instructors of the world, had not been able to preserve their liberty; their learning therefore had not added to their valour. *Virtus*, in this passage, is evidently *fortitudo bellica*, which, in the opinion of Marius, was *the only virtue*." Burnouf. See Plutarch, Vit. Mar. c. 2.

[5] To be vigilant at my post] *Præsidia agitare.* Or "to keep guard at my post." "*Præsidia agitare* signifies nothing more than to protect a party of foragers or the baggage, or to keep guard round a besieged city." *Cortius.*

honour; to bear cold and heat with equal endurance; to sleep on the ground; and to sustain at the same time hunger and fatigue. And with such rules of conduct I shall stimulate my soldiers, not treating them with rigour and myself with indulgence, nor making their toils my glory. Such a mode of commanding is at once useful to the state, and becoming to a citizen. For to coerce your troops with severity, while you yourself live at ease, is to be a tyrant, not a general.

"It was by conduct such as this, my fellow-citizens, that your ancestors made themselves and the republic renowned. Our nobility, relying on their forefathers' merits, though totally different from them in conduct, disparage us who emulate their virtues; and demand of you every public honour, as due, not to their personal merit, but to their high rank. Arrogant pretenders, and utterly unreasonable! For though their ancestors left them all that was at their disposal, their riches, their statues, and their glorious names, they left them not, nor could leave them, their virtue; which alone, of all their possessions, could neither be communicated nor received.

"They reproach me as being mean, and of unpolished manners, because, forsooth, I have but little skill in arranging an entertainment, and keep no actor[1], nor give my cook[2]

[1] Keep no actor] *Histrionem nullum—habeo.* "Luxuriæ peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico (Manlii *sc.* Vulsonis, A.U.C. 568) invecta in urbem est. * * * Tum psaltriæ sambucistriæque, et convivalia *ludionum* oblectamenta, addita epulis." Liv. xxxix., 6. "By this army returning from Asia was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. * * * At entertainments—were introduced players on the harp and timbrel, with *buffoons* for the diversion of the guests." *Baker.* Professor Anthon, who quotes this passage, says that *histrio* "here denotes a buffoon kept for the amusement of the company." But such is not the meaning of the word *histrio.* It signifies one who in some way *acted*, either by dancing and gesticulation, or by reciting, perhaps to the music of the *sambucistriæ* or other minstrels. See Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant. Art. *Histrio*, sect. 2. Scheller's Lex. sub vv. *Histrio*, *Ludio*, and *Salto.* The emperors had whole companies of actors, *histriones aulici*, for their private amusement. Suetonius says of Augustus (c. 74) that at feasts he introduced *acroamata et histriones.* See also Spartian. *Had.* c. 19; Jul. Capitol. *Verus*, c. 8.

[2] My cook] *Coquum.* Livy, in the passage just cited from him, adds *tum coquus vilissimum antiquis mancipium, et æstimatione et usu in pretio esse · et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta.* "The cook, whom the ancients con-

higher wages than my steward; all which charges I must, indeed, acknowledge to be just; for I learned from my father, and other venerable characters, that vain indulgences belong to women, and labour to men; that glory, rather than wealth, should be the object of the virtuous; and that arms and armour, not household furniture, are marks of honour. But let the nobility, if they please, pursue what is delightful and dear to them; let them devote themselves to licentiousness and luxury; let them pass their age as they have passed their youth, in revelry and feasting, the slaves of gluttony and debauchery; but let them leave the toil and dust of the field, and other such matters, to us, to whom they are more grateful than banquets. This, however, they will not do; for when these most infamous of men have disgraced themselves by every species of turpitude, they proceed to claim the distinctions due to the most honourable. Thus it most unjustly happens that luxury and indolence, the most disgraceful of vices, are harmless to those who indulge in them, and fatal only to the innocent commonwealth.

"As I have now replied to my calumniators, as far as my own character required, though not so fully as their flagitiousness deserved, I shall add a few words on the state of public affairs. In the first place, my fellow-citizens, be of good courage with regard to Numidia; for all that hitherto protected Jugurtha, avarice, inexperience, and arrogance[1], you have entirely removed. There is an army in it, too, which is well acquainted with the country, though, assuredly, more brave than fortunate; for a great part of it has been destroyed by the avarice or rashness of its commanders. Such of you, then, as are of military age, co-operate with me, and support the cause of your country; and let no discouragement, from the ill-fortune of others, or the arrogance of the late commanders, affect any one of you. I myself shall be with you, both on the march and in the

sidered as the meanest of their slaves both in estimation and use, became highly valuable." *Baker.*

[1] Avarice, inexperience, and arrogance] *Avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam.* "The President De Brosses and Dotteville have observed, that Marius, in these words, makes an allusion to the characters of all the generals that had preceded him, noticing at once the avarice of Calpurnius, the inexperience of Albinus, and the pride of Metellus." *Le Brun.*

battle, both to direct your movements and to share your dangers. I shall treat you and myself on every occasion alike; and, doubtless, with the aid of the gods, all good things, victory, spoil, and glory, are ready to our hands; though, even if they were doubtful or distant, it would still become every able citizen to act in defence of his country. For no man, by slothful timidity, has escaped the lot of mortals[1]; nor has any parent wished for his children[2] that they might live for ever, but rather that they might act in life with virtue and honour. I would add more, my fellow-citizens, if words could give courage to the faint-hearted; to the brave I think that I have said enough."

[1] For no man, by slothful timidity, has escaped the lot of mortals] *Etenim ignaviâ nemo immortalis factus.* The English translators have rendered this phrase as if they supposed the sense to be, "No man has gained immortal renown by inaction." But this is not the signification. What Marius means, is, that *no man, however cautiously and timidly he may avoid danger, has prolonged his life to immortality.* Taken in this sense, the words have their proper connexion with what immediately follows: *neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit.* The sentiment is the same as in the verse of Horace: *Mors et fugacem persequitur virum:* or in these lines of Tyrtæus:

Οὐ γάρ κως θάνατόν γε φυγεῖν εἱμαρμένον ἐστὶν
Ἀνδρ', οὐδ' ἢν προγόνων ᾖ γένος ἀθανάτων·
Πολλάκι δηϊότητα φυγὼν καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων
Ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου.

To none, 'mong men, escape from death is giv'n,
Though sprung from deathless habitants of heav'n:
Him that has fled the battle's threatening sound,
The silent foot of fate at home has found.

The French translator, Le Brun, has given the right sense: "Jamais la lâcheté n'a préservé de la mort;" and Dureau Delamalle: "Pour être un lâche, on n'en serait pas plus immortel." *Ignavia* is properly *inaction*; but here signifies *a timid shrinking from danger.*

[2] Nor has any parent wished for his children, &c.] Οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὔχονται γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἐυκλεεῖς. "Men do not pray that they may have children that will never die, but such as will be good and honourable." Plato, Menex. 20.

"This speech, differing from the other speeches in Sallust both in words and thoughts, conveys a clear notion of that fierce and objurgatory eloquence which was natural to the rude manners and bold character of Marius. It is a speech which cannot be called polished and modulated, but must rather be termed rough and ungraceful. The phraseology is of an antique cast, and some of the words coarse. * * * But it is animated and fervid, rushing on like a torrent; and by language of such a character and structure, the nature and manners of Marius are excellently represented." *Gerlach.*

LXXXVI. After having spoken to this effect, Marius, when he found that the minds of the populace were excited, immediately freighted vessels with provisions, pay, arms, and other necessaries, and ordered Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant-general, to set sail with them. He himself, in the mean time, proceeded to enlist soldiers, not after the ancient method, or from the classes[1], but taking all that were willing to join him, and the greater part from the lowest ranks. Some said that this was done from a scarcity of better men, and others from the consul's desire to pay court[2] to the poorer class, because it was by that order of men that he had been honoured and promoted; and, indeed, to a man grasping at power, the most needy are the most serviceable, persons to whom their property (as they have none) is not an object of care, and to whom everything lucrative appears honourable. Setting out, accordingly, for Africa, with a somewhat larger force than had been decreed, he arrived in a few days at Utica. The command of the army was resigned to him by Publius Rutilius, Metellus's lieutenant-general; for Metellus himself avoided the sight of Marius, that he might not see what he could not even endure to hear mentioned.

LXXXVII. Marius, having filled up his legions[3] and auxiliary cohorts, marched into a part of the country which was fertile and abundant in spoil, where, whatever he captured, he gave up to his soldiers. He then attacked such fortresses or towns as were ill defended by nature or with troops, and ventured on several engagements, though only of a light character, in different places. The new recruits, in process of time, began to join in an encounter without fear; they saw that such as fled were taken prisoners or slain; that the

[1] LXXXVI. Not after the ancient method, or from the classes] *Non more majorum, neque ex classibus.* By the regulation of Servius Tullius, who divided the Roman people into six classes, the highest class consisting of the wealthiest, and the others decreasing downwards in regular gradation, none of the sixth class, who were not considered as having any fortune, but were *capite censi*, "rated by the head," were allowed to enlist in the army. The enlistment of the lower order, commenced, it is said, by Marius, tended to debase the army, and to render it a fitter tool for the purposes of unprincipled commanders. See Aul. Gell. xvi., 10.

[2] Desire to pay court] *Per ambitionem.*

[3] LXXXVII. Having filled up his legions, *&c.*] Their numbers had been thinned in actions with the enemy, and Metellus perhaps took home some part of the army which did not return to it.

bravest were the safest; that liberty, their country, and parents[1], are defended, and glory and riches acquired, by arms. Thus the new and old troops soon became as one body, and the courage of all was rendered equal.

The two kings, when they heard of the approach of Marius, retreated, by separate routes, into parts that were difficult of access; a plan which had been proposed by Jugurtha, who hoped that, in a short time, the enemy might be attacked when dispersed over the country, supposing that the Roman soldiers, like the generality of troops, would be less careful and observant of discipline when the fear of danger was removed.

LXXXVIII. Metellus, meanwhile, having taken his departure for Rome, was received there, contrary to his expectation, with the greatest feelings of joy, being equally welcomed, since public prejudice had subsided, by both the people and the patricians.

Marius continued to attend, with equal activity and prudence, to his own affairs and those of the enemy. He observed what would be advantageous, or the contrary, to either party; he watched the movements of the kings, counteracted their intentions and stratagems, and allowed no remissness in his own army, and no security in that of the enemy. He accordingly attacked and dispersed, on several occasions, the Getulians and Jugurtha on their march, as they were carrying off spoil from our allies[2]; and he obliged the king himself, near the town of Cirta, to take flight without his arms[3]. But finding that such enterprises merely gained him honour, without tending to terminate the war, he resolved on investing, one after another, all the cities, which, by the strength of their garrisons or situation, were best suited either to support the enemy, or to resist himself; so that Jugurtha would either be deprived of his fortresses, if he suffered them to be taken, or be forced to come to an

[1] Their country and parents, *&c.*] *Patriam parentesque, &c.* Sallust means to say that the soldiers would see such to be the general effect and result of vigorous warfare; not that they had any country or parents to protect in Numidia. But the observation has very much of the rhetorician in it.

[2] LXXXVIII. From our allies] *Ex sociis nostris.* The people of the province.

[3] Obliged the king himself—to take flight without his arms] *Ipsumque regem —armis exuerat.* He attacked Jugurtha so suddenly and vigorously that he was compelled to flee, leaving his arms behind him.

engagement in their defence. As to Bocchus, he had frequently sent messengers to Marius, saying that he desired the friendship of the Roman people, and that the consul need fear no act of hostility from him. But whether he merely dissembled, with a view to attack us unexpectedly with greater effect, or whether, from fickleness of disposition, he habitually wavered between war and peace, was never fairly ascertained.

LXXXIX. Marius, as he had determined, proceeded to attack the fortified towns and places of strength, and to detach them, partly by force, and partly by threats or offers of reward, from the enemy. His operations in this way, however, were at first but moderate; for he expected that Jugurtha, to protect his subjects, would soon come to an engagement. But finding that he kept at a distance, and was intent on other affairs, he thought it was time to enter upon something of greater importance and difficulty. Amidst the vast deserts there lay a great and strong city, named Capsa, the founder of which is said to have been the Libyan Hercules[1]. Its inhabitants were exempted from taxes by Jugurtha, and under mild government, and were consequently regarded as the most faithful of his subjects. They were defended against enemies, not only by walls, magazines of arms, and bodies of troops, but still more by the difficulty of approaching them; for, except the parts adjoining the walls, all the surrounding country is waste and uncultivated, destitute of water, and infested with serpents, whose fierceness, like that of other wild animals, is aggravated by want of food; while the venom of such reptiles, deadly in itself, is exacerbated by nothing so much as by thirst. Of this place Marius conceived a strong desire[2] to make himself master, not only from its importance for the war, but because its capture seemed an enterprise of difficulty; for Metellus had gained great glory by taking Thala, a town similarly situated and fortified; except that at Thala there were several springs

[1] LXXXIX. The Libyan Hercules] *Hercules Libys.* "He is one of the forty and more whom Varro mentions, and who, it is probable, were leaders of trading expeditions or colonies. See *supra*, c. 18. A Libyan Hercules is mentioned by Solinus, xxvii." *Burnouf.*

[2] Marius conceived a strong desire] *Marium maxima cupido invaserat.* "A strong desire had seized Marius."

near the walls, while the people of Capsa had only one running stream, and that within the town, all the water which they used besides being rain-water. But this scarcity, both here and in other parts of Africa, where the people live rudely and remote from the sea, was endured with the greater ease, as the inhabitants subsist mostly on milk and wild beasts' flesh[1], and use no salt, or other provocatives of appetite, their food being merely to satisfy hunger or thirst, and not to encourage luxury or excess.

XC. The consul[2], having made all necessary investigations, and relying, I suppose, on the gods (for against such difficulties he could not well provide by his own forethought, as he was also straitened for want of corn, because the Numidians apply more to pasturage than agriculture, and had conveyed, by the king's order, whatever corn had been raised into fortified places, while the ground at the time, it being the end of summer, was parched and destitute of vegetation), yet, under the circumstances, conducted his arrangements with great prudence. All the cattle, which had been taken for some days previous, he consigned to the care[3] of the auxiliary cavalry; and directed Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant-general, to proceed with the light-armed cohorts to the town of Lares[4], where he had deposited provisions and pay for the army, telling him that, after plundering the country, he would join him there in a few days. Having by this means concealed his real design, he proceeded towards the river Tana.

XCI. On his march he distributed daily, to each division of the infantry and cavalry, an equal portion of the cattle, and gave orders that water-bottles should be made of their hides; thus compensating, at once, for the scarcity of corn,

[1] Wild beasts' flesh] *Ferinâ carne.* Almost all our translators have rendered this "venison." But the Africans lived on the flesh of whatever beasts they took in the chase.

[2] XC. The consul, *&c.*] Here is a long and awkward parenthesis. I have adhered to the construction of the original. The "yet," *tamen*, that follows the parenthesis, refers to the matter included in it.

[3] He consigned to the care, *&c.*] *Equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit.* "He gave to be driven by the auxiliary cavalry."

[4] The town of Lares] *Oppidum Laris.* Cortius seems to have been right in pronouncing *Laris* to be an accusative plural. Gerlach observes that Lares occurs in the Itinerary of Antoninus and in St. Augustine, Adv. Donatist. vi., 28

and providing, while all remained ignorant of his intention, utensils which would soon be of service. At the end of six days, accordingly, when he arrived at the river, a large number of bottles had been prepared. Having pitched his camp, with a slight fortification, he ordered his men to take refreshment, and to be ready to resume their march at sunset; and, having laid aside all their baggage, to load themselves and their beasts only with water. As soon as it seemed time, he quitted the camp, and, after marching the whole night[1], encamped again. The same course he pursued on the following night, and on the third, long before dawn, he reached a hilly spot of ground, not more than two miles distant from Capsa, where he waited, as secretly as possible, with his whole force. But when daylight appeared, and many of the Numidians, having no apprehensions of an enemy, went forth out of the town, he suddenly ordered all the cavalry, and with them the lightest of the infantry, to hasten forward to Capsa, and secure the gates. He himself immediately followed, with the utmost ardour, restraining his men from plunder.

When the inhabitants perceived that the place was surprised, their state of consternation and extreme dread, the suddenness of the calamity, and the consideration that many of their fellow-citizens were without the walls in the power of the enemy, compelled them to surrender. The town, however, was burnt; of the Numidians, such as were of adult age, were put to the sword; the rest were sold, and the spoil divided among the soldiers. This severity, in violation of the usages of war, was not adopted from avarice or cruelty in the consul, but was exercised because the place was of great advantage to Jugurtha, and difficult of access to us, while the inhabitants were a fickle and faithless race, to be influenced neither by kindness nor by terror.

XCII. When Marius had achieved so important an enterprise, without any loss to his troops, he who was great and honoured before became still greater and still more honoured. All his undertakings[2], however ill-concerted, were regarded

[1] XCI. After marching the whole night] He seems to have marched in the night for the sake of coolness.

[2] XCII. All his undertakings, *&c.*] *Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur.* "All that he did rashly was attributed to his *consciousness of*

as proofs of superior ability; his soldiers, kept under mild discipline, and enriched with spoil, extolled him to the skies; the Numidians dreaded him as something more than human; and all, indeed, allies as well as enemies, believed that he was either possessed of supernatural power, or had all things directed for him by the will of the gods.

After his success in this attempt, he proceeded against other towns; a few, where they offered resistance, he took by force; a greater number, deserted in consequence of the wretched fate of Capsa, he destroyed by fire; and the whole country was filled with mourning and slaughter.

Having at length gained possession of many places, and most of them without loss to his army, he turned his thoughts to another enterprise, which, though not of the same desperate character as that at Capsa, was yet not less difficult of execution[1]. Not far from the river Mulucha, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there stood, in the midst of a plain[2], a rocky hill, sufficiently broad at the top for a small fort; it rose to a vast height, and had but one narrow ascent left open, the whole of it being as steep by nature as it could have been rendered by labour and art. This place, as there were treasures of the king in it, Marius directed his utmost efforts to take[3]. But his views were furthered more by fortune than by his own contrivance. In the fortress there were plenty of men and arms for its defence, as well as an abundant store of provisions, and a spring of water; while its situation was unfavourable for raising mounds, towers, and other works; and the road to it, used by its inhabitants, was extremely steep, with a precipice on either side. The vineæ were brought up with great danger, and without effect; for, before they were advanced any consi-

extraordinary power." If they could not praise his prudence, they praised his resolution and energy.

[1] Difficult of execution] *Difficilem.* There seemed to be as many impediments to success as in the affair at Capsa, though the undertaking was not of so perilous a nature.

[2] In the midst of a plain] *Inter cæteram planitiem.* By *cæteram* he signifies that *the rest* of the ground, except the part on which the fort stood, was plain and level.

[3] Directed his utmost efforts to take] *Summâ vi capere intendit.* It is to be observed that *summâ vi* refers to *intendit*, not to *capere*. *Summâ ope* animum *intendit ut caperet.*

derable distance, they were destroyed with fire or stones. And from the difficulties of the ground, the soldiers could neither stand in front of the works, nor act among the vineæ[1], without danger; the boldest of them were killed or wounded, and the fear of the rest increased.

XCIII. Marius having thus wasted much time and labour, began seriously to consider whether he should abandon the attempt as impracticable, or wait for the aid of Fortune, whom he had so often found favourable. Whilst he was revolving the matter in his mind, during several days and nights, in a state of much doubt and perplexity, it happened that a certain Ligurian, a private soldier in the auxiliary cohorts[2], having gone out of the camp to fetch water, observed, near that part of the fort which was farthest from the besiegers, some snails crawling among the rocks, of which, when he had picked up one or two, and afterwards more, he gradually proceeded, in his eagerness for collecting them, almost to the top of the hill. When he found this part deserted, a desire, incident to the human mind, of seeing what he had never seen[3], took violent possession of him. A large oak

[1] Among the vineæ] *Inter vineas.* "*Inter*, for which Müller, from a conjecture of Glareanus, substituted *intra*, is supported by all the manuscripts, and ought not to be altered, although *intra* would have been more exact, as the signification of *inter* is of greater extent, and includes that of *intra*. *Inter* is used when a thing is inclosed on each side; *intra*, when it is inclosed on all sides. If the soldiers, therefore, are considered as surrounded with the *vineæ*, they should be described as *intra vineas;* but as there is no reason why they may not also be contemplated as being inclosed only laterally by the *vineæ*, the phrase *inter vineas* may surely in that case be applied to them. Gronovius and Drakenborch ad Liv. i., 10, have observed how often these propositions are interchanged when referred to *time*." Kritzius. On *vineæ*, see c. 76.

[2] XCIII. A certain Ligurian—in the auxiliary cohorts] The Ligurians were not numbered among the Italians or *socii* in the Roman army, but attached to it only as auxiliaries.

[3] A desire—of seeing what he had never seen] *More humani ingenii, cupido ignara visundi invadit.* This is the reading of Cortius, to which Müller and Allen adhere. Gerlach inserted in his text, *More humani ingeni, cupido difficilia faciundi animum vortit;* which Kritzius, Orelli, and Dietsch, have adopted, and which Cortius acknowledged to be the reading of the generality of the manuscripts, except that they vary as to the last two words, some having *animadvortit.* The sense of this reading will be, "the desire of doing something difficult, which is natural to the human mind, drew off his thoughts from gathering snails, and led him to contemplate something of a more arduous character." But the reading

chanced to grow out among the rocks, at first, for a short distance, horizontally[1], and then, as nature directs all vegetables[2], turning and shooting upwards. Raising himself sometimes on the boughs of this tree, and sometimes on the projecting rocks, the Ligurian, as all the Numidians were intently watching the besiegers, took a full survey of the platform of the fortress. Having observed whatever he thought it would afterwards prove useful to know, he descended the same way, not unobservantly, as he had gone up, but exploring and noticing all the peculiarities of the path. He then hastened to Marius, acquainted him with what he had done, and urged him to attack the fort on that side where he had ascended, offering himself to lead the way and the attempt. Marius sent some of those about him, along with the Ligurian, to examine the practicability of his proposal, who, according to their several dispositions, reported the affair as difficult or easy. The consul's hopes, however, were somewhat encouraged; and he accordingly selected, from his band of trumpeters and bugle-men, five of the most nimble, and with them four centurions for a guard[3]; all of whom he di-

of Cortius gives so much better a sense to the passage, that I have thought proper to follow it. Burnouf, with Havercamp and the editions antecedent to Cortius, reads *more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi animum vortit*, of which the first five words are taken from a quotation of Aulus Gellius, ix., 12, who, however, may have transcribed them from some other part of Sallust's works, now lost.

[1] Horizontally] *Prona.* This word here signifies *forwards*, not *downwards*, as Anthon and others interpret, for trees growing out of a rock or bank will not take a *descending* direction.

[2] As nature directs all vegetables] *Quò cuncta gignentium natura fert.* It is to be observed that the construction is *natura fert cuncta gignentium*, for *cuncta gignentia*. On *gignentia*, i. e. vegetables, or *whatever produces anything*, see c. 79, and Cat., c. 53.

[3] Four centurions for a guard] *Præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones.* It is a question among the commentators whether the centurions were attended by their centuries or not; Cortius thinks that they were not, as ten men were sufficient to cause an alarm in the fortress, which was all that Marius desired. But that Cortius is in the wrong, and that there were common soldiers with the centurions, appears from the following considerations: 1. Marius would hardly have sent, or Sallust have spoken of, *four* men as a guard to *six*. 2. Why should centurions only have been selected, and not common soldiers as well as their officers? 3. An expression in the following chapter, *laqueis—quibus allevati milites facilius escenderent*, seems to prove that there were others present besides the centurions and the trumpeters. The word *milites* is indeed wanting in the text of Cortius,

rected to obey the Ligurian, appointing the next day for commencing the experiment.

XCIV. When, according to their instructions, it seemed time to set out, the Ligurian, after preparing and arranging everything, proceeded to the place of ascent. Those who commanded the centuries[1], being previously instructed by the guide, had changed their arms and dress, having their heads and feet bare, that their view upwards, and their progress among the rocks, might be less impeded[2]; their swords were slung behind them, as well as their shields, which were Numidian, and made of leather, both for the sake of lightness, and in order that, if struck against any object, they might make less noise. The Ligurian went first, and tied to the rocks, and whatever roots of trees projected through age, a number of ropes, by which the soldiers supporting themselves might climb with the greatest ease. Such as were timorous, from the extraordinary nature of the path, he sometimes pulled up by the hand; when the ascent was extremely rugged, he sent them on singly before him without their arms, which he then carried up after them; whatever parts appeared unsafe[3], he first tried them himself, and, by going up and down repeatedly in the same place, and then standing aside, he in-

but appears to have been omitted by him merely to favour his own notion as to the absence of soldiers, for he left it out, as Kritzius says, *summâ libidine, ne uno quidem codice assentiente*, "purely of his own will, and without the authority of a single manuscript." Taking a fair view of the passage, we seem necessarily led to believe that the centurions were attended by a portion, if not the whole, of their companies. See the following note.

[1] XCIV. Those who commanded the centuries] *Illi qui centuriis præerant.* This is the reading of several manuscripts, and of almost all the editions before that of Kritzius, and may be tolerated if we suppose that the centurions were attended by their men, and that Sallust, in speaking of the change of dress, meant *to include the men*, although he specifies only the officers. Yet it is difficult to conceive why Sallust should have used such a periphrase for *centuriones.* Seven of the manuscripts, however, have *qui adscensuri erant*, which Kritzius and Dietsch have adopted. Two have *qui ex centuriis præerant.* Allen, not unhappily, conjectures, *qui præsidio erant.* Cortius suspected the phrase, *qui centuriis præerant*, and thought it a transformation of the words *qui adscensuris præerat*, which somebody had written in the margin as an explanation of the following word *duce*, and which were afterwards altered and thrust into the text.

[2] Progress—might be less impeded] *Nisus—facilius foret.* The adverb for the adjective. So in the speech of Adherbal, c. 14, *ut tutius essem.*

[3] Unsafe] *Dubia nisu.* "Not to be depended upon for support." *Nisu* is the old dative for *nisui.*

spired the rest with courage to proceed. At length, after uninterrupted and harassing exertion, they reached the fortress, which, on that side, was undefended, for all the occupants, as on other days, were intent on the enemy in the opposite quarter.

Though Marius had kept the attention of the Numidians, during the whole day, fixed on his attacks, yet, when he heard from his scouts how the Ligurian had succeeded, he animated his soldiers to fresh exertions, and he himself, advancing beyond the vineæ, and causing a testudo to be formed[1], came up close under the walls, annoying the enemy, at the same time, with his engines, archers, and slingers, from a distance.

But the Numidians, having often before overturned and burnt the vineæ of the Romans, no longer confined themselves within the fortress, but spent day and night before the walls, railing at the Romans, upbraiding Marius with madness, threatening our soldiers with being made slaves to Jugurtha, and exhibiting the utmost audacity on account of their successful defence. In the mean time, while both the Romans and Numidians were engaged in the struggle, the one side contending for glory and dominion, the other for their very existence, the trumpets suddenly sounded a blast in the rear of the enemy, at which the women and children, who had gone out to view the contest, were the first to flee; next those who were nearest to the wall, and at length the whole of the Numidians, armed and unarmed, retreated within the fort. When this had happened, the Romans pressed upon the enemy with increased boldness, dispersing them, and at first only wounding the greater part, but afterwards making their way over the bodies of those who fell, thirsting for glory, and striving who should be first to reach the wall; not a single individual being detained by the plunder. Thus the rashness of Marius, rendered successful by fortune, procured him renown from his very error.

XCV. During the progress of this affair, Lucius Sylla, Marius's quæstor, arrived in the camp with a numerous body of cavalry, which he had been left at Rome to raise among the Latins and allies.

[1] Causing a testudo to be formed] *Testudine actâ.* The soldiers placed their shields over their heads, and joined them close together, forming a defence like the shell of a tortoise.

Of so eminent a man, since my subject brings him to my notice, I think it proper to give a brief account of the character and manners; for I shall in no other place allude to his affairs[1]; and Lucius Sisenna[2], who has treated that subject the most ably and accurately of all writers, seems to me to have spoken with too little freedom. Sylla, then, was of patrician descent, but of a family almost sunk in obscurity by the degeneracy of his forefathers. He was skilled, equally and profoundly, in Greek and Roman literature. He was a man of large mind, fond of pleasure, but fonder of glory. His leisure was spent in luxurious gratifications, but pleasure never kept him from his duties, except that he might have acted more for his honour with regard to his wife[3]. He was

[1] XCV. For I shall in no other place allude to his affairs] *Neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus.* "These words show that Sallust, at this time, had not thought of writing *Histories*, but that he turned his attention to that pursuit after he had finished the Jugurthine war. For that he spoke of Sylla in his large history is apparent from several extant fragments of it, and from Plutarch, who quotes Sallust, Vit. Syll., c. 3." *Kritzius.*

[2] Lucius Sisenna] He wrote a history of the civil wars between Sylla and Marius, Vell. Paterc. ii., 9. Cicero alludes to his style as being jejune and puerile, Brut., c. 64, De Legg. i., 2. About a hundred and fifty fragments of his history remain.

[3] Except that he might have acted more for his honour with regard to his wife] *Nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli.* As these words are vague and indeterminate, it is not agreed among the critics and translators to what part of Sylla's life Sallust refers. I suppose, with Rupertus, Aldus Manutius, Crispinus, and De Brosses, that the allusion is to his connexion with Valeria, of which the history is given by Plutarch in his Life of Sylla, which the English reader may take in Langhorne's translation: "A few months after Metella's death, he presented the people with a show of gladiators; and as, at that time, men and women had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the best families, happened to sit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Messala, and sister to the orator Hortensius; her name was Valeria; and she had lately been divorced from her husband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her place. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity, when she said, 'Wonder not, my lord, at what I have done; I had only a mind to share a little in your good fortune.' Sylla was far from being displeased; on the contrary, it appeared that he was flattered very agreeably, for he sent to ask her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an interchange of amorous regards and smiles, which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation, and great accomplishments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with soft looks and languishing airs, things that are wont

eloquent and subtle, and lived on the easiest terms with his friends[1]. His depth of thought in disguising his intentions, was incredible; he was liberal of most things, but especially of money. And though he was the most fortunate[2] of all men before his victory in the civil war, yet his fortune was never beyond his desert[3]; and many have expressed a doubt whether his success or his merit were the greater. As to his subsequent acts, I know not whether more of shame or of regret must be felt at the recital of them.

XCVI. When Sylla came with his cavalry into Africa, as has just been stated, and arrived at the camp of Marius, though he had hitherto been unskilled and undisciplined in the art of war, he became, in a short time, the most expert of the whole army. He was besides affable to the soldiers; he conferred favours on many at their request, and on others of his own accord, and was reluctant to receive any in return. But he repaid other obligations more readily than those of a pecuniary nature; he himself demanded repayment from no one; but rather made it his object that as many as possible should be indebted to him. He conversed, jocosely as well as seriously, with the humblest of the soldiers; he was their frequent companion at their works, on the march, and on

to excite the lowest of the passions." Others have thought that Sallust refers to Sylla's conduct on the death of his wife Metella, above mentioned, to whom, as she happened to fall sick when he was giving an entertainment to the people, and as the priest forbade him to have his house defiled with death on the occasion, he unfeelingly sent a bill of divorce, ordering her to be carried out of the house while the breath was in her. Cortius, Kritz, and Langius, think that the allusion is to Sylla's general faithlessness to his wives, for he had several; as if Sallust had used the singular for the plural, *uxore* for *uxoribus*, or *re uxoriâ*; but if Sallust meant to allude to more than one wife, why should he have restricted himself to the singular?

[1] Lived on the easiest terms with his friends] *Facilis amicitiâ.* The critics are in doubt about the sense of this phrase. I have given that which Dietsch prefers, who says that a man *facilis amicitiâ* is "one who easily grants his friends all that they desire, exacts little from them, and is no severe censor of their morals." Cortius explains it *facilis ad amicitiam*, and Facciolati, in his Lexicon, *facilè sibi amicos parans*, but these interpretations, as Kritzius observes, are hardly suitable to the ablative case.

[2] Most fortunate] *Felicissumo.* Alluding, perhaps, to the title of Felix, which he assumed after his great victory over Marius.

[3] His desert] *Industriam.* That is, the efforts which he made to attain distinction.

guard. Nor did he ever, as is usual with depraved ambition, attempt to injure the character of the consul, or of any deserving person. His sole aim, whether in the council or the field, was to suffer none to excel him; to most he was superior. By such conduct he soon became a favourite both with Marius and with the army.

XCVII. Jugurtha, after he had lost the city of Capsa, and other strong and important places, as well as a vast sum of money, despatched messengers to Bocchus, requesting him to bring his forces into Numidia as soon as possible, and stating that the time for giving battle was at hand. But finding that he hesitated, and was balancing the inducements to peace and war, he again corrupted his confidants, as on a previous occasion, with presents, and promised the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, should either the Romans be driven from Africa, or the war brought to an end without any diminution of his own territories. Being allured by this offer, Bocchus joined Jugurtha with a large force.

The armies of the kings being thus united, they attacked Marius, on his march to his winter quarters, when scarcely a tenth part of the day remained[1], expecting that the night, which was now coming on, would be a shelter to them if they were beaten, and no impediment if they should conquer, as they were well acquainted with the country, while either result would be worse for the Romans in the dark. At the very moment, accordingly, that Marius heard from various quarters[2] of the enemy's approach, the enemy themselves were upon him, and before the troops could either form themselves or collect the baggage, before they could receive even a signal or an order, the Moorish and Getulian horse, not in line, or any regular array of battle, but in separate bodies, as chance had united them, rushed furiously on our men; who, though all struck with a panic, yet, calling to mind what they had done on former occasions, either seized their arms, or protected those who were looking for theirs, while some, springing on their horses, advanced against the enemy. But the whole conflict was more like a rencounter with robbers

[1] XCVII. When scarcely a tenth part of the day remained] *Vix decimâ parte die reliquâ.* A remarkably exact specification of the time.

[2] From various quarters] *Ex multis.* From his scouts, who came in from all sides.

than a battle; the horse and foot of the enemy, mingled together without standards or order, wounded some of our men, and cut down others, and surprised many in the rear while fighting stoutly with those in front; neither valour nor arms were a sufficient defence, the enemy being superior in numbers, and covering the field on all sides. At last the Roman veterans, who were necessarily well experienced in war[1], formed themselves, wherever the nature of the ground or chance allowed them to unite, in circular bodies, and thus secured on every side, and regularly drawn up, withstood the attacks of the enemy.

XCVIII. Marius, in this desperate emergency, was not more alarmed or disheartened than on any previous occasion, but rode about with his troop of cavalry, which he had formed of his bravest soldiers rather than his nearest friends, in every quarter of the field, sometimes supporting his own men when giving way, sometimes charging the enemy where they were thickest, and doing service to his troops with his sword, since, in the general confusion, he was unable to command with his voice.

The day had now closed, yet the barbarians abated nothing of their impetuosity, but, expecting that the night would be in their favour, pressed forward, as their kings had directed them, with increased violence. Marius, in consequence, resolved upon a measure suited to his circumstances, and, that his men might have a place of retreat, took possession of two hills contiguous to each other, on one of which, too small for a camp, there was an abundant spring of water, while the other, being mostly elevated and steep, and requiring

[1] The Roman veterans, who were necessarily well experienced in war] The reading of Cortius is, *Romani veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli;* which he explains by supposing that the new recruits *were joined with* the veterans, and that both united were consequently well skilled in war, citing, in support of his supposition, a passage in c. 87: *Sic brevi spatio* novi veteresque *coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta.* And Ascensius had previously given a similar explanation, *quod etiam veterani adessent.* But many later critics have not been induced to believe that Cortius's reading will bear any such interpretation; and accordingly Kritzius, Dietsch, and Orelli, have ejected *novique;* as indeed Ciacconius and Ursinus had long before recommended. Müller, Burnouf, and Allen, retain it, adopting Cortius's interpretation. Gerlach also retains it, but not without hesitation. But it is very remarkable that it occurs in all the manuscripts but one, which has *Romani veteres boni scientes erant ut quos locus, &c.*

little fortification, was suited for his purpose as a place of encampment. He then ordered Sylla, with a body of cavalry, to take his station for the night on the eminence containing the spring, whilst he himself collected his scattered troops by degrees, the enemy being not less disordered[1], and led them all at a quick march[2] up the other hill. Thus the kings, obliged by the strength of the Roman position, were deterred from continuing the combat; yet they did not allow their men to withdraw to a distance, but, surrounding both hills with a large force, encamped without any regular order. Having then lighted numerous fires, the barbarians, after their custom, spent most of the night in merriment, exultation, and tumultuous clamour, the kings, elated at having kept their ground, conducting themselves as conquerors. This scene, plainly visible to the Romans, under cover of the night and on the higher ground, afforded great encouragement to them.

XCIX. Marius, accordingly, deriving much confidence from the imprudence of the enemy, ordered the strictest possible silence to be kept, not allowing even the trumpets, as was usual, to be sounded when the watches were changed[3]; and then, when day approached, and the enemy were fatigued and just sinking to sleep, he ordered the sentinels, with the trumpeters of the auxiliary cohorts[4], cavalry, and legions, to sound all their instruments at once, and the soldiers, at the

[1] XCVIII. The enemy being not less disordered] *Neque minus hostibus conturbatis.* If the enemy had not been in as much disorder as himself, Marius would hardly have been able to effect his retreat.

[2] At a quick march] *Pleno gradu.* "By the *militaris gradus* twenty miles were completed in five hours of a summer day; by the *plenus gradus*, which is quicker, twenty-four miles were traversed in the same time." Veget. i., 9.

[3] XCIX. When the watches were changed] *Per vigilias:* i. e. at the end of each watch, when the guards were relieved. "The nights, by the aid of a clepsydra, were divided into four watches, the termination of each being marked by the blast of a trumpet or horn. See Veget. iii., 8: *A tubicine omnes vigiliæ committuntur; et finitis horis à cornicine revocantur.*" Kritzius. He also refers to Liv. vii., 35; Lucan. viii., 24; Tacit. Hist. v., 22.

[4] Auxiliary cohorts] *Cohortium.* I have added the word *auxiliary.* That they were the cohorts of the auxiliaries or allies is apparent, as the word *legionum* follows. Kritzius indeed thinks otherwise, supposing that the cohorts had particular trumpeters, distinct from those of the whole legion. But for this notion there seems to be no sufficient ground. Sallust speaks of the *cohortes sociorum*, c. 58, and *cohortes Ligurum*, c. 100.

same time, to raise a shout, and sally forth from the camp[1] upon the enemy. The Moors and Getulians, suddenly roused by the strange and terrible noise, could neither flee, nor take up arms, could neither act, nor provide for their security, so completely had fear, like a stupor[2], from the uproar and shouting, the absence of support, the charge of our troops, and the tumult and alarm, seized upon them all. The whole of them were consequently routed and put to flight; most of their arms, and military standards, were taken; and more were killed in this than in all the former battles, their escape being impeded by sleep and the sudden alarm.

C. Marius now continued the route, which he had commenced, towards his winter quarters, which, for the convenience of getting provisions, he had determined to fix in the towns on the coast. He was not, however, rendered careless or presumptuous by his victory, but marched with his army in form of a square[3], just as if he were in sight of the enemy. Sylla, with his cavalry, was on the right; Aulus Manlius, with the slingers and archers, and Ligurian cohorts, had the command on the left; the tribunes, with the light-armed infantry, the consul had placed in the front and rear. The deserters, whose lives were of little value, and who were well acquainted with the country, observed the route of the enemy. Marius himself, too, as if no other were placed in charge, attended to everything, went through the whole of the troops, and praised or blamed them according to their desert. He was always armed and on the alert, and obliged his men to imitate his example. He fortified his camp with the same caution with which he marched; stationing cohorts of the legions to watch the gates, and the auxiliary cavalry in front, and others upon the rampart and lines. He went round the posts in person, not from suspicion that his

[1] Sally forth from the camp] *Portis erumpere.* Sallust uses the common phrase for issuing from the camp. It can hardly be supposed that the Romans had formed a regular camp with gates during the short time that they had been upon the hill, especially as they had fled to it in great disorder.

[2] Stupor] *Vecordia.* A feeling that deprived them of all sense.

[3] C. In form of a square] *Quadrato agmine.* "A hollow square, with the baggage in the centre; see Serv. ad Virg. Æn. xii., 121. . . . Such an *agmen* Sallust, in c. 46, calls *munitum*, as it was prepared to defend itself against the enemy, from whatever quarter they might approach." *Kritzius.*

orders would not be observed, but that the labour of the soldiers, shared equally by their general, might be endured by them with cheerfulness[1]. Indeed, Marius, as well at this as at other periods of the war, kept his men to their duty rather by the dread of shame[2] than of severity; a course which many said was adopted from desire of popularity, but some thought it was because he took pleasure in toils to which he had been accustomed from his youth, and in exertions which other men call perfect miseries. The public interest, however, was served with as much efficiency and honour as it could have been under the most rigorous command.

CI. At length, on the fourth day of his march, when he was not far from the town of Cirta, his scouts suddenly made their appearance from all quarters at once; a circumstance by which the enemy was known to be at hand. But as they came in from different points, and all gave the same account, the consul, doubting in what form to draw up his army, made no alteration in it, but halted where he was, being already prepared for every contingency. Jugurtha's expectations, in consequence, disappointed him; for he had divided his force into four bodies, trusting that one of them, assuredly[3], would surprise the Romans in the rear. Sylla, meanwhile, with whom they first came in contact, having cheered on his men, charged the Moors, in person and with his officers[4], with troop after troop of cavalry, in the closest order possible; while the rest of his force, retaining their position, protected themselves against the darts thrown from a distance, and killed such of the enemy as fell into their hands.

While the cavalry was thus engaged, Bocchus, with his infantry, which his son Volux had brought up, and which, from delay on their march, had not been present in the former battle, assailed the Romans in the rear. Marius was at that moment

[1] Might be endured by them with cheerfulness] *Volentibus esset.* A Greek phrase, *βουλομένοις εἴη.*

[2] Dread of shame] *Pudore.* Inducing each to have a regard to his character.

[3] CI. Trusting that one of them, assuredly, *&c.*] *Ratus ex omnibus æquè aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos.* By *æquè* Sallust signifies that each of the four bodies would have *an equal chance* of coming on the rear of the Romans.

[4] In person and with his officers] *Ipse aliique.* "The *alii* are the *præfecti equitum*, officers of the cavalry." *Kritzius.*

occupied in front, as Jugurtha was there with his largest force. The Numidian king, hearing of the arrival of Bocchus, wheeled secretly about, with a few of his followers, to the infantry[1], and exclaimed in Latin, which he had learned to speak at Numantia, "that our men were struggling in vain; for that he had just slain Marius with his own hand;" showing, at the same time, his sword besmeared with blood, which he had, indeed, sufficiently stained by vigorously cutting down our infantry[2]. When the soldiers heard this, they felt a shock, though rather at the horror of such an event, than from belief in him who asserted it; the barbarians, on the other hand, assumed fresh courage, and advanced with greater fury on the disheartened Romans, who were just on the point of taking to flight, when Sylla, having routed those to whom he had been opposed, fell upon the Moors in the flank. Bocchus instantly fled. Jugurtha, anxious to support his men, and to secure a victory so nearly won, was surrounded by our cavalry, and all his attendants, right and left, being slain, had to force a way alone, with great difficulty, through the weapons of the enemy. Marius, at the same time, having put to flight the cavalry, came up to support such of his men as he had understood to be giving ground. At last the

[1] Wheeled secretly about—to the infantry] *Clam—ad pedites convortit.* What infantry are meant, the commentators cannot agree, nor is there anything in the narrative on which a satisfactory decision can be founded. As the arrival of Bocchus is mentioned immediately before, Cortius supposes that the infantry of Bocchus are signified; and it may be so; but to whatever party the words were addressed, they were intended to be heard by the Romans, or for what purpose were they spoken in Latin? Jugurtha may have spoken the words in both languages, and this, from what follows, would appear to have been the case, for both sides understood him. *Quod ubi milites* (evidently the Roman soldiers) *accepere—simul barbari animos tollere, &c.* The *clam* signifies that Jugurtha turned about, or wheeled off, so as to escape the notice of Marius, with whom he had been contending.

[2] By vigorously cutting down our infantry] *Satis impigrè occiso pedite nostro.* "A ces mots il leur montra son épée teinte du sang des nôtres, dont il venoit, en effet, de faire une assez cruelle boucherie." *De Brosses.* Of the other French translators, Beauzée and Le Brun render the passage in a similar way; Dotteville and Dureau Delamalle, as well as all our English translators, take *pedite* as signifying *only one soldier.* Sir Henry Steuart even specifies that it was "a legionary soldier." The commentators, I should suppose, have all regarded the word as having a plural signification; none of them, except Burnouf, who expresses a needless doubt, say anything on the point.

enemy were defeated in every quarter. The spectacle on the open plains was then frightful[1]; some were pursuing, others fleeing; some were being slain, others captured; men and horses were dashed to the earth; many, who were wounded, could neither flee nor remain at rest, attempting to rise, and instantly falling back; and the whole field, as far as the eye could reach, was strewed with arms and dead bodies, and the intermediate spaces saturated with blood.

CII. At length the consul, now indisputably victor, arrived at the town of Cirta, whither he had at first intended to go. To this place, on the fifth day after the second defeat of the barbarians, came messengers from Bocchus, who, in the king's name, requested of Marius to send him two persons in whom he had full confidence, as he wished to confer with them on matters concerning both the interest of the Roman people and his own. Marius immediately despatched Sylla and Aulus Manlius; who, though they went at the king's invitation, thought proper, notwithstanding, to address him first, in the hope of altering his sentiments, if he were unfavourable to peace, or of strengthening his inclination, if

[1] The spectacle on the open plains was then frightful, *&c.*] *Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus, &c.* The idea of this passage was probably taken, as Ciacconius intimates, from a description in Xenophon, Agesil. ii., 12, 14, part of which is quoted by Longinus, Sect. 19, as an example of the effect produced by the omission of conjunctions: *Καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. . . . Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι ἔνθα συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, τὴν μὲν γῆν αἵματι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίους καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατεθρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια γυμνὰ κουλεῶν τὰ μὲν χαμαὶ, τὰ δ' ἐν σώμασι, τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας.* "Closing their shields together, they pushed, they fought, they slew, they were slain. . . . But when the battle was over, you might have seen, where they had fought, the ground clotted with blood, the corpses of friends and enemies mingled together, and pierced shields, broken lances, and swords without their sheaths, strewed on the ground, sticking in the dead bodies, or still remaining in the hands that had wielded them when alive." Tacitus, Agric. c. 37, has copied this description of Sallust, as all the commentators have remarked: *Tum verò patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum. Sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. . . . Passim arma et corpora, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus.* "The sight on the open field was then striking and horrible; they pursued, they inflicted wounds, they took men prisoners, and slaughtered them as others presented themselves. . . . Everywhere were seen arms and corpses, mangled limbs, and the ground stained with blood."

he were disposed to it. Sylla, therefore, to whose superiority, not in years but in eloquence, Manlius yielded precedence, spoke to Bocchus briefly as follows:

"It gives us great pleasure, king Bocchus, that the gods have at length induced a man, so eminent as yourself, to prefer peace to war, and no longer to stain your own excellent character by an alliance with Jugurtha, the most infamous of mankind; and to relieve us, at the same time, from the disagreeable necessity of visiting with the same punishment your errors and his crimes. Besides, the Roman people, even from the very infancy[1] of their state, have thought it better to seek friends than slaves, thinking it safer to rule over willing than forced subjects. But to you no friendship can be more suitable than ours; for, in the first place, we are at a distance from you, on which account there will be the less chance of misunderstanding between us, while our good feeling for you will be as strong as if we were near; and, secondly, because, though we have subjects in abundance, yet neither we, nor any other nation, can ever have a sufficiency of friends. Would that such had been your inclination from the first; for then you would assuredly, before this time, have received from the Roman people more benefits than you have now suffered evils. But since Fortune has the chief control in human affairs, and it has pleased her that you should experience our force as well as our favour, now, when she gives you this fair opportunity, embrace it without delay, and complete the course which you have begun. You have many and excellent means of atoning, with great ease, for past errors by future services. Impress this, however, deeply on your mind, that the Roman people are

[1] CII. Besides, the Roman people, even from the very infancy, *&c.*] The reading of this passage, before the edition of Cortius, was this: *Ad hoc, populo Romano jam à principio inopi melius visum amicos, quàm servos, quærere.* Gruter proposed to read *Ad hoc populo Romano inopi melius est visum, &c.*, whence Cortius made *Ad hoc, populo Romano jam inopi visum, &c.* But the Bipont editors, observing that *inopi* was not quite consistent with *quærere servos*, altered the passage to *Ad hoc, populo Romano jam à principio reipublicæ melius visum, &c.*, which seems to be the best emendation that has been proposed, and which I have accordingly followed. Kritzius and Dietsch adopt it, except that they omit *reipublicæ*, and put nothing in the place of *inopi*. Gerlach retains *inopi*, on the principle of "quo insolentius, eo verius," and it may, after all, be genuine. Cortius omitted *melius* on no authority but his own.

never outdone in acts of kindness; of their power in war you have already sufficient knowledge."

To this address Bocchus made a temperate and courteous reply, offering a few observations, at the same time, in extenuation of his error; and saying "that he had taken arms, not with any hostile feeling, but to defend his own dominions, as part of Numidia, out of which he had forcibly driven Jugurtha[1], was his by right of conquest, and he could not allow it to be laid waste by Marius; that when he formerly sent ambassadors to the Romans, he was refused their friendship; but that he would say nothing more of the past, and would, if Marius gave him permission, send another embassy to the senate." But no sooner was this permission granted, than the purpose of the barbarian was altered by some of his friends, whom Jugurtha, hearing of the mission of Sylla and Manlius, and fearful of what was intended by it, had corrupted with bribes.

CIII. Marius, in the mean time, having settled his army in winter quarters, set out, with the light-armed cohorts and part of the cavalry, into a desert part of the country, to besiege a fortress of Jugurtha's, in which he had placed a garrison consisting wholly of Roman deserters. And now again Bocchus, either from reflecting on what he had suffered in the two engagements, or from being admonished by such of his friends as Jugurtha had not corrupted, selected, out of the whole number of his adherents, five persons of approved integrity and eminent abilities, whom he directed to go, in the first place, to Marius, and afterwards to proceed, if Marius gave his consent, as ambassadors to Rome, granting them full powers to treat concerning his affairs, and to conclude the war upon any terms whatsoever. These five immediately set out for the Roman winter quarters, but being

[1] Out of which he had forcibly driven Jugurtha] *Unde vi Jugurtham expulerit* [*expulerat*]. There is here some obscurity. The manuscripts vary between *expulerit* and *expulerat*. Cortius, and Gerlach in his second edition, adopt *expulerat*, which they of necessity refer to Marius; but to make Bocchus speak thus, is, as Kritzius says, to make him speak very foolishly and arrogantly. Kritzius himself, accordingly, adopts *expulerit*, and supposes that Bocchus invents a falsehood, in the belief that the Romans would have no means of detecting it. But Bocchus may have spoken truth, referring, as Müller suggests, to some previous transactions between him and Jugurtha, to which Sallust does not elsewhere allude.

beset and spoiled by Getulian robbers on the way, fled, in alarm and ill plight[1], to Sylla, whom the consul, when he went on his expedition, had left as pro-prætor with the army. Sylla received them, not, as they had deserved, like faithless enemies, but with the greatest ceremony and munificence; from which the barbarians concluded that what was said of Roman avarice was false, and that Sylla, from his generosity, must be their friend. For interested bounty[2], in those days, was still unknown to many; by whom every man who was liberal was also thought benevolent, and all presents were considered to proceed from kindness. They therefore disclosed to the quæstor their commission from Bocchus, and asked him to be their patron and adviser; extolling, at the same time, the power, integrity, and grandeur of their monarch, and adding whatever they thought likely to promote their objects, or to secure the favour of Sylla. Sylla promised them all that they requested; and, being instructed how to address Marius and the senate, they tarried in the camp about forty days[3].

CIV. When Marius, having failed in the object[4] of his expedition, returned to Cirta, and was informed of the arrival of the ambassadors, he desired both them and Sylla to come to him, together with Lucius Bellienus, the prætor from Utica, and all that were of senatorial rank in any part of the country, with whom he discussed the instructions of Bocchus to his ambassadors; to whom permission to proceed to Rome was granted by the consul. In the mean time a truce was asked, a request to which assent was readily expressed by Sylla and the majority; the few, who advocated harsher measures, were men inexperienced in human affairs, which, unstable and fluctuating, are always verging to opposite extremes[5].

[1] CIII. In ill plight] *Sine decore.*

[2] Interested bounty] *Largitio.* "The word signifies liberal treatment of others with a view to our own interest; without any real goodwill." *Müller.* "He intends a severe stricture on his own age, and the manners of the Romans." *Dietsch.*

[3] About forty days] Waiting, apparently, for the return of Marius.

[4] CIV. Having failed in the object, *&c.*] *Infecto, quo intenderat, negotio.* Though this is the reading of most of the manuscripts, Kritzius, Müller, and Dietsch, read *confecto*, as if Marius could not have failed in his attempt.

[5] Are always verging to opposite extremes] *Semper in advorsa mutant.* Rose

The Moors having obtained all that they desired, three of them started for Rome with Cneius Octavius Rufus, who, as quæstor, had brought pay for the army to Africa; the other two returned to Bocchus, who heard from them, with great pleasure, their account both of other particulars, and especially of the courtesy and attention of Sylla.

To his three ambassadors that went to Rome, when, after a deprecatory acknowledgment that their king had been in error, and had been led astray by the treachery of Jugurtha, they solicited for him friendship and alliance, the following answer was given: "The senate and people of Rome are wont to be mindful of both services and injuries; they pardon Bocchus, since he repents of his fault, and will grant him their alliance and friendship when he shall have deserved them."

CV. When this reply was communicated to Bocchus, he requested Marius, by letter, to send Sylla to him, that, at his discretion[1], measures might be adopted for their common interest. Sylla was accordingly despatched, attended with a guard of cavalry, infantry, and Balearic slingers, besides some archers and a Pelignian cohort, who, for the sake of expedition, were furnished with light arms, which, however, protected them, as efficiently as any others, against the light darts of the enemy. As he was on his march, on the fifth day after he set out, Volux, the son of Bocchus, suddenly appeared on the open plain with a body of cavalry, which amounted in reality to not more than a thousand, but which, as they approached in confusion and disorder, presented to Sylla and the rest the appearance of a greater number, and excited apprehensions of hostility. Every one, therefore, prepared himself for action, trying and presenting[2] his arms and

renders this "are always changing, and constantly for the worse;" and most other translators have given something similar. But this is absurd; for every one sees that all changes in human affairs are not for the worse. *Adversa* is evidently to be taken in the sense which I have given.

[1] CV. At his discretion] *Arbitratu.* Kritzius observes that this word comprehends the notion of plenary powers to treat and decide: *der mit unbeschränkter Vollmacht unterhandeln Könnte.*

[2] Presenting] *Intendere.* The critics are in doubt to what to refer this word; some have thought of understanding *animum;* Cortius, Wasse, and Müller, think it is meant only of the bows of the archers; Kritzius, Burnouf, and Allen, refer it, apparently with better judgment, to the *arma* and *tela* in general.

weapons; some fear was felt among them, but greater hope, as they were now conquerors, and were only meeting those whom they had often overcome. After a while, however, a party of horse, sent forward to reconnoitre, reported, as was the case, that nothing but peace was intended.

CVI. Volux, coming forward, addressed himself to Sylla, saying that he was sent by Bocchus his father to meet and escort him. The two parties accordingly formed a junction, and prosecuted their journey, on that day and the following, without any alarm. But when they had pitched their camp, and evening had set in, Volux came running, with looks of perplexity, to Sylla, and said that he had learned from his scouts that Jugurtha was at hand, intreating and urging him, at the same time, to escape with him privately in the night. Sylla boldly replied, "that he had no fear of Jugurtha, an enemy so often defeated; that he had the utmost confidence in the valour of his troops; and that, even if certain destruction were at hand, he would rather keep his ground, than save, by deserting his followers, a life at best uncertain, and perhaps soon to be lost by disease." Being pressed, however, by Volux, to set forward in the night, he approved of the suggestion, and immediately ordered his men to despatch their supper[1], to light as many fires as possible in the camp, and to set out in silence at the first watch.

When they were all fatigued with their march during the night, and Sylla was preparing, at sunrise, to pitch his camp, the Moorish cavalry announced that Jugurtha was encamped about two miles in advance. At this report, great dismay fell upon our men; for they believed themselves betrayed by Volux, and led into an ambuscade. Some exclaimed that they ought to take vengeance on him at once, and not to suffer such perfidy to remain unpunished.

CVII. But Sylla, though he had similar thoughts, protected the Moor from violence; exhorting his soldiers to keep up their spirits; and saying, "that a handful of brave men had often fought successfully against a multitude; that the less anxious they were to save their lives in battle, the greater would be their security; and that no man, who had

[1] CVI. To despatch their supper] *Cœnatos esse.* "The perfect is not without its force; it signifies that Sylla wished his orders to be performed with the greatest expedition." *Kritzius.* He orders them *to have done* supper.

arms in his hands, ought to trust for safety to his unarmed heels, or to turn to the enemy, in however great danger, the defenceless and blind parts of his body[1]." Having then called almighty Jupiter to witness the guilt and perfidy of Bocchus, he ordered Volux, as being an instrument of his father's hostility[2], to quit the camp.

Volux, with tears in his eyes, intreated him to entertain no such suspicions; declaring "that nothing in the affair had been caused by treachery on his part, but all by the subtilty of Jugurtha, to whom his line of march had become known through his scouts. But as Jugurtha had no great force with him, and as his hopes and resources were dependent on his father Bocchus, he assuredly would not attempt any open violence, when the son of Bocchus would himself be a witness of it. He thought it best for Sylla, therefore, to march boldly through the middle of his camp, and that as for himself, he would either send forward his Moors, or leave them where they were, and accompany Sylla alone." This course, under such circumstances, was adopted; they set forward without delay, and, as they came upon Jugurtha unexpectedly, while he was in doubt and hesitation how to act, they passed without molestation. In a few days afterwards, they arrived at the place to which their march was directed.

CVIII. There was, at this time, in constant and familiar intercourse with Bocchus, a Numidian named Aspar, who had been sent to him by Jugurtha, when he heard of Sylla's intended interview, in the character of ambassador, but secretly to be a spy on the Mauretanian king's proceedings. There was also with him a certain Dabar, son of Massugrada, one of the family of Masinissa[3], but of inferior birth on the maternal side, as his father was the son of a concubine. Dabar, for his many intellectual endowments, was liked and esteemed by

[1] CVII. And blind parts of his body] *Cœcum corpus.* Imitated from Xenophon, Cyrop. iii., 3, 45: *Μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους, τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἄοπλα, καὶ ἄχειρα, ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.* "It is folly for those that desire to conquer, to turn the blind, unarmed, and handless parts of the body, to the enemy in flight."

[2] As being an instrument of his father's hostility] *Quoniam hostilia faceret.* "Since he wished to deceive the Romans by pretended friendship." *Müller.*

[3] CVIII. Of the family of Masinissa] *Ex gente Masinissæ.* Massugrada was the son of Masinissa by a concubine.

Bocchus, who, having found him faithful[1] on many former occasions, sent him forthwith to Sylla, to say "that he was ready to do whatever the Romans desired; that Sylla himself should appoint the place, day, and hour[2], for a conference; that he kept all points, which he had settled with him before, inviolate[3]; and that he was not to fear the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador as any restraint[4] on the discussion of their common interests, since, without admitting him, he could have no security against Jugurtha's treachery." I find, however, that it was rather from African duplicity[5] than from the motives which he professed, that Bocchus thus allured both the Romans and Jugurtha with the hopes of peace;

[1] Faithful] *Fidum.* After this word, in the editions of Cortius, Kritzius, Gerlach, Allen, and Dietsch, follows *Romanis* or *esse Romanis.* These critics defend *Romanis* on the plea that a dative is necessary after *fidum*, and that it was of importance, as Castilioneus observes, that Dabar should be well disposed towards the Romans, and not have been corrupted, like many other courtiers of Bocchus, by the bribes of Jugurtha. Glareanus, Badius Ascensius, the Bipont editors, and Burnouf, with most of the translators, omit *Romanis*, and I have thought proper to imitate their example.

[2] Place, day, and hour] *Diem, locum, tempus.* Not only the day, but the time of the day.

[3] That he kept all points, which he had settled with him before, inviolate] *Consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere.* Kritzius justly observes that most editors, in interpreting this passage, have erroneously given to *consulta* the sense of *consulenda;* and that the sense is, "that all that he had arranged with Sylla before, remained unaltered, and that he was not drawn from his resolutions by the influence of Jugurtha."

[4] And that he was not to fear the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador, as any restraint, *&c.*] *Neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret, quo res communis licentius gereretur.* There is some difficulty in this passage. Burnouf makes the nearest approach to a satisfactory explanation of it. "Sylla," says he, "was not to fear the envoy of Jugurtha, *quo*, on which account (equivalent to *eoque*, and on that account, i. e. on account of his freedom from apprehension) their common interests would be more freely arranged." Yet it appears from what follows that fear of Jugurtha's envoy *could not be dismissed*, and that there could be no freedom of discussion in his presence, as Sylla was to say but little before him, and to speak more at large at a private meeting. These considerations have induced Kritzius to suppose that the word *remoto*, or something similar, has been lost after *quo*. The Bipont editors inserted *cautum esse* before *quo*, which is without authority, and does not at all assist the sense.

[5] African duplicity] *Punicâ fide.* "*Punica fides* was a well-known proverbial expression for treachery and deceit. The origin of it is perhaps attributable not so much to fact, as to the implacable hatred of the Romans toward the Carthaginians." *Burnouf.*

that he frequently debated with himself whether he should deliver Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sylla to Jugurtha; and that his inclination swayed him against us, but his fears in our favour.

CIX. Sylla replied, "that he should speak on but few particulars before Aspar, and discuss others at a private meeting, or in the presence of only a few;" dictating, at the same time, what answer should be returned by Bocchus[1]. Afterwards, when they met, as Bocchus had desired, Sylla stated, "that he had come, by order of the consul, to inquire whether he would resolve on peace or on war." Bocchus, as he had been previously instructed by Sylla, requested him to come again at the end of ten days, since he had as yet formed no determination, but would at that time give a decisive answer. Both then retired to their respective camps[2]. But when the night was far advanced, Sylla was secretly sent for by Bocchus. At their interview, none but confidential interpreters were admitted on either side, together with Dabar, the messenger between them, a man of honour, and held in esteem by both parties. The king at once commenced thus:

CX. "I never expected that I, the greatest monarch in this part of the world, and the richest of all whom I know, should ever owe a favour to a private man. Indeed, Sylla, before I knew you, I gave assistance to many who solicited me, and to others without solicitation, and stood in need of no man's assistance. But at this loss of independence, at which others are wont to repine, I am rather inclined to rejoice. It will be a pleasure to me[3] to have once needed your friendship, than which I hold nothing dearer to my heart. Of the sincerity of this assertion you may at once make trial; take my arms, my soldiers, my money, or whatever you please, and use it as your own. But do not suppose, as long as you

[1] CIX. What answer should be returned by Bocchus] That is, in the presence of Aspar.

[2] Both then retired to their respective camps] *Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi.* Both, i. e. Bocchus and Sylla, not Aspar and Sylla, as Cortius imagines.

[3] CX. It will be a pleasure to me] *Fuerit mihi.* Some editions, as that of Langius, the Bipont, and Burnouf's, have *fuerit mihi pretium.* Something of the kind seems to be wanting. "Res in bonis numeranda fuerit mihi." *Burnouf.* Allen, who omits *pretium*, interprets, "Grata mihi egestas sit, quæ ad tuam amicitiam confugiat;" but who can deduce this sense from the passage, unless he have *pretium*, or something similar, in his mind?

live, that your kindness to me has been fully requited; my sense of it will always remain undiminished, and you shall, with my knowledge, wish for nothing in vain. For, as I am of opinion, it is less dishonourable to a prince to be conquered in battle than to be surpassed in generosity.

"With respect to your republic, whose interests you are sent to guard, hear briefly what I have to say. I have neither made war upon the Roman people, nor desired that it should be made; I have merely defended my territories with arms against an armed force. But from hostilities, since such is your pleasure, I now desist. Prosecute the war with Jugurtha as you think proper. The river Mulucha, which was the boundary between Miscipsa and me, I shall neither pass myself, nor suffer Jugurtha to come within it. And if you shall ask anything besides, worthy of me and of yourself, you shall not depart with a refusal."

CXI. To this speech Sylla replied, as far as concerned himself, briefly and modestly; but spoke, with regard to the peace and their common concerns, much more at length. He signified to the king "that the senate and people of Rome, as they had the superiority in the field, would think themselves little obliged by what he promised; that he must do something which would seem more for their interest than his own; and that for this there was now a fair opportunity, since he had Jugurtha in his power, for, if he delivered him to the Romans, they would feel greatly indebted to him, and their friendship and alliance, as well as that part of Numidia which he claimed[1], would readily be granted him." Bocchus at first refused to listen to the proposal, saying that affinity, the ties of blood[2], and a solemn league, connected him with Jugurtha; and that he feared, if he acted insincerely, he might alienate the affections of his subjects, by whom Jugurtha was beloved, and the Romans disliked. But at last, after being frequently importuned, his resolution gave way[3], and he engaged to do everything in accordance with

[1] CXI. That part of Numidia which he claimed] *Numidiæ partem quam nunc peteret.* See the second note on c. 102. Bocchus continues, in his speech in the preceding chapter, to signify that a part of Numidia belonged to him.

[2] The ties of blood] *Cognationem.* To this blood-relationship between him and Jugurtha no allusion is elsewhere made.

[3] His resolution gave way] *Lenitur.* Cortius, whom Gerlach and Müller follow,

Sylla's wishes. They then concerted measures for conducting a pretended treaty of peace, of which Jugurtha, weary of war, was extremely desirous. Having settled their plans, they separated.

CXII. On the next day Bocchus sent for Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy, and acquainted him that he had ascertained from Sylla, through Dabar, that the war might be concluded on certain conditions; and that he should therefore make inquiry as to the sentiments of his king. Aspar proceeded with joy to Jugurtha's camp, and having received full instructions from him, returned in haste to Bocchus at the end of eight days, with intelligence "that Jugurtha was eager to do whatever might be required, but that he put little confidence in Marius, as treaties of peace, concluded with Roman generals, had often before proved of no effect; that if Bocchus, however, wished to consult the interests of both[1], and to have an established peace, he should endeavour to bring all parties together to a conference, as if to settle the conditions, and then deliver Sylla into his hands, for when he had such a man in his power, a treaty would at once be concluded by order of the senate and people of Rome; as a man of high rank, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, not from want of spirit, but from zeal for the public interest, would not be left in captivity.

CXIII. The Moor, after long meditation on these suggestions, at length expressed his assent to them, but whether in pretence or sincerity I have not been able to discover. But the inclinations of kings, as they are violent, are often fickle, and at variance with themselves. At last, after a time and place were fixed for coming to a conference about the treaty, Bocchus addressed himself at one time to Sylla and at another to the envoy of Jugurtha, treating them with equal affability, and making the same professions to both. Both were in consequence equally delighted, and animated with the fairest expectations. But on the night preceding the day appointed for the conference, the Moor, after first assembling his friends, and then, on a change of mind, dismissing them, is reported to have had many anxious strug-

reads *leniter*, but, with Kritzius and Gerlach, I prefer the verb to the adverb; which, however, is found in the greater number of the manuscripts.

[1] CXII. Interests of both] *Ambobus.* Both himself and Jugurtha.

gles with himself, disturbed alike in his thoughts and his gestures, which, even when he was silent, betrayed the secret agitation of his mind. At last, however, he ordered that Sylla should be sent for, and, according to his desire, laid an ambush for Jugurtha.

As soon as it was day, and intelligence was brought that Jugurtha was at hand, Bocchus, as if to meet him and do him honour, went forth, attended by a few friends, and our quæstor, as far as a little hill, which was full in the view of the men who were placed in ambush. To the same spot came Jugurtha with most of his adherents, unarmed, according to agreement; when immediately, on a signal being given, he was assailed on all sides by those who were lying in wait. The others were cut to pieces, and Jugurtha himself was delivered bound to Sylla, and by him conducted to Marius.

CXIV. At this period war was carried on unsuccessfully by our generals Quintus Cæpio and Marcus Manlius, against the Gauls; with the terror of which all Italy was thrown into consternation. Both the Romans of that day, indeed, and their descendants, down to our own times, maintained the opinion that all other nations must yield to their valour, but that they contended with the Gauls, not for glory, but merely in self-defence. But after the war in Numidia was ended, and it was announced that Jugurtha was coming in chains to Rome, Marius, though absent from the city, was created consul, and Gaul decreed to him as his province. On the first of January he triumphed as consul, with great glory. At that time[1] the hopes and dependence of the state were placed on him.

[1] CXIV. At that time] *Eâ tempestate.* "In many manuscripts is found *ex eâ tempestate*, by which the sense is wholly perverted. Sallust signifies that Marius did not continue always deserving of such honour; for, as is said in c. 63, 'he was afterwards carried headlong by ambition.'" *Kritzius.*

CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

EXTRACTED FROM DE BROSSES.

A.U.C.

545. Coss. M. Claudius Marcellus, T. Quintius Crispinus.—Masinissa succeeds to the throne of his father Gala.

549.—M. Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus.—Masinissa, driven from his dominions by Syphax, king of another part of Numidia, joins the Romans.

550.—Cn. Servilius Cæpio, C. Servilius Nepos.—Syphax is taken prisoner. Masinissa is restored to his throne, and unites all Numidia under his sway.

595.—Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Lusus.—About this time Jugurtha is born.

605.—Sp. Posthumius Albinus, L. Calpurnius Piso.—Masinissa, after a reign of sixty years, dies, leaving three sons, Micipsa, Mastanabal, and Gulussa; but the two latter dying, Micipsa becomes sole king.

613.—C. Lælius Sapiens, Q. Servilius Cæpio.—The siege of Numantia is commenced, during which Jugurtha and Marius serve together under Scipio.

620.—P. Mutius Scævola, L. Calpurnius Piso.—Numantia is taken.

632.—Q. Fabius Æmilianus Maximus, L. Opimius.—Micipsa adopts Jugurtha, son of Mastanabal.

635.—M. Porcius Cato, Q. Marcius Rex.—Micipsa dies, after a reign of thirty years, and his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, with Jugurtha, succeed conjointly to his dominions.

636.—L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Mucius Scævola.—Hiempsal is killed by Jugurtha in the first year of his reign. Civil war ensues between Jugurtha and Adherbal, who is defeated, and takes refuge in the Roman province.

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637. Coss. C. Licinius Geta, Q. Fabius Eburnus.—Adherbal arrives at Rome, whither also Jugurtha sends ambassadors. Both parties plead before the Senate. Opimius is deputed by the Senate into Africa.

638.—M. Æmilius Scaurus, M. Cæcilius Metellus.—Opimus divides Numidia between Adherbal and Jugurtha.

639.—M. Acilius Balbus, C. Porcius Cato.—War is renewed between Adherbal and Jugurtha.

640.—C. Cæcilius Metellus, Cn. Papirius Carbo.—Adherbal is defeated, and takes refuge in Cirta, which is besieged by Jugurtha. The Senate sends three commissioners into Africa.

641.—M. Livius Drusus, L. Calpurnius Piso.—Cirta having been besieged more than four months, Adherbal addresses a letter to the Senate. Scaurus goes as deputy into Africa. Cirta is taken, and Adherbal put to death in the sixth year of his reign. Memmius is tribune of the people. The Romans declare war against Jugurtha.

642.—P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia.—Calpurnius is appointed general of the army in Numidia, and Scaurus second in command. Jugurtha sends ambassadors to Rome, with bribes. The Roman army enters Numidia, and the war is commenced. Jugurtha induces Calpurnius to make a treaty of peace. Calpurnius sets out from Africa, about the month of July, to hold the comitia at Rome. Memmius makes a speech to the people, Sall. Jug. c. 31. Cassius, in consequence of it, is sent into Numidia. Jugurtha accompanies Cassius to Rome.

643.—M. Minucius Rufus, Sp. Posthumius Albinus.—Bomilcar, at the instigation of Jugurtha, assassinates Massiva at Rome. Jugurtha returns to Numidia. The consul Albinus enters Numidia with his army, but performs no operation of importance. In the autumn he returns to Rome, leaving the army under the command of his brother Aulus. Mamilius Limetanus becomes tribune of the people.

644.—Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, M. Junius Silanus.—Aulus leads his army out from its winter quarters in the month of January, and lays siege to

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Suthul. He raises the siege, is surprised by Jugurtha, and surrenders on disgraceful terms, making at the same time a treaty with Jugurtha, which the Senate afterwards declare invalid. Albinus returns to Numidia, and resigns the command of the army to the consul Metellus. Metellus chooses for his lieutenant-generals Marius and Rutilius. The Mamilian law is passed, by which Calpurnius, Albinus, and Opimius, are sent into exile. Vacca is taken. Battle near the Muthul. Siege of Zama by Metellus. Affair of cavalry near Sicca. Metellus raises the siege of Zama, and goes into winter quarters in the Roman province.

645.—SERV. SULPITIUS GALBA, M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS HORTENSIUS.—Jugurtha makes a treaty with Metellus, breaks it, and resumes hostilities. The Numidians surprise the city of Vacca; Metellus recovers it. Nabdalsa and Bomilcar conspire against Jugurtha. Marius quits the army, and obtains the consulship at Rome. Jugurtha is defeated, and throws himself into Thala, which Metellus soon after besieges. C. Annius, with a party of soldiers, is sent as governor to Leptis. Thala is taken; Jugurtha flees into Getulia, and forms a league with Bocchus, king of Mauretania. The two kings take up their position near Cirta, and Metellus encamps at no great distance from them.

646.—L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, C. MARIUS.—The Senate wish to continue Metellus in command of the army, but are opposed by the people, who give it to Marius. Marius appoints Manlius and Cinna his lieutenant-generals, harangues the people, makes new levies, and, setting out from Rome, lands at Utica. Metellus triumphs. Marius, assuming the command, has several skirmishes with Jugurtha, and then makes an attempt on the city of Capsa, which he takes.

647.—C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS, Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.—Metellus takes a strong fort on the borders of Mauretania. Sylla arrives in the army. Bocchus and Jugurtha again unite their forces, and attack Marius on his march; Marius retires, with some loss, to two neighbouring hills, but attacks and routs the barbarians the following night. Jugurtha and Bocchus are again defeated near Cirta, and

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the Roman army goes into winter quarters on the sea-coast. Bocchus expresses a wish for peace; Sylla and Manlius have an interview with him. Marius makes an unsuccessful attempt on a fortress of Jugurtha's, Sall. Jug. c. 103, 104.

648.—P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, C. MANLIUS MAXIMUS.—Bocchus sends deputies to Marius, who assembles a council to give them audience. The deputies are allowed to proceed as ambassadors to Rome, and the Senate grants Bocchus peace. Sylla goes to confer with Bocchus; is met by his son Volux, who attends him to his father. After some secret negotiation between Bocchus and Sylla, Bocchus betrays Jugurtha into the hands of the Romans.

The conclusion of the *Jugurthine War* is quite as abrupt as that of the *Conspiracy of Catiline*. Jugurtha, being conveyed to Rome, was led in triumph, with his two sons, by Marius. But the humiliation which he experienced, on that occasion, was more than his haughty spirit could endure, and he lost his senses before the termination of the procession. He was then led to the Tullian dungeon, the same into which the accomplices of Catiline were afterwards thrown, and precipitated, with great ignominy and violence, to the bottom of it. In his descent, he is said to have exclaimed, "Heavens, how cold is this bath of yours!" He survived, according to Plutarch and others, six days. See Plutarch, Vit. Mar. Eutrop. iv., 11, *seq.* Eutropius, however, says that he was strangled in prison. At the end of some manuscript copies of the Jugurthine War is added the distich,

> Si cupis ignotum Jugurthæ noscere letum,
> Tarpeiæ rupis pulsus ad ima ruit.

But this was the production of somebody more willing to inform others than himself.

"Sylla had medals distributed, on one side of which was the consul in his chariot, drawn by four horses abreast, holding in his right hand the reins, and in his left a palm-branch, with the inscription C. MARIUS, C. F. Cos., and on the other a head of Jupiter Capitolinus, with the words, L. CORNEL. SYLLA, PR. Q. It is a constant tradition, that the two great

trophies which are still to be seen in the court of the Capitol at Rome, and which were transported thither from the Martian aqueduct, are those of Marius. But if they are his, it will not be easy to decide whether they are those of the conquest of Numidia or of the victory over the Cimbri. Petrarch, indeed, says that they are undoubtedly those of the victories over Jugurtha, but he is decidedly in the wrong when he adds that they are representations of those which Bocchus sent to be dedicated in the Capitol. Those of Bocchus, made of gold, and representing Jugurtha delivered by the king of Mauretania to Sylla, were of quite a different nature from those which we see cut in stone in the court of the Capitol. * * * For myself, I am inclined to think that one of the two refers to Jugurtha, and the other to the Cimbri. * * *

"The Romans did not immediately unite the whole of Numidia to their empire. A portion bordering on Mauretania was given to Bocchus, as a recompense for his services, and called New Mauretania. Another portion was given to Hiempsal II., whom Appian calls Mandrestal, son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa. * * * To Hiempsal II. succeeded his son Juba I., who took part in the civil war against Cæsar. Cæsar, having defeated him in the battle of Thapsus, united all Numidia to the Roman empire. Augustus restored to his son, Juba II., one of the most learned men of his age, the kingdom of his fathers. This Juba had two wives, Cleopatra, daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and widow of Alexander, son of Herod of Judea. He was succeeded by Ptolemy, his son by Cleopatra; after whose death Numidia had no more kings, but continued a Roman province. A Numidian named Dac-Barnas, or the little Pharnaces, a name which the Romans metamorphosed into Tacfarinas, usurped the government of it with an army in the reign of Tiberius, but his struggles to retain it ended in his defeat and death, and made no alteration in the condition of the country." *De Brosses.*

FRAGMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF SALLUST.

OF these Fragments the greater part were collected from the grammarians, and other writers who have cited Sallust, by Paulus Manutius and Ludovicus Carrio. Subsequent critics have augmented, corrected, and illustrated them. That the Speeches and Epistles, which form the larger portion of them, have reached us entire, is owing to their preservation in an old manuscript, in which they had been added to the Conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War, and from which Pomponius Lætus extracted them for the press. *Cortius.*

Of all who have endeavoured to illustrate these Fragments, the most successful has been De Brosses, who, by throwing light on many that were obscure, uniting some that had been disjoined, and supplying, from other writers, what appeared to have been lost, has given a restoration, as far as was possible, of Sallust's History in French. It must be allowed that the work which he has produced is worthy of being read by every student of Roman history.

Sallust gave a historical record of the affairs at Rome from A.U.C. 675, when Sylla laid down the dictatorship, to A.U.C. 688, when Pompey, by the law of Manilius, was appointed general in the Mithridatic war. During this period occurred the civil disturbances excited by Lepidus after the death of Sylla, the wars of Sertorius and Spartacus, the destruction of the pirates, and the victories of Lucullus over Mithridates. To his narrative he prefixed a summary of events from the end of the Jugurthine War; so that the Jugurtha, the History, and the Catiline comprehended, in an uninterrupted series, the occurrences of fifty-five years, from 636 to 691. *Burnouf.*

All the Fragments of any importance are here translated. The names appended to them are those of the grammarians, or other writers, from whom they have been extracted. The text of them can scarcely be said to be settled; Cortius and Burnouf are the two editors that have bestowed most pains upon it. I have in general followed Burnouf.

I HAVE recorded the acts of the Roman people, military and civil, in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus[1], and the subsequent period. *Donatus. Pomp. Messalinus.*

[1] Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus] They were consuls, A.U.C. 676, just

Cato, the most expressive in style[1] of all the Romans, said much in few words. *Servius. Acron.*

Nor has the circumstance of being of an opposite party in the civil war ever drawn me away from the truth. *Arusianus.*

The first dissensions[2] among us arose from the depravity of the human mind, which, restless and untameable, is always engaged in a struggle for liberty, or glory, or power. *Priscian.*

The Roman state was at the greatest height of power in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus[3]; when all Gaul on this side of the Rhine, and between our sea and the ocean, except what marshes rendered impassable, was brought under its dominion. But the Romans acted on the best moral principles, and with the greatest harmony, in the interval between the second and last Carthaginian war. *Victorinus. Augustinus.*

But discord[4], and avarice, and ambition, and other evils

after the abdication of Sylla. Ausonius mentions them, and alludes, at the same time, to the contents of Sallust's History, in his IVth Idyl, ver. 61:

> Jam facinus, Catilina, tuum, Lepidique tumultum,
> Ab Lepido et Catulo jam res et tempora Romæ
> Orsus, bis senos seriem connecto per annos.
> Jam lego civili mistum Mavorte duellum,
> Movit quod socio Sertorius exul Ibero.

[1] Expressive in style] *Disertissimus.* "Sallust had a particular regard for the History of Cato, which, in Sallust's time, had almost ceased to be read. He valued himself upon imitating his style, and his obsolete expressions. He found in his antique language an energy to which modern polish and accuracy scarcely ever attain. This is the quality which we Frenchmen so much regard in our ancient authors, as Comines, Amyot, and the incomparable Montaigne, writers who have never been surpassed for natural strength and ease of style." *De Brosses.*

[2] The first dissensions, *&c.*] "This was the commencement of a preface, in which Sallust treated of the manners and condition of the city of Rome, and of the form of government, from the foundation of the city. The following fragments relate to the same subject." *Burnouf.*

[3] Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus] A.U.C. 703.

[4] But discord, *&c.*] Compare Jug., c. 41; Cat., c. 10.

that usually spring from prosperity, were most increased after Carthage was destroyed. For encroachments of the stronger on the weaker, and consequent separations of the people from the senate, with other domestic dissensions, had existed even from the very origin of the republic; nor, on the expulsion of the kings, were equity and moderation observed any longer than till the dread of Tarquin, and of a fierce war from Etruria, subsided; after that time, the patricians began to tyrannize over the plebeians as over slaves; to scourge and put them to death with authority like that of kings; to dispossess them of their lands, and, excluding them from the government, to keep it entirely in their own hands. The people, being greatly oppressed by these severities, and especially by the grievance of usury, and having also to contribute taxes and service for incessant wars, at last took up arms, and posted themselves on the Sacred and Aventine Mounts; on which occasions they secured for themselves the right of electing tribunes, and other privileges. To these disputes and contentions the second Punic war brought a termination. *Augustin.*

When, after the terror of the Carthaginians was removed, the people were at liberty to resume their dissensions, innumerable disturbances, seditions, and subsequent civil wars, arose, while a few powerful individuals, whose interest most of the other nobles had submitted to promote, sought, under the specious pretext of supporting the senate or the plebeians, to secure power for themselves; and men were esteemed or despised by them, not as they deserved well or ill of the republic, (for all were equally corrupt;) but whoever grew eminently wealthy, and better able to encroach on others, was styled, if he supported the present state of affairs, an excellent citizen. From this period the manners of our forefathers degenerated, not, as before, gradually, but with precipitation like that of a torrent; and the youth became so depraved with luxury and avarice, that they might be thought, with justice, to have been born powerless either to preserve their own property, or to suffer others to preserve theirs. *Gellius. Augustin.*

THE SPEECH OF THE CONSUL, MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS[1], TO THE PEOPLE OF ROME, AGAINST SYLLA.

"YOUR clemency and probity[2], O Romans, for which

[1] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus] "He was the father of Lepidus, the triumvir, of the patrician *gens Æmilia*, the chief families of which were the Lepidi, Pauli, and Scauri. This Lepidus was ædile in the seventh consulship of Marius, but afterwards went over to the victorious party of Sylla, and was distinguished as one of the most eager in getting possession of the property of the proscribed. He became consul-elect in the year 675, supported by Pompey, and opposed by Sylla, who was still dictator. But after Sylla resigned the dictatorship, Lepidus applied himself to nullify his acts, to revive the party of Marius, and to stir up the children and friends of the proscribed; aspiring, himself, to power similar to that of Sylla, but not with Sylla's ability; for he was light-minded, a leader of sedition, cunning rather than prudent, and without skill in war. . . . . De Brosses thinks that this speech was spoken by Lepidus, when he was consul-elect, and before he had entered on his office, to his own particular adherents, whom he had convened in some private place. . . . . But Douza is of opinion that Lepidus actually addressed himself to an assembly of the people after he had assumed the consulship, while Sylla was living in a private station after his resignation of the dictatorship, but while he yet retained much of his dictatorial power through the influence of his party." *Burnouf.* From the character of the speech itself, the reader will be inclined, I think, to pronounce the opinion of De Brosses fanciful, and to agree with Douza. The composition of the speech is of course Sallust's own; though the sentiments, or many of them, may have proceeded from Lepidus.

"It is very difficult to determine at what time the speech was made; for though this may seem to be sufficiently shown by its title and matter, yet it has been suspected by many that such an oration could not have been publicly pronounced while Sylla was alive, even though he might have resigned the dictatorship, but must have been addressed to a band of conspirators, in some private place of assembly. It is, however, certain that Lepidus, as consul, made the speech to the people on the rostra; for he would not have used the term *Quirites* except in a public address; nor would he, in the character of consul-elect, which gave him no power or authority, have offered himself as a leader to the people for the recovery of their liberty. But, it may be said, there are many expressions in the speech which seem to prove that Sylla, at the time of its delivery, still held the dictatorship. . . . Appius and Orosius intimate that Sylla ceased to be dictator A.U.C. 674, when he himself was consul with Metellus Pius, or the year after, when Servilius and Claudius were consuls. See Appian, De Bell. Civ. i., 103; Oros. v., 22. And from Plutarch, Syll. c. 34, we may understand that the abdication took place A.U.C. 675. . . . . The agreement of these writers, though they are of no great authority individually, induces me to believe that Sylla resigned his office the year before Lepidus and Catulus were consuls. But the resignation appears to me no matter of wonder; and, indeed, the writers of those days regarded it as a mere display of arrogance; for though he abdicated the name of dictator, he gave up nothing of his dictatorial power, except what he might lose by devoting himself to pleasure and luxury. . . . . Indeed, the power of Sylla depended not so much on his office of dictator, as on the laws which he had made, and on a party of the nobility who supported him." *Gerlach.*

[2] Your clemency and probity, *&c.*] *Clementia et probitas vestra, &c.* Burnouf

you are eminent and renowned among other nations, excite in me the greatest apprehensions against the tyranny of Sylla, lest, either by disbelieving concerning others what you yourselves think nefarious, you should allow imposition to be practised upon you, (especially since all his hopes depend on dishonesty and perfidy, nor does he otherwise deem himself safe, than by becoming more abandoned and infamous[1] than even your fears can forebode, so that, when you are thoroughly made subject to him, your sufferings may suppress in you all care of recovering your liberty;) or lest, if you foresee his machinations, you should occupy your thoughts rather in guarding against them than in taking revenge for them.

"His satellites, men of the highest name, and with the noblest examples of their forefathers for their imitation, sacrifice their own freedom (I cannot sufficiently wonder at their conduct) as a price for the power of domineering over you, and prefer slavery and tyranny without laws, to liberty under the best laws. Illustrious descendants of the Bruti, Æmilii, and Lutatii, born to overthrow what the virtue of their ancestors established! For what was it that was defended against Pyrrhus, and Hannibal, and Philip[2], and Antiochus, but liberty, and the security of our homes[3], and obedience to nothing but the laws? But all these privileges this cruel Romulus[4] withholds from us, as spoils torn from foreign enemies; nor is he satiated with the destruction of so many armies, of a consul[5], and of other eminent men

observes that this exordium is an imitation of that of the Corinthians to the Lacedæmonians, Thucyd. i., 68: Τὸ πιστὸν, ὑμᾶς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, &c. "The trustiness and policy of your intercourse amongst yourselves, Lacedæmonians, renders you the more distrustful with regard to others, if we say anything against them; and from this you have a character for sober-mindedness, but betray too great ignorance with regard to foreign affairs." Dale's Translation: Bohn's Cl. Library.

[1] Infamous] *Intestabilior.* See Jug., c. 67.

[2] Philip] King of Macedonia.

[3] Security of our homes] *Suæ cuique sedes.*

[4] This cruel Romulus] *Sævus iste Romulus.* He thus designates Sylla, as being, like Romulus, bent upon maintaining his power by violence. But the term would have been more applicable to him before he resigned his dictatorship.

[5] Of a consul] *Consulis.* "He seems to speak of the younger Marius." *Crispinus.* Gerlach observes that three consuls, Carbo, Marius, and Norbanus, were killed in the civil war, and thinks that the reading *consulum*, which is in some copies, ought to be adopted.

whom the fortune of war has sunk in death, but grows still more bloodthirsty at a time when victory converts the fury of most commanders into compassion. He is the only one, in the memory of man, that has appointed punishments for children yet unborn[1], to whom suffering is insured before life. He revels in his atrocities, defended as yet by the enormity of his crimes; whilst you, through dread of heavier servitude, are deterred from making an effort to recover your liberty.

"Such despotism, my fellow-citizens, you must exert yourselves to oppose, that your spoils may not remain in the hands of the oppressor; you must not delay, or think of trusting for relief to prayers; unless, perchance, you expect that, growing at length tired or ashamed of his tyranny, he will venture on the greater hazard[2] of resigning what he has unjustly usurped. But he has proceeded to such a point, that he thinks no conduct glorious but such as conduces to his safety, and deems everything laudable that assists to preserve his power. That peace and tranquillity, therefore, which, with the enjoyment of liberty, many good men have sought in preference to toil with honours, it is in vain for you to expect; you must either be slaves or rulers, my fellow-citizens; you must either be subjects of terror or objects of it. For what else is left to you? What human objects of desire remain? Or does anything divine continue inviolate? The people of Rome, lately the lords of other nations, but now deprived of empire, dignity, and authority, and rendered helpless and despicable, find not even left to them the allowance made to slaves. The vast multitude of the allies and Latins[3], whom you presented with the civic franchise for their many honourable services, are excluded from it by the will of a single individual; whose small

[1] For children yet unborn] *In post futuros.* The children of the proscribed. See note on Cat., c. 37.

[2] On the greater hazard] *Periculosius.* Thus Pericles says to the Athenians, respecting their sovereignty over their dependents, "You now hold it as a tyranny, which it seems wrong to have assumed, but dangerous to give up." Thucyd. ii., 63. From this expression, and from the following sentence, most readers would surely be inclined to conclude that Sylla was still actually dictator.

[3] Allies and Latins] "To lessen the number of citizens, Sylla took away from the allies and Latins the right of citizenship, which they had obtained by the Social War." *Burnouf.*

band of satellites have seized, as the rewards of their villanies, the patrimonial lands of the innocent commonalty. The laws, the administration of justice, the treasury, the provinces, tributary princes, are all under the direction of one man. You have seen even human sacrifices[1] offered by him, and tombs dyed with the blood of Roman citizens. And is anything left, then, for those who would act as men, but to put an end to such injustice, or to die honourably in attempting it? For nature has appointed one end to all men, even though encased in steel; nor will any one, unless he has but the heart of a woman, await the last necessity without an effort.

"But I, according to Sylla's representations, am a promoter of sedition, because I complain of the rewards obtained by civil commotions; and a lover of war, because I seek to recover the privileges of peace. To make such a charge, is to say that you cannot be safe or secure under his government, unless Vettius Picens[2], and Cornelius the accountant[3], be allowed to squander what others have honourably acquired, and unless you approve of all the proscriptions of the innocent for the sake of their wealth, of the torturing of illustrious citizens, of the depopulation of the city by banishment and slaughter, and of the practice of selling or giving away, like spoils taken from the Cimbri, the possessions of your unfortunate countrymen. He, however, objects to me further, that I have myself a share in the property of those proscribed; but that I have such a share is the very greatest proof of his tyranny,

[1] Human sacrifices] *Humanas hostias.* "He refers to those who were killed at the tombs of the followers of Sylla, that their shades might not wander unrevenged, as Lucan says of Crassus; but he seems to refer especially to the sad end of Marius Gratidianus, who was sacrificed at the sepulchre of the Lutatian *gens.* Val. Max. ix., 20; Sen. de Irâ iii., 18; Florus iii., 21." *Cortius.* Catiline was a great instrument in this butchery; see note on Cat., § 5.

[2] Vettius Picens] "An obscure man, doubtless; but he seems to be the same from whom Cicero bought the villa of Catulus; and whom, ad Att. vi., 1, he calls *manceps,* and Pro Cœl. 30, *stuprator Clodiæ.* Comp. in Vatin. 10, and ad Att. iii., 24." *Gerlach.*

[3] Cornelius the accountant] *Scriba Cornelius.* "Cornelius Chrysogonus, the freedman of Sylla, of whom Cicero says so much in his speech for Rosc. Amer. He had been a *scriba,* that is, he had taken account, by order of Sylla, of the prices given or offered at the sale of the property of those proscribed. De Brosses thinks that it is he who is meant in Cic. de Off. ii., 8: *Alter qui in eâ dictaturâ scriba fuerat, in hac* [Cæsaris] *fuit quæstor urbanus.*" *Burnouf*

since neither I, nor any one of us all, would have been safe from his vengeance if we had strictly adhered to honesty. Yet that very property, which I then bought under the influence of terror, I am ready to restore, on repayment of the purchase-money, to the rightful owners[1]; as it is not my design to sanction the spoliation of my fellow-citizens. Let the sufferings be sufficient which have resulted from the indulgence of our angry passions, from allowing Roman armies to encounter each other, and from turning our arms from our enemies against ourselves. Let there be an end of injustice and outrage; of which, however, Sylla himself is so far from repenting, that he glories in the perpetration of it, and would pursue it with greater avidity if he had greater power.

"But I am not so much concerned about the opinion which you may have of his character, as about the courage which you may feel to oppose him. I am apprehensive lest, while each waits for his neighbour to begin to act, you should all be absolutely reduced to subjection (not indeed by his power, which is weakened and impaired, but by your own indolence) before you can proceed against him, and before he can venture to flatter himself with the hopes of such success[2]. For, except his corrupt partisans, who joins in approving his proceedings? Or who does not wish that every part of his course had been of a different character, except his victory[3]? Do the

[1] I am ready to restore, on repayment of the purchase-money, to the rightful owners] *Pretio soluto, jure dominis tamen restituo.* The sense of these words may be altered, in some degree, by the mode in which an editor may think proper to point them; for "he may join," as Gerlach observes, "*pretio soluto*, or *soluto jure*, and, as some think, *jure dominis*." I have followed Cortius, Wasse, and Burnouf, who take the last method, considering *jure dominis* to be for *justis dominis;* though I do not think it at all certain that Sallust intended such a junction. But in whatever way the words be taken, the variation in the sense will be of no extraordinary importance.

[2] And before he can venture to flatter himself with the hopes of such success] *Et (ante) quàm audeat tam videri felicem.* These words are somewhat obscure, as all the commentators have remarked. Gerlach, who calls the accusative *durissimum*, interprets them (ante) *quàm audeat sperare tantam felicitatem.* The construction must be, if the text be correct, *antequam audeat videri sibi (se fore*, or *se posse esse) tam felicem;* "before he can venture to represent himself to himself as being (likely to be) so fortunate." There is an allusion to Sylla's assumption of the title *Felix.* See Jug., c. 95.

[3] Except his victory] *Præter victoriam.* "He means that the victory of Sylla was good, and might have given full freedom to the commonwealth; but

soldiers, by whose blood wealth has been gained for Tarrula and Scyrrus, the worst of slaves? Or do those, to whom, in competition for office, Fufidius, a disgrace to his sex[1], and a dishonour to every magistracy, was preferred? To the victorious army, accordingly, I look for the strongest support, by whom, through so many sufferings and hardships, nothing has been gained but an oppressor; unless we suppose, indeed, that they took the field purposely to destroy the tribunicial power which was established by their ancestors, or to divest themselves of their own privileges and right of judicature[2]. Glorious, in truth, was their recompense, when, banished to woods and marshes, they found reproach and hatred their own portion, and saw the spoils of conquest in the hands of an oligarchy!

"How is it, then, that he presents himself before us with such a train of followers, and with such audacity? Because success throws a wonderful veil over vice; (though, should fortune fail him, he will be as much despised as he is now dreaded;) unless, perchance, he seeks to delude you with a prospect of concord and peace, names which he himself has given to his wickedness and treachery, saying that Rome can never have an end of war, unless the commonalty continue expelled from their lands (a calamitous prey of civil war), and the power and judicial authority in all matters, which once belonged to the Roman people, be vested in himself alone. If such an arrangement be thought peace and concord, give your approval, I pray you, to the most extravagant disturbances and alterations of the state; grant your sanction to the laws which are imposed upon you; accept tranquillity and servitude; and afford an example to posterity for enslaving the people of Rome by the hire of their own blood[3].

that the abuse of it, and the establishment of a tyranny by it, was the grievance, as appears from what follows." *Cooke.*

[1] A disgrace to his sex] *Ancilla turpis.* "He calls him *ancilla*, to throw the utmost contempt on him. So Cic. ad Att. i., 14: *Totus ille grex Catilinæ, duce filiolâ Curionis*, for *filio*; on which passage see Popma." *Cortius.*

[2] Privileges and right of judicature] *Jura et judicia.* "Sylla had transferred the *judicia*, or right of being *judices*, from the *equites* to the senators." *Burnouf.*

[3] By the hire of their own blood] *Suimet sanguinis mercede.* Some copies have *suimet sanguinis cæde*, which Wasse, I believe, is the only editor that has been found to defend; he takes *sanguinis* in the sense of "relatives:" The

"For myself, although, by my elevation to this high office[1], enough has been attained for the name of my ancestors, for my own dignity, and even for my personal protection, it was never my design to pursue merely my own interests. Liberty gained with peril appears to me more desirable than indolent servitude. And if you, my fellow-citizens, approve of this sentiment, give me your support, and, relying on the gracious assistance of the gods, follow your consul, Marcus Æmilius, as your leader and guide to the recovery of your freedom."

THE SPEECH OF LUCIUS PHILIPPUS[2] AGAINST MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

"I could wish, beyond all things, Conscript Fathers, that the state should be at peace, or that, if it be in danger, it should be defended by its ablest citizens; and that mischievous plots should prove the ruin of their contrivers. But, on the contrary, everything is disordered by factious disturbances; disturbances excited by those whom it would better become to suppress them. What the worst and

Roman people had shed their own blood to establish a tyranny over themselves. Gerlach compares Tacit. Agric. 30: *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit.*

[1] This high office] *Hoc summum imperium.* The consulship.

[2] Philippus] "Lucius Marcius Philippus, who had been consul A.U.C. 663, and in whose consulate Crassus the Orator died. See Cic. Orat. iii., 1. This speech was not delivered immediately after that of Lepidus. But Catulus, the colleague of Lepidus, being adverse to his views, and raising vehement opposition to them, the senate ordered them to set out to their respective provinces (that of Catulus being Italy, and that of Lepidus, Gallia Cisalpina), having previously bound them by an oath not to make war on each other. Lepidus, notwithstanding, having collected the remains of the Marian party in Etruria, and having inspired numbers of people in those parts with the hope of recovering the franchise, of which they had been deprived by Sylla, advanced upon the city with a large army, and encamped near the Milvian bridge. From this position he was driven by Catulus and Cneius Pompey, but found means to recruit his forces in Etruria, and began to threaten Rome with a new war, and to demand for himself a second consulship. It was at this crisis that Philippus endeavoured to rouse the senate, which was deficient in spirit, and disposed to mild measures, with the following speech. A decree of the senate was made in accordance with his suggestions, and Catulus, with the authority of pro-consul, attacked Lepidus in Etruria, routed him several times, and compelled him at last to take refuge in Sardinia, where he fell a victim to disease." *Burnouf.*

weakest, moreover, have resolved, is to be executed by the good and wise. For war, though adverse to your inclinations, is to be undertaken by us because it pleases Lepidus; unless any of us, perchance, choose to secure him peace[1] on our part, and to suffer hostilities on his.

"Just heaven! ye, who yet rule this city[2], but take no thought for its interests, see that Lepidus, the worst of all infamous characters, of whom it cannot be decided whether his wickedness or baseness is the greater, heads an army for oppressing our liberties, and from being contemptible has made himself formidable; while you, whispering and shrinking back, influenced by words[3] and the predictions of augurs, desire peace rather than maintain it, being insensible that, by the weakness of your resolutions, you lessen at once your own dignity and his fears. And this is a natural consequence, when, by plunder[4], he has gained from you a consulship, and, by his factious proceedings, a province with an army. What would he have received for good deeds, when you have bestowed such rewards on his villanies?

"But, you will say, those who have to the last voted for sending deputies, for peace, concord, and other things of

[1] To secure him peace, *&c.*] *Pacem præstare et bellum pati.* "Nisi quis velit pacem Lepido præstare, et ab illo bellum pati." *Burnouf.* "Pacem *habere* et alteri *exhibere;* sed quos Lepidus pro hostibus habebit." *Cortius.*

[2] Just heaven! ye, who yet rule this city, *&c.*] *Pro dii boni! qui hanc urbem, omissâ curâ, adhuc regitis.* "The *qui* refers, not to the gods, but to the senators whom Philippus was addressing." *Wasse.* This seems to be the only right mode of interpretation, though Wasse afterwards changed his mind, and derided Crispinus for having been of the same opinion as himself. Certainly, as Gerlach observes, the expression *omissâ curâ* cannot with any propriety be referred to the gods; for the government of the gods *consists in care*, and if they ceased to have any care, they would cease to have any government; though to men the words *regitis* and *omissâ curâ* may be equally applicable, in the sense which I have given to them in the text. Dureau Delamalle and De Brosses also refer *omissâ curâ* to the senators. And this mode of taking the passage is supported by what follows: *vos mussantes et retractantes, &c.*, which is but a continuation of the address to the senate.

[3] By words] *Verbis.* "*Verbis* est propter verba, h. e. augurum responsa et vatum carmina, h. e. libros Sibyllinos." *Cortius.*

[4] By plunder, *&c.*] *Ex rapinis consulatum.* "Lepidus, when he was prætor in Sicily, had so plundered that province, that Cicero, in making one of his strong charges against Verres, says that he did what he could not have justified even by the example of Lepidus." *Burnouf.*

the kind, have obtained favour from him. On the contrary, they were held in contempt, thought unworthy of any share in the administration, and fit only to be the prey of others, as persons who sue for peace with the same weakness with which they lost it when it was in their possession. For myself, when, at the very first, I saw Etruria conspiring with him, the proscribed called to his support, and the republic rent into factions by his bribes, I thought that no time was to be lost, and accordingly followed, with a few others, the measures of Catulus. But that party, who extolled the services of the Æmilian family towards the state, and said that the greatness of the Romans had been increased[1] by lenity, could not then perceive that Lepidus had done anything extraordinary; and even when he had taken up arms without your authority, and for the destruction of your liberty, each of them, by seeking wealth and patronage for himself, weakened the public counsels. At that time, however, Lepidus was merely a marauder, at the head of a few camp-followers and cut-throats, each of whom would have perilled his life for a day's wages; now he is a pro-consul with full authority, —an authority not bought, but conferred on him by yourselves, and with officers still obliged by law to obey him; while there have flocked to his standard the most profligate characters of all ranks; men who are turbulent from distress and cupidity, and harassed with the consciousness of crimes; who are at ease in broils, and restless in peace; who excite tumult after tumult, and war after war; and who were first the followers of Saturninus, then of Sulpicius, next of Marius and Damasippus[2], and have now become the instruments of Lepidus. Etruria, moreover, is in insurrection; all the remains of the last war are resuscitated; the Spains are solicited to take arms; Mithridates, on the very frontier of our tributaries that yet support us, is watching an opportunity to commence hostilities; and nothing, but a proper leader[3], is wanting to subvert our government. I therefore intreat and conjure you, Conscript Fathers, to give your serious atten-

[1] Had been increased] *Auxisse.* For *auxisse se*, or *auctam esse.* Cato, in Aul. Gell. xviii., 12 says *eò res eorum auxit.*

[2] Damasippus] See Cat., c. 51.

[3] A proper leader] *Idoneum ducem.* "A sneer at the incompetency of Lepidus." *Burnouf.*

tion to the matter, and not to suffer the unbridled influence of corruption, like the ravages of a disease, to spread by contact to the uninfected. For when honours are heaped on the unprincipled, scarcely will any one maintain an integrity which is unrewarded. Or are you waiting, till, having again[1] brought his army upon you, he attacks the city with fire and sword?—a step which is at much less distance from his present assumptions than was that from peace and concord to civil war; a war which he commenced in defiance of every obligation, human and divine; not to redress his own grievances, or those of the persons whose cause he pretends to vindicate, but to subvert our laws and our liberty. For he is disquieted and harassed with raging desires, and terror for his crimes; he is undecided and restless, pursuing sometimes one scheme and sometimes another; dreading peace, and hating war; feeling that he must abstain from luxury and licentiousness, yet taking advantage meantime of your inactivity, inactivity which I do not know whether I should not rather call fear, or pusillanimity, or infatuation; for while you see peril threatening you like a thunderbolt, you merely wish, each for himself, that it may not fall upon you, but without making the least effort to prevent it.

"Consider, I pray you, how the temper of the times is changed from what it was. Formerly, designs against the commonwealth were conducted secretly, and measures for its defence with openness, and thus the lovers of their country had an easy advantage over incendiaries; now, peace and concord are publicly impugned, and supported only by plans concerted in secret. Those who espouse a bad cause, show themselves in arms; you, Conscript Fathers, shrink back in terror. But for what do you wait, unless you are ashamed or unwilling to act as becomes you? Do the declarations[2] of Lepidus influence you?—of Lepidus, who says that each should have his own, and yet retains the property of others; who exclaims that laws established by arms[3] should be abro-

[1] Again] *Rursus.* He had previously advanced to the Milvian bridge. See the first note on this speech.

[2] Declarations] *Mandata.* "Lepidus might previously have sent deputies to the senate and people with some statements or declarations." *Cortius.* "Probably to treat about the abrogation of Sylla's laws." *Gerlach.*

[3] Laws established by arms] *Belli jura.* "Laws which Sylla had imposed on the Romans, after his victory." *Burnouf.*

gated, and yet seeks to bring us under his yoke by a civil war; who asserts that the civic franchise should be restored to those from whom he denies that it has been taken; and who insists, for the sake of concord, on the re-establishment of the tribunitial power, by which all our discords have been inflamed. O most abandoned and shameless of men! Are the distresses and troubles of the citizens become objects of thy care, who hast nothing in thy possession but what has been obtained by violence and injustice? Thou demandest a second consulship, as if thou hadst resigned the first; thou seekest a pretended peace, by means of a war that breaks the real peace[1] which we enjoyed; thou art a traitor to us, a deceiver of thy party, and the enemy of all honest men! Hast thou no shame, before either gods or men, both of whom thou hast offended by thy perfidies and perjuries? But, since thou art what thou art, I exhort thee to persist in thy course, and to keep thy arms in thy hands; and do not make thyself uneasy, and keep us in suspense, by delaying thy traitorous purposes. Neither our provinces, nor our laws, nor our household gods, endure thee as a citizen. Proceed, then, as thou hast begun, that thou mayst as soon as possible meet thy deserts!

"But you, O Conscript Fathers, how long will you keep the republic in insecurity by your delays, and meet arms only with words[2]? Forces are levied against you; money is raised, publicly and privately, by extortion; troops are led out, and placed in garrisons[3]; the laws are under arbitrary and capricious management; and yet you, meanwhile, think only of sending deputies and preparing resolutions. But, be assured, the more earnestly you apply for peace, the more vigorously will war be urged against you, as your enemy will find himself better supported by your fears than by the justice and goodness of his cause. For whoever professes a hatred of civil broils, and of the effusion of Roman blood, and

[1] That breaks the real peace, &c.] *Quo parta* (sc. pax) *disturbatur.*

[2] Meet arms only with words] *Verbis arma tentabitis.* "Adversus Lepidi arma verbis tantum pugnabitis." *Burnouf.* "Ne vous lassez-vous point de n opposer aux armes que de vaines paroles?" *De Brosses.*

[3] Troops are led out, and placed in garrisons] *Præsidia deducta atque imposita.* "Cortius leaves it doubtful whether the sense is *deducta sunt alia præsidia ex urbibus, alia imposita;* or, *deducta in urbes et imposita præsidia.* De Brosses and Dureau Delamalle preferred the former interpretation." *Burnouf.* I have adopted the latter.

keeps you, for that reason, defenceless, while Lepidus is in arms, recommends you to submit to the treatment which the vanquished must endure, when you yourselves might inflict it on others. Such counsellors advise peace on your part towards him, and war on his towards you. If exhortations of this nature please you, if such insensibility has taken possession of your breasts, that, forgetful of the crimes of Cinna, by whose return into the city all the dignity of your order was trampled in the dust, you will nevertheless put yourselves, your wives and children, into the power of Lepidus, what need is there of resolutions, or what is the use of the aid of Catulus? He, and all other honest men, concern themselves for the state in vain. But act as you please; the bands of Cethegus[1], and of other traitors, stand ready for you, eager to renew their ravages and burnings, and to arm their hands afresh against our household gods. If liberty and honour[2], however, have more attractions for you, decide on what is worthy of the name of Rome, and stimulate the courage of your valiant supporters. A new army is at your devotion, with colonies of veterans[3], all the nobility, and the most able commanders. Fortune follows the braver side; and the force which the enemy has collected through our remissness, will dwindle away when we begin to exert ourselves.

"My opinion therefore is, that since Lepidus is advancing with an army, raised on his own responsibility, in concert with the worst enemies of the commonwealth, and in defiance of the authority of the senate, to the gates of the city, Appius Claudius the interrex[4], Quintus Catulus the pro-consul, and others who are in authority, be directed to guard the city, and TO MAKE IT THEIR CARE THAT THE REPUBLIC RECEIVE NO INJURY[5]."

[1] Cethegus] "Caius Cethegus, who was afterwards one of Catiline's accomplices. See Cat., c. 17." *Burnouf.*

[2] Liberty and honour] *Libertas et vera.* "*Vera*, i. e. justum, rectum." *Gerlach.* Cortius and Burnouf also read *vera*; Havercamp and others have *bella*, which makes very good sense, and to which the strongest objection that can be made is that Sallust, or Lepidus, was more likely to use the singular.

[3] Colonies of veterans] *Coloniæ veterum militum.* "Old soldiers from the colonies of Sylla." *Burnouf.*

[4] Appius Claudius the interrex] "This speech was delivered A.U.C. 677, about the end of January, when, as the consuls for the year were not yet created, Appius Claudius was interrex." *Burnouf.*

[5] THAT THE REPUBLIC RECEIVE NO INJURY] See Cat., c. 29.

FROM THE SECOND BOOK.

A Ligurian woman, named Corsa[1], observing that a bull in a herd which she was tending on the coast, was accustomed to swim over the water, and to return from time to time with an increase of flesh, and desiring to learn on what unknown pasture he fed, followed the animal, the next time that he left the other cattle, in a boat to the island. On her return, the Ligurians, being informed of the extraordinary fertility of the isle, went over to it in boats, and called it by the name of the woman who discovered and guided them to it. *Isidore*, xiv., 6.

Metellus[2], after a year's absence, having returned into Further Spain, was followed, with great honour, by a concourse[3] of people of both sexes, flocking together from all parts, and collecting along the roads and on the house-tops. His quæstor, Caius Urbinus, and others who knew his disposition, invited him to a banquet, and entertained him with a splendour exceeding that of the Romans or any other people, adorning the house with tapestries, ensigns, and scenes suited to the gorgeousness of a theatre; the ground being sprinkled with saffron[4], and other ceremonies being used as in a much-frequented temple. As he was sitting, too, an image of Victory, let down by a rope, with a noise made to imitate thunder, placed a crown upon his head; and, as he moved about, frankincense was offered to him as to a deity. His dress, as he reclined at the table, was mostly a figured toga;

[1] Corsa] "This story is noticed by Stephanus: *Corsis*, says he, *is an island in the Tyrrhenian sea, named from Corsa, a female slave who tended cattle; it is also called Corsica.*" Colerus. The usual Greek name for it was Κύρνος, Cyrnus.

[2] Metellus] "Metellus Pius, who had carried on the war against Sertorius. He was the son of Metellus Numidicus." *Burnouf.*

[3] With great honour, by a concourse] *Magnâ gloriâ concurrentium undique.* Gerlach takes *gloria* in the sense of *gloriatio*, *laudatio*. Thus it will be, "with the great honour or praise of a concourse."

[4] Sprinkled with saffron] *Croco sparsa.* They used a mixture of saffron and wine for the purpose. Comp. Prop. iv., 6, 74; Hor. Ep. ii., 1, 79; Stat. Silv. ii., 1, 160; Spartian. Adr., c. 19; Lucret. ii., 416. Plin. H. N. xxi., 6: *Crocum vino mirè congruit, præcipuè dulci; tritum ad theatra replenda.*

the most exquisite dainties were set before him; for several varieties of birds and other animals, previously unknown, had not only been collected throughout the province, but brought over the sea from Mauretania, for the occasion. But by such indulgences he lost something of his glory, especially in the opinion of the older and more austere, who regarded them as savouring of pride and presumption, and unsuitable to the dignity of the Roman empire. *Macrob. Sat.* ii. 9. *Nonius. Sosipater*, l. i.

FROM THE THIRD BOOK.

LETTER OF POMPEY[1] TO THE SENATE.

Had I as often engaged in toils and dangers, Conscript Fathers, against you, my country, and our household gods, as, under my leadership, from my earliest youth, your most desperate enemies have been defeated, and your tranquillity secured, you could have decided on nothing more severe than you now determine against me, whom, after exposing me, at an earlier age than usual[2], to a most arduous war, you com-

[1] Letter of Pompey] "In the consulship of Cotta and Octavius, A.U.C. 679, the unfavourableness of the weather, and the depredations of pirates, had caused a great scarcity of corn at Rome; and the money which had been raised to supply Metellus for the Spanish war (see Sall. Fragm. Incert. lib., *Pecunia quæ ad Hispaniense bellum, &c.*), was necessarily expended in procuring provisions for the city. Nor was Pompey, who was at the head of another army in Spain, sufficiently assisted from home; while, in that part of the country which he occupied, the crop of corn, during the last two years, had been but small. In the following year, accordingly, the army was greatly in want of provisions, as well as of money. Pompey, having in vain solicited supplies, by frequent letters and messages, from the senate, at length wrote this angry epistle, in which he threatens, in no very obscure terms, to return to Italy with his army. The people were accordingly seized with great alarm, dreading that Sertorius might follow Pompey, or even anticipate him. Lucullus, too, was afraid that Pompey would snatch from him the command of the Mithridatic war, which Pompey, indeed, greatly desired to have, as being superior to that which he held. The senate were therefore induced to send the requisite supplies. This happened two years before the end of the Sertorian war." *Burnouf.*

[2] At an earlier age than usual] *Contra ætatem.* "He was deputed to the command of the Sertorian war at the age of twenty-eight, in the character of pro-consul, though he had not before held any civil office. De Brosses, who says (ii., 23) that he was only twenty-three, is in error." *Burnouf.*

pel, as far as is in your power, (together with an army that has done you honourable service,) to perish of hunger, the most wretched of all deaths. Was it with such expectations that the people of Rome sent their sons into the field? Is such the recompense given for wounds, and for so much blood shed in defence of the state? Weary with writing and sending messengers to you, I have exhausted the whole of my private fortune and expectations, while, during the last three years I have scarcely received from you pay sufficient for one. What, in the name of the immortal gods, do you think of me? Do you suppose that my own resources are equal to an exchequer, or that I can support an army without provisions and money? I indeed allow that I set out for this war with more zeal than judgment, having, in forty days after I received from you the title of general, assembled an army, and driven the enemy, who were then pressing upon the frontiers of Italy, from the Alps into Spain. Over those mountains I opened a passage different from that of Hannibal, and more convenient for us. I recovered Gaul, the Pyrenees, Laletania[1], the Ilergetes[2], and withstood the first attack of the conquering Sertorius with newly-raised troops and inferior numbers; and I passed the winter, not in the towns, or so as to gratify my soldiers for the sake of popularity[3], but in the midst of the fiercest enemies. Need I recount the battles which I have fought, the expeditions which I have undertaken in the winter, the towns which I have destroyed or recovered? Actions speak sufficiently for themselves, without the aid of words. The

[1] Laletania] *Laletaniam.* This is the reading adopted by Cortius, Burnouf, De Brosses, and Gerlach. Laletania was a district of Spain, between the Iberus and the Pyrenees. Havercamp reads *Lacetaniam*, which lay in the same part of Spain, a little further from the coast.

[2] The Ilergetes] I read *Ilergetes*, with De Brosses; Havercamp has *Ilergetum* Cortius, Burnouf, and Gerlach, read *Indigetes;* but the Ilergetes, a more considerable people, bordering on both the Lacetani and Laletani, seem much more likely to have been mentioned by Pompey. Carrio indeed notices that Pliny, H. N. iii., 3, has *Laletani et Indigetes;* but this proves nothing. The Indigetes or Indicetæ are placed by geographers on the coast of the Mediterranean, at the foot of the Pyrenees, their chief town being Emporium or Emporiæ.

[3] For the sake of popularity] *Ex ambitione meâ.* "Neque ita ut, per ambitionem, milites indulgentiùs haberem. Ambitionem verò intellige militaris gratiæ captationem, ut n Jug., c. 45." *Burnouf.*

capture of the adversary's camp at Sucro, the battle at the river Durius[1], the slaughter of Herennius the enemy's general, with the destruction of his army and the city of Valentia, are sufficiently known to you. For these services, grateful Fathers, you recompense me with want of money and want of food. The condition of my army, and that of the enemy, are consequently similar. Pay is given to neither; and both might march unopposed[2] into Italy; of which circumstance I warn you, and entreat you to consider of it, and not to oblige me to provide for my necessities on my own responsibility. That portion of Hither Spain, which is not in possession of the enemy, we or Sertorius have utterly desolated, except the cities on the coast; but these are a positive charge and burden upon us. Gaul, during the last year, supplied the army of Metellus with pay and provisions, but now, from the badness of the crops, can scarcely support itself. For my own part, I have exhausted not only my private property, but my credit. To you alone, Conscript Fathers, can we apply; and, unless you relieve us, the army, and the whole Spanish war with it, will transfer itself against my will, but not without forewarning to yourselves, from hence into Italy.

SPEECH OF MACER LICINIUS[3], TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE, TO THE ROMANS.

"If you did not know the difference, my fellow-countrymen,

[1] Durius] "Pompey's statement would seem to refer to the river Turia, not the Durius. Our author, in a fragment of the second book, says *Inter læva montium et dextrum flumen Turiam, quod Valentiam parvo intervallo præterfluit.* Plinius, however, calls the same river *Jurius.*" *Cortius.* De Brosses agrees with Cortius. The Turia is now called the *Guadalaviar.*

[2] Unopposed] *Victor.* "The army of Pompey, victorious in the field, might be driven from Spain by famine; that of Sertorius, though conquered, might then enter Italy with as little opposition as if it had been victorious." *Burnouf.*

[3] Speech of Macer Licinius] "It is to be remembered that almost all power had been taken from the tribunes of the people by Sylla. The consul Lepidus was the first that subsequently endeavoured to re-establish it; afterwards, A.U.C. 678, Sicinius, one of the tribunes themselves, made a similar effort, but was successfully opposed by the consul C. Scribonius Curio. In the following year C. Aurelius Cotta, one of the consuls, restored to the tribunes the right of holding other offices after the tribunate. In A.U.C. 680 the tribune Quinctius made an attempt to recover the whole of their privileges, but was defeated. At last, in the consulship

between the rights transmitted to you from your ancestors, and the servitude intended for you by Sylla, it would be necessary for me to enter on a long dissertation on the subject, and to show for what grievances, and on what occasions, the people of Rome withdrew under arms from the senate, and how they succeeded in obtaining tribunes as defenders of their rights. As it is, I need only encourage you, and guide you in the way by which I think your liberty must be secured. I am not ignorant how great that power of the nobility is, which I, alone, deficient in resources, and with the mere empty semblance of office, am endeavouring to deprive of its authority; or how much more securely the worst of men act in combination, than the best by themselves. But besides the confidence which I have in you, a confidence which suppresses all apprehension, I am sure that to struggle unsuccessfully in defence of liberty, is, to a man of spirit, more satisfactory than not to have struggled at all. Yet others, who have been created[1] for the vindication of your rights, have all been induced by personal interest, by the expectation of advantage, or by actual bribery, to turn their whole power and authority against you, esteeming it better to be treacherous for hire than to maintain their integrity without reward. They have all, accordingly, submitted themselves to the rule of a faction,

of Cassius Varus and Terentius Lucullus, A.U.C. 681, C. Licinius Macer brought the matter forward again, but the settlement of it was delayed till the return of Pompey from the war in Spain. That Pompey, when he was afterwards consul with Crassus, A.U.C. 684, restored the rights, which had been so long and so clamorously demanded, to the people, is generally known." *Burnouf.*

"Caius Macer, as an orator, was always deficient in influence, but was an advocate of such diligence as could scarcely be surpassed. Had not his life, his manners, and his look, destroyed the effect of his intellectual power, his name among pleaders would have been much greater. His language, though not copious, was far from being poor; though not highly polished, it was far from being rude; but his mode of utterance, his gesture, and whole demeanour, were entirely devoid of grace. His care, however, in producing and arranging his matter, was so extraordinary, that I have scarcely known greater diligence or attention in any one; yet it seemed to be the offspring rather of subtlety than of skill in oratory. Though he was much esteemed in private, he had a greater reputation in public causes." Cic. Brut. 67.

[1] Others, who have been created, *&c.*] *Omnes alii creati pro jure vestro.* "Not only the tribunes, but all other magistrates, as is evident from *imperia*, which follows." *Gerlach.* The tribunes of the people had no *imperium*, or military command, but only *potestas*, or civil power.

who, on the pretence of conducting a war, have assumed the control of the treasury and the army, of kingdoms and provinces, and have built as it were, out of the spoils taken from you, a stronghold for your oppression; whilst you, like a tame herd, yield yourselves, notwithstanding the greatness of your numbers, to be possessed and fleeced by a few, and robbed of all that your ancestors left you, except the power of electing magistrates, who were once your defenders and are now your tyrants. All, therefore, have now gone over to them; but, if you recover your privileges, most of them will soon return to you, (for but few have the courage to defend the cause which they adopt,) and all other advantages[1] will be on the side of you who are the stronger. Can you fear, indeed, that any force of your adversaries will stop you, if you persist in a purpose with unanimity, when they continue to dread you even though inactive and irresolute? unless you can suppose that Caius Cotta, a consul deep in the heart of their faction[2], restored certain privileges to your tribunes from some other motive than fear. As for Lucius Sicinius[3], who first dared to speak of the tribunitial authority, though he was cut off whilst you scarcely ventured to murmur, yet his oppressors dreaded your displeasure even before you complained of their injustice. At such inactivity on your part, my fellow-citizens, I cannot sufficiently wonder; for you well understand that hope of redress from them is vain.

"When Sylla, who imposed this detestable slavery on you, died, you thought that there was an end of your troubles. But Catulus[4], still more implacable than Sylla, arose in his stead. Disturbances affected you in the consulship of Brutus

[1] Other advantages] *Cætera.* So Cortius and Burnouf. Havercamp and Gerlach have *cæteri.* The masculine, indeed, seems preferable.

[2] Deep in the heart of their faction] *Ex factione mediâ.* "Selected for the consulate from the very faction of your enemies." *Burnouf.* De Brosses understands by *factio media*, a party who had determined to pursue a middle course of action between the people and the nobles; but who else has believed in the existence of such a party at Rome?

[3] Lucius Sicinius] See the first note on this speech. He was found dead in his bed, having been killed, it was supposed, at the instigation of the consul Curio.

[4] Catulus] The same who is mentioned in the first note on the speech of Philippus. He was a man of high character; Macer speaks in disparagement of him to serve his own purposes. See Cic. De Off. i., 22; Vell. Pat. ii., 31.

and Æmilius Mamercus[1]. Caius Curio played the tyrant even to the destruction of your innocent tribune[2]. With what fury Lucullus, during the last year, made head against Lucius Quinctius[3], you all witnessed. And what an uproar is now excited against myself! But such proceedings would be without a purpose, if they meant to cease to be your tyrants, before you cease to be their slaves. Besides, in all these civil commotions, though other objects are pretended, the contention on both sides is for the sovereignty over you. Other struggles, from the licentiousness of the nobility, their hatred to particular persons, or their unbounded avarice, have burst forth from time to time, but one thing only has continued to be the aim of both parties, the one seeking to secure it, and the other to abolish it for ever, I mean the tribunitial power, the weapon prepared by your ancestors for the defence of your liberty.

"To these matters I warn and intreat you to give serious consideration; not changing the names of things to suit your own indolence, and giving to slavery the title of tranquillity, which, if villany prevail over justice and honesty, you will have no opportunity to enjoy, though you might have had, if you had not bestirred yourselves at all. Reflect, too, that unless you gain the mastery, they will press you harder than before, since all injustice increases its safety by severity.

"'What think you that we should do, then?' some one will say. First of all, I think that you should lay aside your present fashion of manifesting activity in your tongues, and cherishing pusillanimity in your hearts, and of meditating on liberty only while you remain in the place where you are publicly addressed. In the next place, (that I may not urge you to those forcible measures by which your ancestors procured for themselves tribunes of the people, a share in the magistracy previously confined to the patricians, and

[1] Brutus and Æmilius Mamercus] "In the year 677, when the war against Lepidus was at its height." *Burnouf.*

[2] Innocent tribune] Sicinius. See above. Curio was consul with Cn. Octavius, in the year 678.

[3] Lucius Quinctius] See the first note. "Cicero calls him an orator well qualified to make turbulent harangues, Brut., c. 62. He also speaks of him, and of the disturbances which he excited, in his Oration for Cluentius, c. 34, 39, 40, and elsewhere." *Burnouf.*

the privilege of voting independently of the senate,) I would ask, since you have full power either to do or not to do, on your own account, what you perform at the command and for the service of others[1], whether you wait for Jupiter, or some other god, to advise you as to your conduct? You yourselves, my fellow-citizens, by executing those lordly commands of the consuls and decrees of the senators, give them your sanction and authority, and increase and strengthen the despotism exercised over you. Not, I say, that I would persuade you to revenge your injuries, but rather to remain at rest; nor do I demand restitution of your rights from a love of discord, as they falsely charge upon me, but from a desire to see an end of discord, and, if they obstinately refuse you justice, I do not recommend armed violence or a secession, but only that you should forbear to shed your blood in their behalf. Let them hold and exercise their offices in their own way; let them obtain triumphs; let them pursue Mithridates as well as Sertorius and the remnant of the exiles, with their trains of statues and images[2]; but let danger and toil be far from you, who have no share in the advantage of them, unless indeed your services have been repaid by the late law, so suddenly passed, for the distribution of corn[3]; a law by which they have estimated the liberty of each individual at the price of ten gallons[4] of corn, an allowance not more nutritious than that which is granted to prisoners. For as, by that small

[1] For the service of others] *Pro aliis.* He means military service; and hints that they might take up arms for themselves, if they pleased, or might refuse to serve in the army.

[2] With their trains of statues and images] *Cum imaginibus suis.* "Let them lead out the smoky effigies of their forefathers into the field, instead of soldiers." *Burnouf.*

[3] Law—for—corn] "In the year 679, the consul Cotta had distributed corn to the people, in consequence of the famine of which I have spoken in the first note on the Letter of Pompey, and which gave occasion to the speech of Cotta that appears below. Afterwards a new law seems to have been made by Cassius and Terentius (in the year in which this speech was delivered), by which five modii of corn a month were given to every poor citizen." *Burnouf.*

[4] Ten gallons] *Quini modii.* "The *modius*, the principal dry measure of the Romans, was equal to one-third of the amphora (Volusius Mæcianus, Festus, Rhemn. Fann. ap. Wurm, § 67), and therefore contained 1 gall. 7·8576 pints English." Dr. Smith's Dictionary. Five modii would therefore be equal to 9 gall. 7·2880 pints; nearly 10 gallons.

pittance, death is just kept off from people in gaols, while their strength wastes away; so neither does your slender provision relieve you from the care of keeping your families; and the idlest of you are disappointed of your humble hope of support. And though indeed it were ample, yet when it is offered as the price of slavery, what insensibility do you manifest in suffering yourselves to be deceived, and in thinking that you are laid under obligation by what is intended to do you wrong! For it is only by deluding you that they have any power over you as a body, or will make any attempts upon you; and it is their art against which you must guard.

"They prepare measures to soothe you, and try to put you off till the arrival of Cneius Pompey; a man whom, as long as they dreaded him, they bore in triumph on their shoulders, but whom, when their fear is over, they are ready to tear in pieces. Nor are they ashamed (assertors, as they call themselves, of liberty) of being too timid to redress a grievance, or too weak to defend a right, great as is their number, without the support of that single person. To myself, indeed, it is sufficiently evident, that Pompey, a young man of so much honour, will rather be your leader, if you agree to choose him, than a sharer in their tyranny; and that he will be the most forward to re-establish the power of your tribunes. But there was a time, my fellow-citizens, when each individual depended on the conjunctive strength of the community, and not the community on the power of one; and when no single person could give or take away from you such rights as those under consideration. But I have said enough; it is not want of knowledge that impedes your course[1], but it is I know not what torpor that has seized you, under the influence of which you are moved neither by honour nor by disgrace; you have given up everything for the sake of slothful indulgence, thinking that you have ample liberty because your backs are spared the scourge, and because you may walk whither you please, a spectacle to your wealthy masters. But your fellow-citizens in the country have not even these privileges; but are

[1] It is not want of knowledge that impedes your course] *Neque enim ignorantiâ res claudit.* "Claudit, i. e. *claudicat;* non propter ignorantiam res minùs procedit. Apnl. de Deo Socr. *Ut ubi dubitatione clauderet, ibi divinatione consisteret.*" Cortius.

crushed between the jarrings of the powerful, and sent into the provinces to be the property of the magistrates. They fight and conquer only for a faction; and whatever party has the advantage, the people suffer the treatment of the vanquished. And such treatment they will suffer daily more and more, as long as your oppressors continue to make greater efforts in support of their tyranny, than you exert for the recovery of your liberty[1]."

FROM THE FOURTH BOOK.

LETTER OF MITHRIDATES TO KING ARSACES[2].

KING MITHRIDATES TO KING ARSACES, wishing health. All who are solicited, when in prosperous circumstances, to take a share in a war, ought to consider whether they may still continue at peace, and whether, at the same time, that which is requested of them be sufficiently just and safe, glorious or dishonourable. If you were at liberty to enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity; if a most unprincipled enemy were not threatening you; if illustrious renown, in case of subduing the Romans, were not awaiting you, I should not venture to ask your alliance, or indulge a vain hope of uniting my ill-fortune with your prosperity. The circumstances, however, which seem likely to deter you, I mean

[1] "This speech, which is the most vehement and bitter of all those in Sallust, seems worthy of the highest commendation. It has all the *sting and strength of the forum* (aculeos et nervos forenses), and its author seems to have rivalled, not only Thucydides, but Demosthenes himself." *Gerlach.*

"In spite of the clamours of Licinius, however, the senate succeeded in putting off the decision of the matter to the return of Pompey; who, to gain the favour of the populace, annulled all the laws of the dictator, and restored to the tribunes the privilege of disturbing the state." *Dureau Delamalle.*

[2] Letter of Mithridates to King Arsaces] "Mithridates, driven from his kingdom by the successes of Lucullus, had fled into Armenia, to Tigranes. Here he renewed the war, but both he and Tigranes were conquered, and the metropolis, Tigranocerta, was taken. At this period, it appeared that Arsaces, king of the Parthians, was strong enough to secure victory to whichsoever side he might attach himself, if he could be persuaded to attach himself to either. His alliance was accordingly sought, on the one hand, by Lucullus, and on the other by Mithridates and Tigranes. To sway his wavering resolution towards himself, Mithridates wrote the following letter. But its effect on Arsaces, who distrusted Sextilius, Lucullus's deputy, was, that he resolved to unite himself to neither side. De Brosses, v. 31, *seq.*" *Burnouf.*

your resentment against Tigranes[1] on account of the recent war, and the unfortunate state of my affairs, will appear, if you but take a just view of the matter, the greatest incentives to induce you to join me. Tigranes, ready to submit to you, will consent to whatever terms you please; for myself, Fortune, who has taken much from me, has given me experience to advise others; and, what is beneficial for those prosperous as yourself, I, who am fallen from the height of power, afford you an example for the better conduct of your affairs.

The Romans have constantly had the same cause, a cause of the greatest antiquity, for making war upon all nations, people, and kings, the insatiable desire of empire and wealth. Prompted by this incentive, they first took up arms against Philip, king of Macedonia; but, being pressed by the Carthaginians, they assumed the mask of friendship[2], and, at the same time, artfully diverted Antiochus, who was coming to his aid, by the concession of Asia[3]. Soon after, when they had made Philip their slave[4], Antiochus was despoiled of all his dominions on this side Mount Taurus, and ten thousand talents. As for Perses, the son of Philip, when, after many and various contests, he had received from them a pledge of

[1] Resentment against Tigranes, *&c.*] "Tigranes, several years before, had been given as a hostage to the Parthians (see Justin., xxxviii., 3), and had been restored by them to his father's kingdom; but compelled, at the same time, to give up *seventy valleys* of the Armenian territory as the price of his restoration. (Strab., xi.) Some time afterwards, when his courage was roused by his alliance with Mithridates, he resumed possession of his land, and threw off the yoke of the Parthians altogether. Hence the anger of Arsaces. De Brosses, v. 2." *Burnouf.*

[2] Assumed the mask of friendship] *Amicitiam simulantes.* "Friendship namely, for Philip. And as they pretended friendship for Philip while the Punic war continued, so they pretended friendship for Antiochus as long as the war with Philip continued." *Burnouf.*

[3] Concession of Asia] *Concessione Asiæ.* "It nowhere appears that the Romans, at that time, made any formal cession of any part of Asia to Antiochus. But we find from Livy, xxxiii., 39, that Antiochus, when Philip was fighting for the Romans, took the opportunity of seizing on several cities belonging to that prince, and that the Romans, at the time, took no notice of the matter. *Burnouf.*

[4] Made Philip their slave] *Tracto Philippo.* "Sc. *in servitutem*, under the name of an ally; for Philip fought on the side of the Romans against Antiochus, Livy, xxxvi., 8." *Burnouf.*

faith before the gods of Samothrace, these crafty devisers of treachery, who had given him life by the articles of their agreement, killed him by depriving him of sleep[1]. Eumenes, of whose friendship they ostentatiously boast, they at first betrayed to Antiochus, as the price of a peace with him. Attalus, the guardian of a captured territory[2], they reduced, by pecuniary exactions and insults, from a monarch to the most wretched of slaves; and then, having forged an unnatural[3] will in his name, they led his son Aristonicus, for having attempted the recovery of his father's kingdom, in triumph like a conquered enemy. Asia was next occupied by their troops, and at length, on the death of Nicomedes[4], they seized and ravaged[5] the whole of Bithynia, though there was undoubtedly a son born of Nusa, whom they had recognised as queen. What shall I say of myself? I was on every side separated, by kingdoms and provinces[6], from their dominions, yet, as I was reported to be rich and averse to slavery, they provoked me to war by setting Nico-

[1] Depriving him of sleep] When Perses was defeated by Paullus Æmilius, and driven from Macedonia, he fled to the island of Samothrace, and took refuge in a temple. Octavius, the commander of the Roman fleet, persuaded him to quit it, and trust himself to the faith of the Romans. Vell. Paterc., i., 9. Liv., xliv., xlv. Having been led in triumph, he was allowed to reside, at the intercession of Æmilius, under guard at Alba, where he is said by most authors to have died by abstaining from food. Plutarch, however, in his Life of Paullus Æmilius, c. 37, relates that the soldiers by whom he was guarded, having for some reason taken a dislike to him, and not daring to offer him violence, used means to prevent him from sleeping, by which he died. See also Diodor. Sic. lib., xxxi.

[2] Guardian of a captured territory] *Custodem agri captivi.* "He insinuates that the kingdom of Attalus, even during his life, was but a province of the Romans." *Burnouf.*

[3] Unnatural] *Impio.* Because Attalus, by such a will, set aside his own children. Justin., xxxvi., 4, intimates that Attalus was never very sound in mind. Porphyrio, on Hor. Od., ii., 18, *Neque Attali Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi*, says that the expression *hæres occupavi* "conveys a suspicion, from which we suppose that the Romans claimed this inheritance by a forged will:" *Suspicionem dat, quâ existimamus falso testamento Romanos hanc sibi hæreditatem vindicâsse.* Mithridates, therefore, seems not to have been the only one that suspected the Romans of unfair dealing in the matter.

[4] Nicomedes] He also left his dominions to the Romans by will. See Liv. Epit., xciii.; Vell. Pat. ii., 4.

[5] Seized and ravaged] *Diripuere.*

[6] Provinces] *Tetrarchiis.* See on Cat., c. 20.

medes upon me[1]; I being, indeed, perfectly aware of their evil intentions, and having declared with regard to the Cretans, then the only free people in the world, and king Ptolemy, that that would happen which has since come to pass. My wrongs I avenged; I expelled Nicomedes from Bithynia; I recovered Asia, the spoil of king Antiochus[2]; I took the heavy yoke of servitude from Greece. It was only the baseness of Archelaus[3], that vilest of slaves, in betraying my army, that prevented my progress. And those whom cowardice, or the wretched policy of resting their security on my efforts, withheld from taking arms in my behalf, pay the severest penalties for their folly; Ptolemy is buying off war, from day to day, with money[4]; and the Cretans[5], who have

[1] By setting Nicomedes upon me] *Per Nicomedem.* "He makes the same complaint in Justin., xxxviii., 5. Nicomedes had been expelled, by the arms, indeed, of his brother, but by the secret instigation of Mithridates, from his kingdom; and the senate, by sending legates, effected his restoration. . . . But the Roman generals, who hoped for rich spoils from a war, incited Nicomedes to invade the dominions of Mithridates. Of this aggression Mithridates made bitter complaints, but finding no redress, thought it time to commence hostilities. This was the origin of the war with Mithridates, who had previously, in name at least, been the ally of the Romans. See Appian, De Bell. Mithrid." *Burnouf.*

[2] Asia, the spoil of king Antiochus] *Asiamque spolium regis Antiochi.* "He calls it a spoil, because it had been taken from Antiochus by the Romans. See above, *Antiochus omni cis Taurum agro—spoliatus est:* 'Antiochus was despoiled of all his dominions on this side Mount Taurus.'" *Cortius.*

[3] Archelaus] "General of the army of Mithridates, who, having lost Athens, and suffered defeats at Chæronea and Orchomenus, made peace, in the name of Mithridates, with Sylla, to which the king, after some delay, gave his sanction. But extraordinary honours being paid to Archelaus by Sylla, Mithridates began to suspect him of having acted treacherously, both in the field and with regard to the peace; and his suspicions were increased, when, being sent to the legions of Fimbria, who had expressed some intention of deserting to Mithridates, he himself was taken prisoner by them, and his attendants slain. Having afterwards recovered his liberty, but dreading the wrath of his master, he fled, with his wives and children, to the Romans, to whom he ever after continued faithful. See Plutarch, Vit. Syll. and Appian de Bell. Mithrid." *Burnouf.*

[4] With money] *Pretio.* "A force d'argent." *De Brosses.* "He perhaps refers to those large presents made by Ptolemy to Lucullus. Plutarch in Lucull." *Cortius.*

[5] The Cretans, *&c.*] "The Cretan war, if we would but admit the truth, we ourselves occasioned, solely from the desire of subduing that noble island. It was thought to have favoured Mithridates, and we resolved to take vengeance for this offence by force of arms."—Florus, iii., 7.

already been once attacked, will see no end of hostilities till they are utterly subjugated.

For my own part, perceiving that war against me was rather delayed by the Romans (on account of their troubles at home), than peace secured to me, I resumed hostilities; though Tigranes, who now too late approves my counsels, refused to join me; though you were at a great distance; and though all the neighbouring powers were under submission to my enemies. I routed Marcus Cotta, the Roman general, in a battle by land at Chalcedon; and despoiled him of a fine fleet by sea. But being delayed, at the head of a vast army, by a long siege at Cyzicus, I suffered from want of provisions; for no one assisted me by land, and the winter prevented all relief by sea. Compelled, therefore, though not by any force of the enemy, to return to my hereditary dominions, I had the misfortune to lose, by shipwrecks at Parium[1] and Heraclea, my fleet and the flower of my troops. I recruited my army, however, at Cabira[2]; but, after various encounters with Lucullus, a second scarcity affected both of us. But he had the kingdom of Ariobarzanes[3], still uninjured by the war, for a resource; whilst I, finding all the country round me wasted, retired to Armenia; the Romans pursuing, not me, but their own plan[4] of subverting every kingdom; and because they were enabled, from the narrowness of the pass through which we marched, to prevent us from coming fairly to action, they attribute what was the consequence of Tigranes' imprudence, to the successful efforts of their own arms.

I intreat you then to consider, whether, if I am subdued, you will find yourself better able to resist the Romans, or more likely to see an end put to the war. I know indeed that you have abundance of troops, arms, and treasure; on which accounts you are sought by me as an ally, and by

[1] Parium] "A town on the coast of Mysia Minor, not far from Cyzicus. See Cellar., iii., 3." *Cortius.* Heraclea was in Pontus.

[2] Cabira] "A city of Pontus, bordering on Armenia, afterwards named Diopolis by Pompey." *Cortius.*

[3] Ariobarzanes] King of Cappadocia.

[4] Pursuing, not me, but their own plan] *Secuti non me, sed morem suum.* Of such a play on a word, I believe that there is no other instance in Sallust.

them as a prey. And what remains best for you[1] to determine, is, while the kingdom of Tigranes is still flourishing, and while I am in possession of troops inured to war, to bring the contest to a termination at a distance from home, and with little labour, by the efforts of our own soldiers; since Tigranes and myself can neither conquer nor be conquered without hazard to you.

Are you ignorant that the Romans had spread themselves westward until the ocean stopped their progress, before they turned their arms against us? And that they have had nothing, from the very commencement of their being, neither home, nor wives, nor lands, nor rule, but what they have gained by rapine? Originally a herd of fugitives, without a country, without any known parents[2], they founded an empire by the destruction of mankind, and are restrained, neither by human nor divine obligations, from ravaging and oppressing all, whether friends or allies, near or remote, weak or strong. Every power that does not become their slave, and regal powers most of all, they regard as an enemy. Few states wish for liberty[3]; but most prefer just monarchs; on which account they detest us, as their rivals in power, and likely to be the avengers of the cause of mankind. For

[1] And what remains best for you, *&c.*] *Cæterum consilium est, Tigranis regno integro, &c.* This is the reading of Burnouf, whose interpretation I have followed, but without feeling sure that it is right. Cortius points the words *consilium est Tigranis, regno, &c.*, a mode which Gerlach advocates in his notes, but gives the other method in his text. He justly calls the passage *locus difficillimus.*

[2] Without any known parents] *Sine parentibus.* "Sans parens." *De Brosses.* Cortius takes *parentes*, in this passage, in the sense of subjects, saying that, in the miscellaneous multitude that formed the origin of Rome, there were neither *imperantes* nor *parentes*, neither governors nor subjects; but this interpretation is justly condemned by Gerlach, who cites from Sen. Ep., 108, *Anci pater nullus*, and from Hor. Sat. i., 6, 10, *Viros nullis majoribus ortos.* He might have added what is said of Servius Tullius in Livy, *Patre nullo, matre servâ.*

[3] Few states wish for liberty] *Pauci libertatem—volunt.* "He speaks with regard to the character of the Asiatics, who neither knew liberty by experience, nor had any due conception of it; referring especially to the case of the Cappadocians, who, when the last of the family of their king Ariarathes, who had been killed by Mithridates, died, were made free by their own senate at the direction of Mithridates himself; but they soon declared that a nation could not exist without a monarch, and chose Ariobarzanes for their king, with the approbation of their senate. Justin., xxxviii., 2. 'Liberty,' says Montesquieu, 'has appeared insupportable to people who have not been accustomed to enjoy it; as a pure air is sometimes hurtful to such as have lived in marshy districts.' Spirit of Laws, xix., 2." *Burnouf.*

yourself in particular, who are master of Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and of Persia, renowned for its wealth, what can you expect from them but dissimulation for the present, and war hereafter? The Romans have weapons to attack all, but the keenest for those whose conquest will yield most spoil. It is by daring and deceit, and by raising war upon war, that they have become great. Pursuing this course, they will either suppress all other powers, or perish in the attempt. And to effect their destruction will not be difficult, if you on the side of Mesopotamia, and I on that of Armenia, surround their army, which will thus be deprived of provisions and succour, and which, indeed, has been hitherto preserved only by the favour of Fortune, or by our own fault. You will then be celebrated among posterity, as having come to the aid of great princes[1], and having suppressed the spoilers of nations. This course I advise and exhort you to take; and not, by suffering me to perish, to delay your own destruction merely for a while, rather than become a conqueror by uniting with me[2].

Of what book the following speech is a fragment is uncertain. Cortius, Gerlach, and Burnouf, think that it formed part of the third. De Brosses places it in the second.

SPEECH OF CAIUS COTTA[3], THE CONSUL, TO THE PEOPLE.

"It has been my lot, my fellow-citizens, to experience

[1] Great princes] *Magnis regibus.* Himself and Tigranes.

[2] "The arts of the Romans are nowhere more fully exposed than in this letter. We are not to believe, however, with the learned De Brosses, that it was written by Mithridates himself; . . . . for the commencement of it is a manifest imitation of Thucydides, i., 32; and the diction of Sallust is easily to be recognised throughout it." *Burnouf.*

[3] Caius Cotta] "This speech, as appears from internal evidence, was spoken by Caius Aurelius Cotta, consul in the year 679, when a disturbance had arisen among the people in consequence of the famine of which we have spoken in the first note on the Letter of Pompey. It ought, therefore, to be referred to the third book of Sallust's History; and they are greatly in error who attribute it to Marcus Cotta, who was routed by Mithridates, and whom they suppose to be here deprecating the anger of the people on account of his defeat. It is plain, from the words of the speaker, that the people were threatening him with death under the influence of hunger. . . . . C. Cotta was a very great orator. Cicero says much respecting him, Brut. 30, 49, 55. He is also one of the speakers in the treatise *De Oratore.*" *Burnouf.* Gerlach's remarks, on the authorship of the speech, are to the same effect.

many perils at home, and many reverses in the field; which, by the help of the gods and my own efforts, I have partly endured and partly surmounted; but in none of them have I been found wanting in ability to direct my conduct, or in industry to execute my plans. Prosperity and adversity have wrought changes in my resources, but never in my mind. Yet, in our present calamitous circumstances, every support, in common with Fortune, seems to have deserted me. Old age, too, which is a burden in itself, doubles my anxiety; for, at my advanced period of life, I cannot hope even to die with honour[1]. Should I prove a traitor to you, and, after being *twice born*[2], lightly esteem my household gods, my country, and this supreme command, what torture would be sufficient for me during life, or what punishment after death? All the torments attributed to the infernal regions would be too little for my guilt.

"From my earliest manhood, both as a public and private character, my conduct has been before you; whoever wished to profit by my advocacy, my counsel, or my purse, has never been refused. I have exerted no subtilty of eloquence or talent to work mischief. Though most desirous of friendship as a private individual, I have incurred the most violent enmities in the cause of the state. But when I was overpowered, together with the commonwealth, by a victorious faction; when I stood in need of relief from others, and was expecting still greater calamities, you, my fellow-citizens, restored to me my country, and my household gods, with the greatest possible honour. For such benefits, if I could lay down a life (which is impossible) for each of you, I should hardly think that I testified sufficient gratitude. Since life and death belong to nature[3]; but the privilege of living

[1] Even to die with honour] "For he cannot die with honour, who dies under the imputation of a great crime." *Burnouf.*

[2] Twice born] *Bis genitus.* "Those were said to be *bis geniti* in the state, who, after some calamity, attained eminent honour, or who, after being banished from their country, were received into it again. That Cotta had been exiled, and had returned, appears from what he afterwards says, and from Cicero, Brut., c. 90. So Cicero, Epist. ad Att., vi., 6, calls his own return παλιγγενεσία." *Cortius.* He was exiled, according to Burnouf, A.U.C. 663, and recalled by Sylla after his victory over Marius.

[3] Since life and death belong to nature, *&c.*] *Nam vita et mors jura naturæ sunt, &c.* "If I could lay down a life for each of you, I should only give what

among one's countrymen, without censure, uninjured in reputation or fortune, is given and received as a favour from one's country.

"You have elected us Consuls[1], my fellow-citizens, at a time when the republic is in the greatest embarrassment both at home and abroad. The generals in Spain[2] are calling for pay, troops, arms, and provisions; demands which their circumstances oblige them to make; for, from the defection of our allies[3], and the retreat of Sertorius over the mountains, they can neither come to an engagement, nor obtain necessary supplies. Armies are maintained in Asia and Cilicia, on account of the formidable power of Mithridates. Macedonia is full of enemies, as well as the maritime parts of Italy and the provinces. Our revenues, which are small, and, from the distractions of war, irregularly received, scarcely suffice for the half of our expenses[4]; and hence we sail with a fleet, for conveying provisions to the troops, much smaller than on previous occasions.

"If this state of things has been produced by treachery or neglect in us, act against us as vengeance may prompt you; inflict the most severe punishment upon us. But if Fortune, which is common to all, has merely frowned upon us, why do you meditate resolutions unworthy of yourselves, of us, and of the commonwealth? For myself, whose long life is drawing to a close, I do not deprecate death, if, by the infliction of it, any inconvenience may be removed from you; nor can I terminate my life, the life of a free-born citizen, in a more

belongs to nature, and not to man; but you gave me what belongs to yourselves, namely, the privilege of living without dishonour, and even in the full enjoyment of fame and fortune among my countrymen. What I should offer to you, could not be received as a real gift; what you conferred on me, was both given and received as the greatest of gifts." *Burnouf.*

[1] Us Consuls] Himself and Lucullus, afterwards famous for his conduct of the Mithridatic war.

[2] The generals in Spain] Pompey and Metellus. See Pompey's Letter, and the notes. "From these words it is plain that this speech was delivered some short time before the Letter of Pompey was sent to the senate; for Lucullus and Cotta granted Pompey's requests." *Gerlach.*

[3] Defection of our allies] "Those in Spain, whom Sertorius had detached from the Romans." *Burnouf.*

[4] Half of our expenses] *Partem sumptuum.* Sc. *dimidiam.* So *duæ partes* is used for two-thirds.

honourable cause than that of promoting your welfare. I, Caius Cotta, your consul, am here before you; I do what our ancestors, in unsuccessful wars, have often done; I devote and offer myself for the republic. But consider to what sort of person you must hereafter intrust its interests; for no man of merit will be willing to accept such an honour, when he must be accountable for misfortunes at sea, and for all the events of war, whether conducted by himself or by others, or come to an ignominious end. Remember, however, when you have put me to death, that I died, not for any iniquitous or avaricious practices, but resigning my breath willingly in behalf of those to whom I owe the highest obligations.

"But I conjure you, my fellow-citizens, by your regard for yourselves, and by the glory of your ancestors, bear up against adversity, and devise proper measures for the good of the state. To the management of a great empire much care, and much toil, are necessary; toil from which it is in vain for you to shrink, and in vain to look for the affluence of peace, when every province and realm, every sea and land, is embroiled or exhausted with war."

TWO EPISTLES TO JULIUS CÆSAR, ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE;

WHICH HAVE BEEN ASCRIBED TO SALLUST.

"THESE Letters were formerly entitled Orations. But that they are Letters is apparent from various passages in them; and especially from the twelfth section of the first, in which the writer says, *forsitan, imperator, perlectis litteris, &c.* I have therefore followed Cortius in giving them that name. That which I have placed first, in accordance with the opinions of the best French translators, De Brosses, Dureau Delamalle, and Eusebe Salvert, is generally put second. But it is evident, from the ninth section of the first, and from the second section of the second, that they were written in the order in which they are here given.

"There has been much contention amongst scholars whether they were written by Sallust, or by some imitator of Sallust's style. Cortius maintains that they are not Sallust's, and bestows great labour in proving that every word in them may be found in Sallust's other writings; and hence infers that they are not the composition of Sallust. Any other person might possibly, from such premises, have formed a different conclusion. But Cortius wrote his commentary in a passion, and does not scruple to charge the author of the Epistles, throughout his notes, with the grossest folly and stupidity; reproaches which would certainly recoil upon himself, had he not, by his other annotations on Sallust, honourably rendered himself proof against them. Douza, a man of as great learning as Cortius, asserts that they must certainly be Sallust's; 'for there could not be taken,' says he, 'from the same spring, two drops of water more like to one another than these letters are like the relics of Sallust which fortune has spared us.' That such is the case, every one who reads the letters will understand as well as Douza. . . . . Carrio expresses doubts; of which the chief cause is, that they are not cited by the old grammarians, who adduce so many phrases from Sallust's other works; and I am willing to allow this objection its due weight. But De Brosses answers it by observing that they may have been little known, from having been written as to a private friend, and without any intention that they should be laid before the public.

"They were found by Pomponius Lætus in a manuscript in the Vatican, attached to the fragments of Sallust's History. Lætus, when he published them, did not prefix Sallust's name; but that circumstance is no proof for or against them. I am induced to ascribe them to Sallust, first, by the diction, which is truly Sallustian, and, secondly, by the remarkable knowledge of political affairs which appears in them. It seems impossible to me that any *Pseudo-Sallust* could have

brought the days of Cæsar so vividly before his mental vision, and have spoken with such fitness and accuracy concerning the transactions of those times. There are many things in the letters which, as it appears to me, could not have been written but by a person who had been present at the occurrences of which he speaks; many things, which, if not written by the well-known Sallust, would almost oblige me to believe that there must have been two Sallusts. I therefore proceed to comment upon them as Sallust's own productions." *Burnouf.*

"Those who have denied that these Epistles are Sallust's, have rested their negations on arguments which are far from being satisfactory. Nor can I see the usual penetration of Cortius in the remarks which he has made on these compositions; for in saying that elegance of construction, judicious connexion, and what he calls numerousness of style, are not to be found in them, he seems to me to be totally in error. To assert that the whole complexion of the language is at variance with the diction of Sallust, is so far from being just, that we may rather suppose the author to have collected all the flowers of Sallust's style, with a view to give a greater air of genuineness to his productions. But there are other considerations which show that these Letters, or Orations, as some would call them, are forgeries. Not one of the grammarians has cited them; nor is the name of Sallust prefixed to them in the Vatican manuscript, which I have carefully collated. They are added to the orations and epistles extracted from the History of Sallust, but the writer of the manuscript appears to have been totally ignorant of the name of their author. It is difficult, too, to show at what time, or with what intention, such epistles could have been written to Cæsar by Sallust. They seem, indeed, to refer to the end of Cæsar's lifetime, when he was endeavouring to settle the state by passing new laws, and when Sallust was proconsul of Numidia; for I can hardly suppose that Sallust addressed Cæsar by letter when they were both at Rome. But there are many expressions in the Epistles which show that they cannot be assigned to any certain period. In the first Epistle, c. ii., mention is made of an *adverse consul*, and commentators reasonably supposed that this may refer to Lentulus (Comp. Cæs., B. C., i., 1, 2); and it would accordingly be inferred that this letter was written soon after the war commenced; but in c. iv., the writer speaks of Cato and Domitius as being dead; Pompey must therefore have been killed before the time to which he alludes; yet in c. iii. he speaks of Pompey as being still alive; and, to surprise the reader still more, he recurs, in c. ix., to Domitius and Cato again, expatiating on their abilities, and intimating that they are still to be feared. This confusion of times might be remedied by expunging the fourth section, but this would be to support a bad cause by an unsatisfactory mode of proceeding. However, if we grant that the letters were written at the particular time at which they profess to have been written, it is further to be considered whether the subjects of them are suitable to the genius of Sallust, and to the friendship which subsisted between him and Cæsar. In the second letter it will readily be acknowledged that there are many sentiments worthy of Sallust; for the writer of it may fairly be allowed to have considerable knowledge of political affairs. But however acutely he reasons on the general regulation of a state, the letter, unless it contains admonitions adapted either to establish or correct the condition of affairs at the time of Cæsar, ought not to have been addressed to him.

"It may be said that the design of the author of the epistle was to admonish

Cæsar to use his victory with moderation, and not to listen to the sanguinary suggestions of unprincipled men. But what men he means, I cannot understand. Among the many vices imputed to Cæsar, a willingness to allow himself to be directed, with too great facility, by the counsels of others, can hardly be numbered; and he exercised his power with such clemency and gentleness, as excited the admiration even of his enemies. The writer of the letter, indeed, might be thought to have set forth his counsels, not with a view to the benefit of others, but to relieve some uneasy feeling in his own mind. He says that the licence of expenditure and rapacity is to be restrained; that the usurers are to be suppressed; that the honour paid to money should be diminished, and military service equalised. Such are the counsels of the second letter; and among them are intermingled many remarks on the merits of Cæsar, on the perverse proceedings of the opposite faction, and on the corrupt morals of the youth; all of which may justly be regarded as wholly foreign to the author's subject. But if we allow that this epistle was written by Sallust himself, we must assuredly admit that the other (which is properly put first) was composed by some declaimer, as a mere exercise of the intellect. Some things are expressed in both letters in nearly the same words; as in the first section of each epistle: *quod priùs defessi, &c.*; 'that men are sooner weary of praising you, than you of doing things worthy of praise.' Other things, again, are totally at variance with one another; thus Sylla, in the second epistle, cap. v., is accused of cruelty; while in the first, cap. iv., he is extolled for clemency. The imitations, also, of parts of the introductions to the Catiline and Jugurtha are ridiculous; as in the first epistle, cap. i.: *Sed mihi studium fuit adolescentulo, &c.;* and cap. x.: *Postquam mihi artes, &c.* The seventh chapter, too, is extremely similar to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Catiline. As for the words, and figures of speech, copied from Sallust, they are so numerous that the reader can regard their accumulation only as the work of a jejune declaimer; thus, in the first epistle, cap. ix.: *Parantur hæc disciplinâ Græcorum, &c.*, he takes from the Jugurtha, c. lxxxv., the expressions of contempt for Greek learning which Sallust has attributed to Marius, and reproduces them as the sentiments of Sallust himself, not reflecting that Sallust was a great reader of the Greek authors, and sought water for his own brooks in the springs of Thucydides. Compare also cap. v., *in duas partes, &c.*, and Jugurtha, c. xli.

"But to say nothing more of such imitations, which every reader may easily find for himself, what, let me ask, is the object of the whole of the first epistle? The modest author offers advice to Cæsar about the regulation of the state. But what was the advice which he thought worthy of being the subject of two epistles to Cæsar, when he was busied with important occupations? He assails the faction of the nobles, as if it had not been at all humbled, and is inspired with such ardour for malediction, that he decries those whom he had previously extolled, and heaps reproaches on those, as living men, whom he had before represented as dead. Compare cap. iv. and ix. of the first epistle. He advises Cæsar to add to the number of citizens; but many new citizens had already been made; he thinks that the eagerness for getting money should be discouraged, but he had spoken at greater length on this subject in the other epistle. He thinks that the senate should be augmented, but Cæsar had before admitted into it a number of the worst characters. He is persuaded that the authority of the senate would be greatly increased, if the senators should vote by ballot, but he forgets that means

would thus be furnished for practising dishonesty; for many men of weak minds are restrained from immoral dealings only by a false ambition, which excites in them a desire to appear good, though real goodness is far from them; and if such men can but conceal their corrupt practices, they will dare anything whatsoever. But the writer's want of judgment is most flagrantly manifested in his suggestions to Cæsar to restore liberty which had been overthrown. Can it be supposed that Sallust was so ignorant of Cæsar's disposition, and of the state of public affairs, as to offer such advice? The prosopopœia, too, of Rome, uttering prayers and supplications, as she appears on the page of Cicero, militates against the genuineness of the epistles. When I take all these points into consideration, I am so far from believing that the epistles are Sallust's, that I cannot even suppose them to be both the work of the same author. We might rather imagine that two students of rhetoric, who had made themselves masters of the striking peculiarities of Sallust's ornate diction, and who knew that Sallust himself was a friend of Cæsar, and an opponent of the aristocratic party, had resolved on giving, in these letters, an imitation of Sallust's style and manner. The similarity of the subjects of the letters throughout, and of many particular passages, induces me to believe that two young men, who were under the same teacher of oratory, had engaged in a contest to show which of them had made the greatest progress in this peculiar study. This opinion, I think, might be more fully supported by a more minute examination and comparison of particular passages." *Gerlach.*

These observations of Gerlach are rather long; but, as they may be regarded as decisively settling the question respecting the authenticity and genuineness of the epistles, I have thought it better to give them in full. Kritzius, who is no friend to Gerlach in general, cordially agrees with him in opinion on this point, and bestows the highest praise on his remarks:

"The epistles to Cæsar," says he, "on the regulation of the state, I could not induce myself to add to my edition, as many incontrovertible proofs show that they are the offspring of some school of declamation, where it was rashly tried, whether it were possible to represent Sallust's force of mind merely by copying Sallust's diction. . . . . I had intended to support this opinion of mine by arguments of some length, but the execution of my purpose is rendered unnecessary by the diligence and industry of Gerlach, who has examined both of the epistles with so much penetration and soundness of judgment, and shows, with so much ability, that these compositions, attributed to the most eminent of Roman historians, are certainly spurious, that whoever, after considering his arguments, can still believe them genuine, must be regarded as ready to believe the grossest absurdities that can be advanced. . . . . Gerlach, at the same time, acutely conjectures that both are not the production of the same hand, and that two young men, in some school of rhetoric, may have agreed to write, on the same subject, a couple of essays to show how far each had mastered the style and matter of Sallust. Than this conjecture I can conceive nothing more probable."—See the Life of Sallust prefixed to this translation.

EPISTLE I.

I. I AM aware how difficult and hazardous an undertaking it is to offer advice to a prince or governor, or to any personage invested with supreme power; for they have abundance of counsellors already about them; nor has any man sufficient sagacity, or sufficient knowledge of futurity, for the task. Bad counsels, too, often succeed even better than good; since Fortune directs most affairs according to her own pleasure.

But I, in my youth[1], had a strong desire to be employed in affairs of government, and spent much time and labour in the study of them; not merely with a view to the attainment of office, which many have reached by dishonourable means, but with a desire to understand the conduct of affairs in peace and war, and the strength of the republic with regard to arms, men, and resources. After much deliberation, therefore, I resolved to think less of my character and modesty than of your honour, and to incur any hazard for the sake of advancing your glory. This determination I formed, not from any rash impulse[2], or from respect to your fortune, but because I have observed in your character one quality worthy of admiration above the rest, a greatness of mind which is more conspicuous in adverse than in prosperous circumstances. But your merit in this respect is sufficiently declared by others; as men were sooner weary of praising and admiring your greatness[3], than you are of performing what is worthy of celebration.

II. I am, indeed, of opinion, that nothing so arduous can be proposed, that it will not be easy to you if your mind be applied to it. Nor have I addressed to you my thoughts on the state, with the hope of hearing my prudence or ability unduly commended, but with a wish to call your attention, amidst the labours of war[4], amidst battles, victories, and the

[1] I. But I, in my youth, &c.] Compare Cat., c. iii.

[2] Not from any rash impulse] *Non temere.* Doubtless not; for the preceding sentence says that the resolution was formed by him *multa cum animo agitanti*, "after much deliberation."

[3] Your greatness] *Magnificentiam tuam.* Cortius proposes *magnificentiam*, which the sense seems to require.

[4] II. Labours of war] *Labores militiæ.* Those who have imagined this epistle

cares of command, to the concerns of the city. For if you have no other aim than to take revenge on your enemies for their attacks[1], and to retain the favours of the people[2] against an adverse consul[3], you are far from meditating what is worthy of your ability. But if that spirit still remains in you, which, from the first, disconcerted the faction of the nobility[4], and raised the Roman people from oppressive slavery to the full enjoyment of liberty; which, in your prætorship, baffled, without arms[5], the army of your adver-

to be genuine, consider it to have been written A.U.C. 704, when Marcellus and Lentulus were consuls, and when Cæsar was with the army in Gaul.

[1] To take revenge on your enemies for their attacks] *Uti te ab inimicorum impetu vindices.* "*Vindicare se ab aliquo*, signifies to avenge himself upon any one." *Gordon.* Not always. But there are examples of this signification. See Sen. Benef., vi., 5. *Vindicatæ ab injuriis magistratuum provinciæ*, Vell. Pat., ii., 126.

[2] Favours of the people] *Beneficia populi.* "Alluding to prolonged command of the army, and the privilege of being a candidate for the consulship in his absence." *Burnouf.*

[3] An adverse consul] *Adversum consulem.* "He means Lentulus. See Cæs., B. C., i., 1, 2." *Cortius.* Most other commentators agree with him.

[4] Which, from the first, disconcerted the faction of the nobility] *Qui jam à principio nobilitatis factionem disturbavit.* "This may refer to what Suetonius says in his Life of Cæsar, c. v.: 'After he was made a military tribune, ... he vigorously supported the advocates for restoring the tribunitial authority, which had been very much reduced by Sylla;' and c. xi.: 'He engaged a part of the tribunes, in a design to procure for him the province of Egypt by a vote of the people, ... but he could not carry his point, from the opposition made by the nobility. In order, therefore, to lessen their authority by all the means in his power, he again set up the trophies erected in honour of Caius Marius, on account of his conquest of Jugurtha, and of the Cimbri and Teutones, which had formerly been demolished by Sylla.'" *Burnouf.*

[5] Baffled, without arms, &c.] *In prætură armis inimicorum inermis disjecit.* Burnouf refers to Suetonius, J. Cæsar, c. xvi.: "He likewise stood very resolutely by Cæcilius Metellus, tribune of the commons, in his preferring some very seditious bill to the people, in spite of all opposition from his colleagues, till they were both by a vote of the house displaced. He ventured, notwithstanding, to continue in his office of administering justice; but finding some prepared to hinder him by force of arms, he dismissed his officers, threw off his gown, and got privately home, with a resolution to be quiet, since the times ran so strong against him. He likewise pacified the mob, that in two days after gathered about him, and in a riotous manner offered him their assistance for the vindication of his honour. Which happening contrary to expectation, the senate, who had met in all haste upon occasion of this tumult, gave him their thanks by some of the leading members of the house, sent for him, and after they had highly commended his behaviour, cancelled their former vote, and restored him to his place." Clarke's Translation.

saries; and which has achieved such eminent and illustrious actions, both at home and in the field, that not even your detractors complain of anything but your greatness, accept the suggestions which I offer to you concerning the government of the state, and which you will find, I trust[1], either consonant with propriety, or not greatly at variance with it.

III. Since Pompey, either from deficiency of judgment, or from perversely preferring what was to his own injury[2], has committed such an error as to put arms into the hands of his enemies[3], it must be your part to settle the state in those particulars[4] in which he has disordered it. First of all, he gave to a few senators unlimited authority with regard to the revenues, disbursements, and judicial proceedings, but left the Roman commonalty, who had the supreme power before, in a state of slavery under laws which were not even equal for all. Though the judicial power has been appointed to the three orders[5], as before, yet the same faction still governs, giving and taking away as they please; oppressing the innocent, and raising their partisans to honour; while no wickedness, no dishonesty or disgrace, is a bar to the attainment of office; whatever appears desirable, they seize and render their own, and make their will and pleasure their law, as arbitrarily as victors in a conquered city. I should be, comparatively, but little concerned, if the superiority which they exercise, according to their custom, for the enslaving of others[6], had been obtained by their own merit; but they are the basest of mankind, whose magnanimity

[1] I trust] *Profectò.*

[2] III. Preferring what was to his own injury] *Quia nihil maluit quam quod sibi obesset. Sibi* is the reading of Cortius; Havercamp's, and several other editions, have *tibi*, which, indeed, seems to suit better with the *animi pravitate* which precedes. The sense will then be, "that Pompey acted *either* from want of judgment, *or* from a desire to oppose Cæsar." Cortius's note on *sibi obesset* is, "The writer refers to that obstinacy of Pompey, with which he rejected all terms of peace and concord, when Cæsar was inclined to settle matters amicably."

[3] To put arms into the hands of his enemies] *Ut hostibus tela in manus jaceret.* "Compelling his enemies to take up arms." *Cortius.* But the expression may be figurative.

[4] In those particulars, *&c.*] *Quibus ille rebus rempublicam conturbavit, eisdem tibi restituendum est.* "Les points de droit public qu'il a renversés, sont ceux que vous avez d'abord à redresser." *De Brosses.*

[5] To the three orders] *Tribus ordinibus.* By a law of L. Aurelius Cotta, A.U.C. 684, the right of being *judices* was given to the senators, equites, and *tribuni ærarii.*

[6] Of others] *Alterius.* The singular for the plural.

and virtue lie wholly in their tongue, and who abuse with insolence an ascendency conceded to them only by chance and the supineness of others. For what sedition, or civil dissension, has ever ruined so many illustrious families? Or whose violence, even in the moment of victory, has ever been so headstrong and immoderate?

IV. Sylla, to whom the utmost licence was granted by the law of war, and who was conscious that his party would be strengthened by cutting off his enemies, yet, after putting to death a few, sought to secure the rest rather by kindness than by terror. But, at the present period, not only Cato, Lucius Domitius[1], and others of that party, but forty senators, and many young men of excellent promise, have been slaughtered like victims for sacrifice; and yet this merciless band of men, after shedding the blood of so many miserable citizens, could not by any means feel satisfied; neither fatherless children, nor aged parents, neither the groans of men, nor the wailings of women, could affect their unrelenting hearts; but they proceeded daily with increased bitterness, both in their deeds and their words, degrading some from their rank, and expelling others from their country. Need I make any allusion to yourself, whose humiliation these basest of men would purchase even with their lives? Their own power, indeed, though it fall into their hands unexpectedly, produces them less pleasure than your elevation causes pain; and they would rather bring liberty into danger by your downfal, than see the Roman empire raised by your efforts to the highest pitch of greatness. It is the more incumbent on you, therefore, to consider, again and again, how you may establish and secure the state. For myself,

[1] IV. Not only Cato, Lucius Domitius, *&c.*] *At hercle nunc cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis, quadraginta senatores—mactati sunt.* I have given the exact sense of the passage as it stands in Cortius and Burnouf. But the text cannot be correct, unless we suppose that some other Cato and Domitius are meant than those mentioned in c. ix.; for the writer would hardly have forgotten himself so far as to speak of the same men as both dead and alive within so short a space; though Gerlach thinks even this possible; see his remarks prefixed. De Brosses tacitly translates the passage as if it were *nunc à Catone, &c.*: "Aujourd'hui un Caton, un Domitius, et les autres de cette faction, ont fait massacrer comme des victimes quarante sénateurs," *&c.*; and Cooke and Rowe render the passage in a similar way. The Abbé Thyvon proposes to read *Carbone*, a name joined with that of Domitius in the second Epistle: and he may be right; but to correct compositions of no authority is only waste of time.

I shall not hesitate to express what arises in my mind; but it will be for your judgment to decide how far my suggestions are consistent with reason and worthy of adoption.

V. I regard the state as divided, according to the notion that I have received of it from our ancestors, into two parts, the patricians and the plebeians[1]. The supreme authority was originally in the hands of the patricians, but the plebeians had always by far the greater power. On several occasions, in consequence, a secession took place; and the power of the nobility was from time to time diminished, and the privileges of the people augmented. But the liberty of the commons chiefly lay in this, that no man's power was above that of the laws; the nobleman outshone the plebeian, not in wealth or ostentatiousness, but in high character and honourable deeds; the meanest citizen, whether engaged in agriculture or war, wanted nothing that was proper for his condition, nor was wanting to himself or to his country. But when the people were gradually deprived of their lands[2], and idleness and want left them without settled habitations, they began to covet other men's property, and to regard their liberty, and the interests of their country, as objects for sale. That people, accordingly, which had been as a sovereign, and had governed all nations, became gradually degenerate; and, instead of maintaining their common dominion, brought on themselves individual servitude. Such a multitude, therefore, not only infected with vicious principles, but distracted by different pursuits and modes of life, and without any true principle of cohesion, appears to me by no means fit to have the government of the state. But, if a number of new citizens be added to the old, I should have great hope that they would all be roused to a sense of liberty; for the new will be anxious to preserve their freedom, and the old to shake off their slavery. These new citizens, united with some of the old ones, you should, I think, settle in colonies; by which means the army will be better supplied[3], and the lower order of people, being engaged in useful

1 V. The patricians and the plebeians] *Patres, et plebem.* By *patres* he does not mean merely the senate, but all the nobility.

2 Deprived of their lands] See Jug., c. xli., and the 6th Fragment.

3 Army—better supplied] *Res militaris opulentior erit.* Somewhat obscure. 'If the body of citizens were increased, and colonists taken from the *proletarii*, levies of troops would be made from a larger number." *Burnouf.*

occupations, will no longer think of raising public disturbances.

VI. I am not ignorant or unaware how great a fury and storm, if such a scheme be adopted, will arise on the part of the nobility, who will cry out, with indignation, that the foundation of the constitution is undermined; that the yoke of slavery[1] is imposed on the old citizens; and that, if so vast a number be added by the appointment of an individual, the republic will be converted from a free state into a monarchy. My own opinion, upon any such matter, is this: that though he is guilty of a crime who seeks popularity at the expense of the commonwealth, yet that when a benefit to the public is also an advantage to the individual conferring it, to hesitate to bestow it is to incur the charge of irresolution and pusillanimity. Marcus Livius Drusus[2], when he was tribune of the people, made it his aim to support, with his utmost efforts, the interests of the nobility; nor did he intend, at the first, to carry any measures but such as they should sanction. But a faction, to whom treachery and dishonesty were dearer than honour, perceiving that a vast obligation[3] was to be conferred by one man upon many, and each knowing himself to be unprincipled and faithless, judged the character of Drusus by their own, and, suspecting that he might make himself sovereign by the favours he meant to bestow, formed a league against him, and overthrew both their own schemes and his[4].

[1] VI. Yoke of slavery] *Servitutem.* "They will think that to adopt so many new citizens will be to oppress the old." *Burtouf.*

[2] Marcus Livius Drusus] "Marcus Livius Drusus was a man of noble birth, of great eloquence, and of unblemished character, but was distinguished, in all his undertakings, more by ability than success. In his tribunate, he wished to restore to the senate its former honours, and to transfer the judicial power from the knights to the senators, but found the senate adverse to him in those very matters which he projected for its benefit, not understanding that what he proposed, at the same time, for the advantage of the plebeians, was proposed only for the sake of inducing them, on receiving small gratifications, to concede greater to others. Being thus unsuccessful, he turned his thoughts to the extension of the civic franchise to the whole of the inhabitants of Italy. But in the course of his proceedings, as he was returning from the forum, surrounded by that strange and innumerable multitude which always attended him, he was stabbed with a knife in the hall of his own house, and died in a few hours." Vell. Pat., ii., 13. See also Flor., iii., 17.

[3] A vast obligation] *Maximum beneficium.* The civic franchise.

[4] Both their own schemes and his] *Sua et ipsius consilia.* This is the reading of

From this example, general, you will see that you must secure for yourself, with greater care than Drusus, many faithful friends[1] and supporters. VII. To repel an open enemy, is, to a man of courage, a task of no great difficulty; to work secret mischief, or to guard against it, enters not into the character of a man of honour.

Since, when you have introduced these additional citizens, the commons will be re-established, you must then make it your chief concern that good morals may be cultivated, and that concord may be secured between the old citizens and the new. But the greatest service that you can confer on your country, your fellow-citizens, yourself, your posterity, and, indeed, on the whole human race, will be to extirpate, or at least to diminish as far as circumstances will permit, the excessive love of money; otherwise neither public nor private affairs, neither matters of peace nor of war, can be properly conducted; for when the passion for wealth has become prevalent, neither morals nor talents are proof against it, but every mind, sooner or later, yields to its influence. I have often heard of kings, and states, and nations, who have lost, in the height of opulence, vast power which they had gained in days of poverty and virtue. Nor is this at all a matter of wonder; for when a man of worth sees another, who is far his inferior, more distinguished and caressed on account of his wealth, he is at first indignant, and greatly perplexed in his thoughts; but when he finds that pomp, day after day, gains fresh triumphs over true honour, and riches over merit, his mind at length revolts from virtue to pleasure. Virtuous exertion is fostered by the honour attendant on it; but if the honour be withheld, the struggles of virtue become but unpleasing and unsatisfactory. Wherever wealth is held in esteem, all praiseworthy qualities, as integrity, probity, moderation, and temperance, are despised. For to honest eminence there is but one path,

Cortius and Burnouf. Havercamp and others have *sua ipsius*, which, though indefensible Latin for *ejus ipsius*, makes better sense; for what schemes of the nobility are meant, or why any allusion is made to them, is not apparent.

[1] With greater care—many faithful friends, &c.] *Majore curâ fideque amici et multa præsidia paranda sunt.* "*Fide* is *vox nihili;* for what is *majore fide quærere?* But the writer seems to have referred *curâ* to *quærere*, and *fide* to *amici*, as if exhorting Cæsar to seek *amicos majore fide.*" Cortius.

and that a difficult one; but wealth every man pursues in his own way, and it is acquired as successfully by disreputable as by honourable means. Let it be your first care, therefore, to diminish the influence of money; let no one be thought more or less qualified, on account of his wealth, to pronounce judgment on the lives or characters of his fellow-citizens; nor let any one be chosen prætor or consul from regard to fortune, but to merit. In the choice of magistrates, however, let the judgment of the people be uncontrolled. As to judges[1], to have them elected by a few, is to establish a despotism; to make their appointment dependent on money, is a disgrace to the nation. I would therefore consider all of the first class[2] qualified for the judicature, but would have the number of judges greater than it is at present. Neither the Rhodians, nor any other people, where rich and poor, as the lot fell to each, decided indiscriminately on the greatest and smallest matters, were ever dissatisfied with their tribunals. But as to the election of magistrates, I am very well content with the law which Caius Gracchus proposed in his tribuneship, that out of the five classes promiscuously, the centuries should be taken by lot to give their votes. Thus all being made equal in political influence, whatever be their wealth[3], their care will be to surpass one another in real merit.

VIII. These are the great remedies which I propose

[1] As to judges, *&c.*] *Judices.* The *judices* of the Romans rather resembled our jurymen than judges. "The number of the *judices* was different at different times. By the law of Gracchus, 300; of Servilius, 450; of Drusus, 600; of Plautius, 525; of Sylla and Cotta, 300, as it is thought from Cic. Fam., viii., 8; of Pompey, 360, Paterc., ii., 76. Under the emperor, the number of *judices* was greatly increased. Plin., xxxiii., 1." Adam's Rom. Ant., p. 236. These were the numbers out of which the *judices* for any trial might be chosen. "The *Lex Servilia* enacted that the *judices* should not be under thirty, nor above sixty, years of age; that the accuser and accused should severally propose one hundred *judices*, and that each might reject fifty from the list of the other; so that one hundred would remain for the trial." Dr. Smith's Dict., Art. Judex.

[2] The first class] See Jug., c. lxxxvi.

[3] Made equal in political influence, whatever be their wealth] *Coæquati dignitate, pecuniâ.* "The conjunctions being omitted, according to the practice of Sallust. Yet *coæquati, non pecuniâ, sed dignitate* would be better. Perhaps the writer himself omitted *sed*, and this omission might have afterwards led to that of *non*." Cortius. This conjecture is not very probable.

against the influence of money. For everything is praised and coveted according to the advantages attendant on it. Vice is instigated to action by the prospect of gain; and, when this inducement is removed, no man on earth is gratuitously wicked. Avarice, indeed, is ravenous and insatiable as a beast of prey; wherever it spreads its influence, it devastates alike the city and the country, the temple and the dwelling-house, and tramples on all obligations human and divine; neither armies nor fortifications can resist its pervading influence; it despoils men of character and reputation, of children, country, and parents. Yet, if the honour paid to wealth be diminished, the vast influence even of avarice might be subdued by the encouragement of virtuous habits. But though all, whether good or bad, will acknowledge that such is likely to be the case, you will yet have to encounter violent opposition from the factious spirit of the nobility. If you but counteract their intrigues, however, all that remains will be accomplished with ease. The nobility, it is certain, if they could maintain their ascendancy by honourable means, would rather emulate the virtuous than envy them; but as sloth, indolence, dullness, and stupidity, have taken possession of them, they have recourse to slander and detraction, regarding the fame of another as infamy to themselves.

IX. But why should I say more of their characters, as if they were unknown to you? What energy, or intellectual power, Marcus Bibulus[1] possesses, has been shown in his consulship; a man slow in speech, and, however deceitful at heart, still more corrupt. What would he venture to do, whose consulship, the highest of offices, was a supreme dishonour? Is there much power in Lucius Domitius[2], whose every member is infected with turpitude and vice, whose tongue is boastful, whose hands are stained with blood, whose feet are those of a coward; while the parts of him which cannot decently be named, are indecency itself. One

[1] IX. Marcus Bibulus] "M. Calpurnius Bibulus was consul with Julius Cæsar, A.U.C. 695." *Burnouf.*

[2] Lucius Domitius] "L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was consul A.U.C. 700. He was opposed to Cæsar in the civil war, and died on the field of Pharsalia." *Burnouf.*

of the party indeed, Marcus Cato[1], I do not despise, as he has talent for artifice, eloquence, and prudent management; qualities which are attained in the school of the Greeks; but among the Greeks are not to be found fortitude, vigilance, or industry; and since, through their want of spirit, they have lost their liberty at home, is it possible to imagine that an empire can be sustained by their precepts? The rest are the dullest of the nobility, who, like statues, add nothing to their party but their names. Such persons as Lucius Posthumius and Marcus Favonius[2] seem to me like additional lading in a large vessel, beyond its ordinary freight; lading which, if the crew arrive safe, may be turned to account, but which if a storm arises, is the first thing to be thrown overboard, as being of the least value.

X. Having now said sufficient, as I think, concerning the restoration and improvement of the commons, I shall next suggest to you what is to be done in relation to the senate.

Ever since I came to maturity of years and understanding, I have exercised myself but little with arms and horses, but have applied my mind to the acquisition of knowledge; that part of me which was naturally the stronger, I cultivated with the greater diligence. And by much reading and attention during the course of my life, I have learned that every kingdom, state, and nation, has maintained a prosperous government as long as wise counsels prevailed in it; but that when interest, timidity, or pleasure, vitiated its measures, its power was soon diminished, its authority lost, and the yoke of slavery at last imposed upon it. I have also seen good reason to believe, that whoever has a higher station, and more exalted honour in a state, than those around him, feels more interest in its welfare. Others,

[1] Cato] These strictures on Cato can hardly have proceeded from the same hand that wrote his character in the conspiracy of Catiline. "But Sallust," says Burnouf, "wrote that character of Cato after his death, and therefore with greater indulgence."

[2] Lucius Posthumius and Marcus Favonius] "Who L. Posthumius was is uncertain. M. Favonius was a man of upright character, and not without prudence or fortitude; he was a great admirer and imitator of Cato, whose dress he even copied. . . . He was taken prisoner in the battle of Philippi, and soon afterwards put to death. Plut. in Brut. et Pomp., Dion. xxxix., xl., xlvii." *Burnouf.*

by upholding the government, preserve only their liberty; but he who by merit has gained wealth, respect, or honour, finds himself, if the state show the least symptoms of decline, disquieted with numberless cares and anxieties; he thinks of defending his rank, his liberty, or his property; he becomes vigilant and active[1]; and the higher he rose in prosperity, the greater is his trouble and anxiety at the prospect of adversity.

Since, then, the commonalty are subservient to the senate, as the body to the mind, and act according to its directions, the senators should be distinguished for their wisdom; in the people much understanding may not be requisite. With this conviction, our ancestors, even when they suffered from the most disastrous wars, and had lost horses, troops, and money, never ceased to maintain the contest for empire; neither the exhaustion of the treasury, the successes of the enemy, nor the frowns of fortune, could subdue their firm resolution to preserve to their last breath what their valour had acquired; and their ultimate successes were secured rather by able counsels than by fortunate battles. In their days, indeed, the republic was united; all consulted for its interests; combinations were formed only against enemies; and every individual exerted himself, both in body and mind, not for his own aggrandisement, but for the welfare of his country. But in these times, on the contrary, a few nobles, whose minds timidity and indolence have possessed, unacquainted with toil, with an enemy, or with any kind of warfare, but leagued in a party at home, arrogantly usurp authority over the world; while the senate, by whose counsels the state, when in difficulty, was formerly supported, is overawed, and fluctuates hither and thither at the pleasure of others, decreeing sometimes one thing and sometimes another, and deciding what is good or evil for the public, according to the animosity or presumption of those who rule the hour.

XI. But if all had equal liberty of action, or if their votes could be given with greater privacy, the public interest would have greater weight, and the influence of the nobility would be diminished. Since to make the voices of all equal, however, would be difficult (for to the nobility the merits

[1] X. He becomes vigilant and active] *Omnibus locis adest; festinat.*

of their ancestors have left glory, rank, and patronage, while most of the other senators have but recently attained their dignity[1]), it will be proper to set the opinions of all free from the influence of fear; and thus each, voting secretly, will act on his own judgment rather than be swayed by the authority of another. Freedom of action is desirable alike to the good and the bad, the bold and the timid; but too many relinquish it from want of spirit, and, while a contest is still doubtful, foolishly submit to a decision of it against themselves, as if they were already worsted.

There are two expedients, then, by which I think that the power of the senate may be increased; if it be augmented in numbers, and if the senators vote with tablets[2]. The tablet will be as a screen, under which each may take courage to vote with greater freedom; and in additional numbers there will be additional security and advantage to the state. For on most occasions, in the present day, some of the senators who are engaged in the public courts, and others who are occupied with their private affairs or those of their friends, do not give their attendance at the councils of the government; and many, indeed, are kept away not more by business than by tyrannical influence. Thus a faction of the nobles, with a few senators who support them, approve, condemn, and decree whatever they please, and act as caprice dictates. But when the number of the senators shall be increased, and the votes given by tablet, the ruling party will be compelled to abate their haughtiness, and to cringe to those over whom they have mercilessly domineered.

XII. Perhaps, general, on perusing this letter, you will

[1] XI. Most—have but recently attained their dignity] *Cetera multitudo, pleraque insititia sit.* "Having spoken of the patricians, and other nobles, he calls the rest of the multitude *insititia*, inserted or engrafted." *Cortius.*

[2] Vote with tablets] *Per tabellam.* Or, in modern phrase, *by ballot.* This mode of voting was adopted by the Romans in the comitia and courts of justice In the comitia, when a law was to be passed or rejected, each citizen was provided with two *tabellæ*, one inscribed with the letters V. R., *Uti rogas*, "I vote as you desire;" the other with A., *Antiquo*, "I vote for the former state of things." In the courts of justice, each *judex* had three *tabellæ*, one marked with A., *Absolvo*, "I acquit;" another with C., *Condemno*, "I condemn;" and the third with N. L., *Non liquet*, "The matter is not clear to me." These tablets were dropped into a *cista*, or ballot-box.

wish to know of what number I would have the senate consist, and how the senators may be appointed to their numerous and varied duties; and since I would commit the judicial authority to the first class of citizens[1], what distribution should be made, and what number of judges should be appointed to each particular kind of cause. All these particulars it would not be difficult to give in detail; but I thought it proper first to settle the general plan, and to endeavour to convince you of its reasonableness; if you resolve to act on my suggestions, minor points will be easily arranged. I would wish my scheme to be one of prudence and utility; for, wherever success shall attend you, reputation will thence accrue to me. But the chief desire which actuates me is, that the state, whatever plan be adopted, may as soon as possible be benefited. The liberty of my country I value far more highly than my own fame; and I entreat and implore, that you, our most illustrious commander, after having subdued the people of Gaul, will not suffer the mighty and unconquered empire of Rome to sink into decay, or to fall to pieces by the effect of discord. Assuredly, if this should happen, neither night nor day[2] will bring you quiet, but, harassed with want of rest, you will be disturbed, distracted, and driven to despair. For I consider it as a certain truth, that the lives of all men are under the eye of a divine power; and that no deed, good or evil, is without its consequences, but that different recompenses, according to the nature of their actions, attend the virtuous and the vicious. Such retribution may be slow in coming; but the breast of every one, from the state of his conscience, assures him what he is to expect.

XIII. Could your country, or your ancestors, address you, they would doubtless admonish you in such words as these: "We, the bravest of the human race, raised you up, O Cæsar,

[1] XII. To the first class of citizens] Burnouf gives this passage, *judicia quoniam omnibus primæ classis mittenda putem*, on the authority of Carrio, who says that he found this reading in one of the Vatican manuscripts. Havercamp and Cortius have *quoniam primæ classis mittenda putem*, of which they offer no explanation. Lipsius proposes to read *primæ classi committenda*, which Cortius approves. *Mittenda*, in Carrio's reading, must be taken in the sense of *committenda*.

[2] Neither night nor day, *&c.*] Dreadful threatenings; stronger, assuredly, than Sallust would have used.

in the most excellent of cities, to be an honour and defence to us, and a terror to our enemies. What we had acquired by many toils and dangers, we bestowed on you at the moment of your birth; a country, the mistress of the world; an illustrious family and descent in it; distinguished talents; honourable wealth; all the ornaments of peace, and all the glories of war. In return for these ample gifts, we ask of you nothing disgraceful or vicious, but the restoration of subverted liberty; by the achievement of which, assuredly, the fame of your virtues will be extended throughout the world. At present, though you have performed illustrious actions at home and in the field, yet your glory is only equal with that of other heroic characters; but, should you restore a city of the highest name, and of the most extensive power, almost from ruin, who will be more renowned, who really greater than yourself, on the face of the earth? If, however, through internal decay, or the appointment of fate[1], this empire should fall to destruction, who can doubt but that devastation, war, and bloodshed, will overspread the whole earth? But if you, on the other hand, feel a generous desire to obey your country and your ancestors, your fame hereafter, when the state is re-established, will be acknowledged superior to that of all men, and your death, by peculiar felicity[2], will be more glorious than your life. For sometimes fortune, and very frequently envy, depresses the living; but, when life has paid its debt to nature, and detraction is at an end, true merit raises itself more and more."

What I thought conducive to the public good, and believed likely to be of advantage to yourself, I have written in as few words as I could[3]. I now beseech the immortal gods, that, in whatever way you may act, your endeavours may be attended with prosperity to yourself and your country.

[1] XIII. Through internal decay, or the appointment of fate] *Morbo jam aut fato.* Dureau Delamalle refers *morbo* to Cæsar, but is doubtless in the wrong. De Brosses takes the passage in the sense which I have given.

[2] By peculiar felicity, *&c.*] *Tuaque unius mors vitâ clarior erit.* "Why did he say *tua unius?* Because he wished to signify that Cæsar was the only man who, when dead, would be more famous than when alive." *Burnouf.* But did this never happen to any other man? Would Sallust have so expressed himself?

[3] In as few words as I could] *Quàm paucissimis potui.* Will any reader assent to this assertion of the writer? The same expression is used at the end of the following epistle.

EPISTLE II.

I. It was formerly admitted as certain, that Fortune bestows kingdoms and empires, as well as other objects equally coveted among mankind, of her own free gift; since they are often found, as if distributed by caprice, in the hands of the unworthy; nor do they remain unvitiated in the possession of any one. But experience has taught the truth of what Appius[1] has said in his verses, that *Every one is the architect of his own fortune;* a sentiment which is pre-eminently exemplified in yourself, who have so much surpassed others, that men are sooner weary of applauding your actions, than you of performing what is worthy of applause.

But power attained by merit, must, like a fabric of architecture, be sustained with the greatest care; lest it suffer injury through neglect, or sink for want of support. For no man willingly concedes supreme authority to another; and however just and merciful a ruler may be, yet, as he has the power to do injury, he is still dreaded. This state of things arises from the circumstance, that the greater part of sovereigns act with indiscretion, and think that their power is increased in proportion as their subjects are demoralised[2]. But, on the contrary, it should be his care, when he himself is good and brave, to have those under his sway as virtuous as possible; for the most vicious always submit to a ruler with least patience.

For you, however, it is more difficult, than for any who have gone before you, to settle properly what you have

[1] I. Appius] This Appius was Appius Claudius Cæcus, who made the *Appian* way. His verses were composed, as appears from Cicero, in the manner *of the* golden verses of Pythagoras, and were praised by Panætius in a letter *to Tubero.* See Cic. Tusc. Disp., iv., 2.

[2] As their subjects are demoralised] "This has been a constant mistake among rulers. 'Former princes,' says Pliny (Paneg., c. 45), 'looked with more pleasure on the vices than on the virtues of the citizens; not only because every one is pleased to see a resemblance to his own character in another, but because rulers think that those will bear the yoke of slavery with patience who are fitted only to be slaves.' . . . .

Intimide et corromps; c'est ainsi que l'on règne,

says Sejanus to Tiberius, in Chenier's Tibère, Act I., sc. 4. See also Montesquieu's 'Spirit of Laws,' iii., 5, and Sall. Cat., c. 7." *Burnouf.*

acquired. You have conducted a war with greater mildness than others have governed in peace; and, in addition, the victorious party are expecting the advantages of conquest, while the vanquished are your fellow-citizens. Amidst these difficulties you will have to steer your course, and must strengthen the state, with a view to the future, not merely with arms, or against enemies, but, what is a greater and more arduous task, with the salutary arts of peace. The crisis, therefore, calls on every man, whether of great or moderate abilities, to offer you the best advice in his power. And, in my opinion, in whatever way you may use your victory, the future fortune of the state will be in conformity with it.

II. That you may settle matters more advantageously and easily, give your attention to a few suggestions which my mind prompts me to offer. You have had to conduct a war, general, with a man of high reputation, of vast resources, of inordinate eagerness for power, but more indebted to fortune than to wisdom; a man whom a small party followed, consisting of such as had become your enemies from having injured you[1], or of such as were attached to himself by relationship or personal obligation. No one of them was a sharer in his power; for, could he have endured a rival, the world would not have been convulsed with war. The rest attended him rather after the way of the multitude than from their own judgment, each, indeed, following his neighbour as if he were wiser than himself. At the same time, a set of men whose whole lives had been polluted with infamy and licentiousness, and who were inspired, by the malicious reports of the ill-designing, with the hope of usurping the government, flocked into your camp, and openly threatened all who remained neutral, with death, spoliation, and all the excesses of wanton depravity. Of whom the greater number, when they saw that you would neither cancel their debts[2], nor

[1] II. From having injured you] *Per suam injuriam tibi inimici.* "*Per suam injuriam*, i.e., because they had done injury to you, for, as Tacitus says (Agric., c. 42), *Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem læseris.*" Burnouf. Cortius interprets similarly.

[2] Cancel their debts] *Creditum condonare.* "For *Creditam pecuniam condonare*, or to make an abolition of debts; but this phrase is not Sallustian, nor, indeed, Ciceronian." *Cortius.*

treat your fellow-citizens as enemies, gradually fell away; the few that remained were men, who, from the vast body of creditors that threatened them, would find more peace in the camp than at Rome. But, from the same motives, it is almost incredible how many persons of high rank afterwards went over to Pompey, and found his protection, during the whole course of the war, a sacred and inviolable sanctuary.

III. But since you are now, as conqueror, to determine concerning war and peace, so as to put an end to the one like a friend of your country, and to establish the other on a just and lasting basis, consider first, with regard to your own conduct, (since it is on you that the settlement of the state depends,) what will be the best measures for you to adopt. For my own part, I think that all power, tyrannically exercised, is irksome to its possessor rather than durable; and that no man excites a dread of himself in the many, without feeling a reciprocal dread of the many in himself; and to live thus, is, at it were, to be engaged in a perpetual and uncertain warfare, since you can neither feel safe before nor behind nor on either side, but are always in peril or fear. To those, on the other hand, who temper authority with kindness and clemency, all seems smiling and fair; and they gain even greater esteem from enemies than others from their own countrymen. And will any say that, by offering you such counsel, I seek to diminish the advantages of your victory, and am too favourably disposed towards the vanquished? Will they make such a charge, merely because I think that the same conditions, which both we and our forefathers have granted to foreign nations, who were our natural enemies, should be allowed to our fellow-citizens, and that slaughter should not be expiated with slaughter, and blood with blood, according to the practice of barbarians?

IV. Has oblivion fallen on those actions, which, a little before this war, were made subjects of accusation against Pompey and the victorious Sylla? That Domitius, Carbo, Brutus[1], and others, were put to death, not in arms, nor in the field by the laws of war, but when afterwards suing for

[1] IV. Domitius, Carbo, Brutus] "Cn. Domitius, who was defeated and killed by Pompey, after the victory of Sylla, in Africa; . . . . . Cn. Carbo, who was consul with the younger Marius; . . . . . and Brutus, the father of the Brutus who slew Cæsar." *Burnouf.*

mercy, with the most inhuman barbarity? And that the Roman populace were butchered like sheep in the Villa Publica[1]? Alas! before victory was won by you, how savage and barbarous were all these secret and sudden massacres of citizens, when women and children were seen fleeing into the bosom of their husbands or parents, and mourning over their desolated homes! And the same individuals, who then took part in those atrocities, would now prompt you to similar proceedings; as if the object of the war had been to decide which party should have the unrestrained right of committing outrage; as if you had not rescued the commonwealth from destruction, but seized it as a prey; and as if the flower of our army, and the oldest of our veterans, had fought against their brothers and parents and children, from no other motive than that the most abandoned of men might procure, from the calamities of others, the means of gratifying their insatiable appetites and passions, and might throw disgrace on your victory, and stain, by their enormities, the characters of the worthy men engaged in the same cause. In what manner, indeed, and with what modesty, they conducted themselves, even while the fortune of the contest was still doubtful; or how some, whose age, even in peace, could not have allowed of such excesses without scandal, resigned themselves, during the course of the war, to debauchery and licentiousness, I cannot suppose to have escaped your notice. Of the war I have now said sufficient.

V. But as you, and all your friends, are now thinking of the establishment of peace, consider first, I intreat you, the nature of the object which you have in view; and thus, distinguishing what is favourable to it from what is unfavourable, you will pursue a proper course towards right measures. As everything that rises, falls to decay, I think that whenever the appointed day for the fall of Rome shall arrive, it will come at a period in which citizens shall contend with citizens, and thus render themselves enfeebled and exhausted, a prey to some foreign prince or people; but that without such dissension, the whole world, the strength of all nations

[1] Villa Publica] A building in the Campus Martius in which ambassadors from foreign nations were lodged. Florus, iii., 21, says that four thousand were slain by Sylla in this edifice; Sen. de Clem., i., 12, says seven thousand.

united, would in vain strive to move or shake its power. The advantages of concord are therefore to be secured, and the evils of discord to be banished. This will be effected, if you suppress the licentiousness of extravagance and peculation; not, indeed, by recalling the people to the old regulations[1], which, from the corruption of morals, have long since become a jest, but by making every man's income the limit of his expenditure; for such habits have now become prevalent, that young men think it highly honourable to squander their own property and that of others, and to refuse nothing either to their own passions or to the requests of their friends, imagining such extravagance to be greatness and nobleness of spirit, and regarding temperance and honesty as mere pusillanimity. Thus their headstrong passions, immorally indulged, are led, when their customary supplies fail, to prey sometimes on their allies, and sometimes on their own countrymen, disturbing the tranquillity of the government, and raising new fortunes to repair the ruins of the old[2]. The profession of the money-lender, accordingly, should be abolished for the future, that each of us may take care of his own property. This is the true and only way by which a magistrate may be brought to hold his office for the good of the public, and not for that of his creditor, and to show his greatness of mind, not by impoverishing the state, but by enriching it.

VI. How unpopular this measure will be at the commencement, especially among those who expected from victory an increase of liberty and licence rather than of restraint, I am very well aware. If, however, you consult the welfare of such persons rather than their inclinations, you will secure settled peace both to them, and to us, and our allies. But if the same morals and habits be suffered to prevail among the youth, your own eminent glory, together with the city of Rome itself, will soon fall to nothing. The wise engage in war only for the sake of peace, and sustain toil only from the hope of rest; and unless you establish peace and quiet on a firm

[1] V. To the old regulations] *Ad vetera instituta.* "The sumptuary laws." *Cortius.*

[2] New fortunes to repair the ruins of the old] *Res novas veteribus acquirit* The only reasonable explanation of this phrase that has been offered is Barnouf's: "Quærit res novas ad veteres, i.e., res novas, subsidium veteribus."

basis, what difference does it make whether you are defeated or victorious? Take upon yourself, therefore, in the name of the gods, the regulation of the state, and surmount all difficulties with your accustomed resolution; for either you can heal the wounds of our country, or its cure must be left unattempted by every one. Nor does any one, to that end, incite you to the infliction of severe penalties or harsh sentences, by which a state is depopulated rather than corrected, but merely to the suppression of corrupt practices and licentious indulgences among the youth. This will be true clemency, to prevent citizens from being deservedly banished; to restrain them from folly and deceitful pleasures; to establish among them peace and harmony; and not, by tolerating corruption, and conniving at vice, to afford them temporary gratification at the expense of suffering that must soon follow.

VII. As to your success, my mind derives assurance of it chiefly from that from which others conceive apprehensions of it; I mean, the greatness of the undertaking, and the knowledge that the world, both by land and by sea, is to be settled by your exertions. So vast a mind as yours cannot engage in small matters; and you are sensible, that of a great achievement, great is the reward. It must be your care, then, that the populace, who are now demoralised by largesses and the public distribution of corn, may occupy themselves with their own business, and thus be prevented from disturbing the government; and that the youth may turn their attention, not to prodigality and rapacity, but to pursuits of honour and utility. This will be brought to pass, if you diminish the advantage and honour attendant on money, which is the greatest of all evils. For, on frequently reflecting by what means eminent men had attained greatness, what conduct had strengthened people or nations with great accessions of power[1], and from what causes the mightiest kingdoms and empires had fallen to decay, I found that there were invariably the same causes of good and evil; that those who rose had held riches in contempt, and those who fell had coveted them. No mortal, indeed, can rise

[1] VII. Great accessions of power] All the texts have *magnis auctoribus*; but, as Certius observes, the sense requires *auctionibus*, the conjecture of Carrio, or *auctibus*, that of Ciacconius.

above others, and attain to godlike excellence of character, unless he renounce the delights of wealth and sensuality, and bestow special care on his mind; not flattering its vanity, indulging its desires, or fostering its perverse propensities, but exercising it with labour and patience, with virtuous incentives and honourable achievements.

VIII. For a man to erect a mansion or villa, and to decorate it with statues, tapestry, and other ornaments, and to make everything in it admirable except its possessor, is not to render riches an honour to himself, but to be himself a disgrace to them. Those, too, who are accustomed to overload their stomachs twice a day, and to pass no night without a mistress, when they have enslaved the mind that ought to have commanded, in vain seek to employ it, in its inefficient and infirm condition, as if it had been wisely improved; for, from want of intellectual power, they mostly ruin alike their schemes and themselves. But these, and all other like evils, will have an end, if the respect that is paid to money be diminished, and if neither offices, nor any objects of general ambition, be set to sale.

Precautions are likewise to be taken for the peace of Italy and the provinces; precautions for which the means are not difficult to discover; for the same kind of characters, to whom I have previously alluded, extend their ravages everywhere, abandoning their own homes, and, in violation of all law, taking possession of those of others. You must also see that the military service be no longer unfairly and partially imposed, as it has hitherto been, some being forced to serve for thirty years, and others being wholly exempt from service. The corn, too, which has for some time past been the reward of idleness, it will be proper to distribute throughout the municipal towns and colonies for the use of the soldiers, when they return to their homes after having completed their term of service.

What I thought conducive to the good of the country, and to your own glory, I have suggested as briefly as the subject would allow. It will not be improper for me, I trust, to add one observation concerning my attempt. Most men have, or pretend to have, sufficient ability to judge of what is submitted to them; but all have so violent propensity

to censure the doings and sayings of others, that scarcely any mouth is sufficiently open, or any tongue sufficiently ready, to utter the thoughts of their hearts. That I have exposed myself to the criticism of such persons, I am not at all concerned; on the contrary, I should have grieved had I been silent. For whether you proceed in the mode which I have suggested, or in any better way, I shall have the pleasure of reflecting that I have offered you such advice and assistance as I could. It remains only to wish, that, whatever measures you may adopt, the immortals may regard them with favour, and crown them with success.

A DECLAMATION[1] AGAINST CICERO.

FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO SALLUST.

I. I SHOULD bear your reproaches, Marcus Tullius, with concern and indignation, if I thought that you indulged in such insolence from conviction, and not from disease of mind. But perceiving in you neither moderation nor modesty, I will give you an answer, in order that, if you have received any pleasure from speaking evil of me, you may feel it diminished by hearing evil of yourself.

To whom shall I complain, or before whom shall I lament, Conscript Fathers, that our country is despoiled by different parties, and become a prey to the dishonesty of the most audacious of mankind? Shall I

[1] Declamation] "In Quintilian there are two references to the Declamation (Lib. iv., c. 1, *Graviter et iniquo animo, &c.*, and Lib. ix., c. 3, *O Romule Arpinas*), where it is attributed to Sallust. Hence Colomesius thought it might safely be inferred that Sallust was the author of it, though Victorius, Lipsius, Vossius, and other learned critics, had previously demonstrated that it must have been the production of any one rather than Sallust; as well as that the other Declamation, which is circulated under Cicero's name, could not have been written by Cicero. In the latter passage of Quintilian, indeed, the words *O Romule Arpinas* are not found in one old MS. that belonged to Almeloveen, as the celebrated Burman testifies; nor can I certainly affirm that those words were written by Sallust. Concerning the former passage, too, I have similar doubts. But perhaps some small critic (not to say the writer himself, whoever he was, with a view to add authority to his piece) may have written the words, as an example, in the margin of a MS. of Quintilian; and they may thence have crept into the text. The absence of the words from Almeloveen's MS. in the first passage, and the construction of the text in the second, make this conjecture not at all improbable. But it was a practice among rhetoricians to compose orations in the names of illustrious men, as appears from Seneca, from Quintilian, iii., 10, and from other passages. The present composition is attributed by Hadrianus Junius de Coma, c. 8, to Vibius Crispus; by Vossius to Porcius Latro. But who can possibly bring evidence to settle such a point? The reader may consult Rhenanus on the Dialog. de Orator. *init.*, and Barthius Advers., xxiv., 5. In the recension of the text of these Declamations I have made use of five manuscripts, most of which merely give the title *Sallustius in Ciceronem.*" Cortius. "If Cortius's conjecture, respecting the words in Quintilian's text, be incorrect, it remains only to suppose that after the work of Sallust was lost, the rhetorician, who wrote this Declamation, incorporated the words which he found in Quintilian into his own composition." *Burnouf.* The latter conjecture seems the more probable.

address myself to the Roman people, who are so corrupted with bribes, that they are ready to sell themselves and all that belongs to them? Or shall I plead before you, Conscript Fathers, whose authority is grown a jest to the most infamous and abandoned, and before whom Marcus Tullius defends the laws and judgments of the people, and exerts his influence with the senate, as if he were the sole remaining descendant of the illustrious Scipio Africanus, and not a person who has merely crept into the city, and been recently adopted and engrafted into it? But are your deeds, Marcus Tullius, or your words, unknown to us? Have you not lived in such a manner from your boyhood, as to think nothing that gratified another disgraceful to yourself? Did you not learn your extraordinary eloquence, under Marcus Piso, at the cost of your modesty? Doubtless; and it is by no means surprising that you display to your infamy what with infamy you acquired.

II. But, I suppose, the splendour of your affairs at home exalts your spirits; where you have a wife polluted with sacrilege and perjury, and a daughter who is a rival to her mother, and more compliant and submissive to you than she ought to be to a father. Your very home itself, thus fatal to you and yours, you secured by force and lawlessness; as if with a view to remind us how much the state is altered, when you, a most infamous character, dwell in that house which once belonged to Publius Crassus, a man of consular honours. And though these things are so, Cicero nevertheless says that he has been at the council of the immortal gods[1], whence he, who turns the disaster of the country to his own glory, was despatched as a guardian to our city and its inhabitants, and not under the name of executioner[2]; as if, forsooth, your consulship itself had not been the cause of the conspiracy, and as if the state had not then been disordered in consequence of having you for a protector. But, as I conceive, you must pride yourself still more on those measures which you adopted after your consulship, in concert with your wife Terentia, when you conducted trials at your house under the Plautian law[3], condemning some of the conspirators to death, and others to pay fines; when one built you a Tusculan, another a Pompeian villa[4], and a third bought you a house; but he who could do nothing for you, was devoted to obloquy; he had come to attack your dwelling, or had laid a plot against the senate; and you were quite sure of his guilt. If the charges which I make are false, state what property you inherited from your father, how much

[1] At the council of the immortal gods] "Because Cicero, in most of his speeches and harangues, was accustomed to say, *Non humanis opibus, nec arte magistrâ ita reipublicæ consultum, sed divinâ miseratione.*" Badius Ascensius.

[2] Name of executioner] *Absque carnificis nomine.* "A malicious allusion to Cicero's observation, *sine cæde et sanguine rempublicam servatam.*" Badius Ascensius.

[3] The Plautian law] See Cat., c. 31.

[4] Tusculan—Pompeian villa] "These are so frequently mentioned in Cicero that we might reasonably abstain from making any annotation upon them; the reader may, however, consult Epist. ad Att., xiii., 14, and ii., 4." *Cortius.*

you have acquired by pleading causes, from what resources you bought your house, and reared, at such vast expense, your Tusculan and Pompeian villas.

III. But, we may suppose, *a new man* of Arpinum, of the breed of Caius Marius, imitates his virtue, contemns the enmity of the nobility, holds his country dear, is to be influenced neither by intimidation nor by interest; such would be his love for the state, and such his virtuous magnanimity[1]. On the contrary, he is a man of the lightest character, suppliant to his enemies, insolent to his friends; a follower sometimes of one party and sometimes of another, and faithful to none; an unstable senator, a mercenary patron; a person whose every member is polluted with turpitude, whose tongue is false, whose hands are rapacious, whose feet are fugitive, and what cannot decently be named, the most dishonoured of all. Yet he, a person of this description, dares to exclaim,

O fortunatam[2] *natam, me consule, Romam!*

Rome fortunate under your consulship, Cicero? Nay, indeed, most unfortunate and wretched, suffering a most cruel proscription of her citizens, when you, in the disturbed condition of the state, compelled all the respectable classes to shrink before your severity; when all causes, and all laws, were under your control, and when, having set aside the Porcian law, and despoiled us of our liberty, you took the power of life and death, over every one of us, into your own hands. Nor are you content to have done this with impunity; you who reproach us by reminding us of it; nor are we allowed to forget our slavish submission. But let it suffice, I intreat you, Cicero, that you have effected and accomplished what you pleased; it is sufficient that we have endured it; would you, in addition, burden our ears with the odious repetition of your deeds, and harass them with those most offensive words,

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ[3]*?*

As if you had perpetrated the deeds of which you boast with the aid of the toga, and not with arms, or as if there were any difference between you and Sylla the dictator, except in your title of authority.

But why should I expose your presumption, when you yourself pretend that Minerva has taught you all arts, and when the good and great Jupiter has admitted you to the council of the gods, and Italy brought you back from exile on her shoulders? Let me ask you, O Romulus[4] of Arpinum, who, in your extraordinary merit, have sur-

[1] Such his love—virtuous magnanimity] *Illud vero amicitiæ tantum ac virtutis est animi.* These words are evidently corrupt, as Glareanus and Cortius observe. I have given them such a sense as the passage seems to require.

[2] *O fortunatam, &c.*] See Juv., x., 122; Quintil., xi., 1.

[3] *Laurea linguæ*] "In Cic. Off., i., 22, the verse is read *laurea laudi*, which the critics prefer, though some contend for *linguæ*. See the Commentators on that passage, and Burman on Quintil., xi., 1." *Cortius.*

[4] Romulus] "He calls him a Romulus, as if he were the author of a new state of things." *Cortius.*

passed all the Paulli, Fabii, and Scipios, what place you hold in the state, what party in the republic suits you? Whom do you choose as a friend, whom as an enemy? Him, for whom you laid a plot in the state, you now serve; (with what justice[1], when you returned from your exile at Dyrrachium, did you follow him?) of those whom you called tyrants, you now support the power; those whom you thought men of honour, you now call fools and madmen. You plead the cause of Vatinius; you have a bad opinion of Sextius; you assail Bibulus with the most insolent language; you extol Cæsar; whomsoever you hated most, to him you are the most submissive; you have one opinion, on political affairs, when you are standing, and another when you are sitting; some you slander, and others you hate; and, O most fickle of renegades, you are trusted neither by one party nor by the other.

[1] With what justice, *&c.*] "I have included these words in a parenthesis, to give a little help to the sentence, the meaning of which, in the common editions, it is difficult to unravel. * * * Cicero, in his exile, resided at Dyrrachium, both for the sake of safety, and of easily hearing news from Rome. See Ep. xiv., 1, iii., 8. Before he went into exile, he was offered a *legation* by Cæsar, which he declined; but after his return, he was among Cæsar's followers." *Cortius.*

A DECLAMATION AGAINST SALLUST.

FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO CICERO[1].

I. It is your great pleasure, Sallust, to lead a life suitable and correspondent to your words, and to utter nothing, of however foul a character, to which your conduct, even from your earliest boyhood, has not been answerable; so that your language is uniformly consistent with your morals. For neither can any one, who lives like you, speak otherwise than you speak; nor can the life of any one, whose conversation is so impure, be more honourable than your own.

In what direction shall I turn my thoughts, Conscript Fathers; and with what shall I commence? The better each of us is known, the heavier is the task which I undertake in addressing you. Should I answer this calumniator with regard to my own life and actions, envy will still follow my glory; and, if I expose his actions, habits, and whole course of conduct, I shall fall into the same fault of shamelessness which I object to him. If, therefore, you are at all offended, you ought to express displeasure at him, who commenced the subject, rather than at myself. It shall be my care to defend myself with the least possible offensiveness of language, and to make it appear that I advance nothing false against my opponent.

I am aware that, in replying, I have no great expectation of securing your attention, for you are certain that you will hear no new charges against Sallust, but will merely recognise old accusations, with which your ears and mine, as well as his own, have long tingled. But you have, on this account, the greater reason to detest the man; a man who, not even at his entrance on vice, contented himself with essays in small matters, but commenced his course in such a way that he could neither be surpassed by any one, or surpass himself during the rest of his life. He indeed aims at nothing else, but, like a filthy swine, to wallow with any one whatsoever. But he is greatly deceived if he thinks that he shall palliate his conduct by his charges against myself; for infamy of life is not to be effaced by impudence of tongue; and there is a certain feeling of abhorrence, of which every one is sensible from the prompting of his own mind, against him who throws out false aspersions on respectable characters. If, therefore, the acts of his life defy recollection, you must form your estimate of it, Conscript Fathers, not from his speeches, but from his habits. I will endeavour, as far as I can, to despatch my account of him with brevity. Nor

[1] Cicero] Glareanus observes that there is an imitation of Cicero's copiousness of style in this Declamation; as there is of Sallust's brevity in the preceding.

will this dispute of ours, Conscript Fathers, be without advantage to yourselves; for the authority of a government is often increased by the enmities of individuals, whose influence allows no man to conceal his real character.

II. In the first place, then, since Sallust judges of the ancestors of all men by one precedent and rule[1], I would wish him to tell me of what estimation[2] or fame were the Scipios, Metelli, and Fabii, whose names he has mentioned, before their exploits, and a life of honour, recommended them to notice. But if such was the commencement of their reputation and celebrity, why may not the case be similar with myself, whose actions are honourable, and whose life has been passed without blame? You speak as if you yourself, Sallust, were sprung from such men! But if you were, there would be some to be ashamed of your infamy. I have outshone my ancestors in merit, so that if they were previously unnoticed, they may date the origin of their notice from me; you, by the disgraceful life which you have led, have thrown a great cloud over yours, so that, though they may have been excellent citizens, they may well sink into oblivion. Forbear, therefore, to taunt me with the want of distinguished forefathers; for it is better that I should attain eminence by my own actions, than be dependent on the fame of my ancestors, and that I should live a life which may be the commencement of nobility, as well as an example of virtue, to my descendants. Nor is it just, Conscript Fathers, that I should be compared with those who are dead, and who are free from the influence of hatred or envy, but with those who are engaged with me in the service of my country. But if I have been too ambitious of honour, (I do not allude to the ambition to serve the state, in which I confess that I would stand foremost, but to that pernicious ambition in defiance of the laws, in which Sallust has ever been a leader,) or if I have been as severe as you state that I have been, in the exercise of office or the punishment of crimes; or if I have been as vigilant as you represent in defence of the state, (a vigilance which you call a proscription, I suppose because all like yourself did not live unmolested in the city, though how much better would be the present condition of the country, if you, who resembled those infamous traitors, had been numbered with them in death!) did I, who, clad in the toga, cut off armed incendiaries, and suppressed a war without disturbing peace, unjustly say *Cedant arma togæ*, or, when I extinguished such desperate hostility, such formidable treason within the city, did I unreasonably exclaim *Fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam?*

III. Do you feel no concern, most fickle-minded of men, when you blame, on the present occasion, those parts of my conduct which in your History you describe as honourable to me? Which is more dis-

[1] One precedent and rule] "As the pseudo-Sallust mentions the Scipios and Fabii, who were truly noble men, the pseudo-Cicero accuses him of requiring all truly noble men to have had ancestors such as those of the Scipios and Fabii." *Cortius.*

[2] Of what estimation] *Qualis opinionis.* This usage of *opinio*, which occurs in the same sense a few lines below, is sufficient to show that this composition is of the later Latinity.

graceful to him, Conscript Fathers, to record falsehoods in writing, or to state them to this assembly? In reply to the aspersions which you have thrown upon my life, I may say that I am as far from impurity as you are from purity. But why should I make further complaint of your calumnies? For what falsehood can you think dishonourable, when you dare to represent my eloquence as a vice, eloquence of which your guilt has constantly needed the protection? Do you imagine that any man can become a distinguished member of the state, who is not instructed in such arts and studies as I have pursued? Do you suppose that any better basis and cradle of virtue can be found, or any more effectual method of exciting the mind to the pursuit of glory? But it is not at all surprising, Conscript Fathers, that a man who is sunk in sloth and luxury should express wonder at such studies, as if they were new and unusual.

As to your attacks, so extraordinary in their virulence, upon my wife and daughter, who have more easily refrained from the opposite sex than you from your own, you have shown great skill and judgment in making them; for you naturally expected that I should not retaliate, or make any similar attack on your family, since you have matter enough for obloquy in your own person, and since there is nothing in your house more infamous than yourself. But you are greatly deceived if you hope to raise odium against me on account of my property, which is indeed much less than I deserve to have; but I could wish, on one account, that it were less than it is, and that all my friends who have left me legacies were alive, rather than that I were enriched by their favours.

Am I a fugitive, Sallust, because I retreated before the madness of a tribune of the people? I thought it better that I, as an individual, should incur any fate whatever, than be the cause of discord among the whole Roman people. But as soon as that incendiary had completed his year of disorder, and all that he had disturbed had subsided into peace and quiet, I returned at the call of this house, the whole state, as it were, leading me back by the hand. And the day of my return, if it be compared with the rest of my life, has, in my estimation, a superiority over the whole of it, as, on that day, the whole of your assembly, Conscript Fathers, and a vast concourse of the Roman people, welcomed me on my reappearance.

IV. Such was the value which they set upon me, whom you call a fugitive and a mercenary patron. Nor, indeed, is it wonderful that I should have always thought the friendship of all men justly due to me; for to no man have I played the servitor, to no man have I attached myself with a view to private interest, but have regarded every one as my friend or my enemy according to his feelings for the republic. I wished for the establishment of nothing so much as of public peace; many encouraged the audacious attempts of individuals for their own advantage. I feared nothing but the laws; many desired that their own arms should be dreaded. I never longed to exert power but for your good; many even of yourselves, relying on their own influence, abused their authority to your injury. It is not surprising, therefore, if I have found friendship from none but such as

were friends to the state; nor do I repent either of having afforded my protection to Vatinius, when he solicited it under accusation, or of having repressed the insolence of Sextius, or of having condemned the unconcern of Bibulus, or of having been favourable to the merits of Cæsar; for such conduct should be regarded as the great and distinguished praise of a high-minded citizen, and if you impute it to me as a fault, it will be audacity on your part, and not unreasonableness on mine, that will be the proper object of censure. I would say more to the same purpose, Conscript Fathers, if I had to address myself to any other assembly than yours, for you yourselves prompted me to all that I did; and, where the proofs of actions are known, what need is there to multiply words respecting them?

V. I now return to yourself, Sallust. Of your father, I shall say nothing, who, however, if he never committed a fault in his life, could not have done a greater mischief to his country than by sending into it such a son as yourself. Nor shall I inquire of what irregularities you were guilty in your boyhood, lest I should seem to reflect on the parent who then had charge of you; but I shall notice only the sort of youth that you passed; for, if this is shown, it will easily be understood how forward you must have been in childhood, and how impudently and audacious you grew up. After the gains of your shamelessness became inadequate to support the extravagance of your luxury, and you had grown too old to submit yourself to the pleasure of others, you were incited, by indomitable passions, to try on others what you had not thought disgraceful to yourself. It is not easy to decide, therefore, Conscript Fathers, whether the mode in which he acquired his gains, or that in which he squandered them, was the more dishonourable. He offered for sale, and actually sold, to his perpetual infamy, his father's house in his father's lifetime; and who can doubt that he shortened the life of the parent, to whose whole property he made himself heir before his death? Nor am I at all ashamed that he should ask me who lives in the house of Crassus, when he cannot inform me who lives in that of his own father. But, perhaps, his faults were only those of youth, and he corrected them as he grew older. Far from it; he united himself to the society of the abandoned Nigidianus[1]; he was twice brought before the magistrate, and reduced to the utmost peril; and, though he escaped condemnation, it was not because he himself appeared innocent, but because his judges were thought guilty of perjury. Having obtained the quæstorship as his first office, he looked down with contempt on this place and this assembly, to which an entrance had been opened for one so mean as himself. Fearing, accordingly, that the turpitude of his life, though he had been an object of detestation to every husband in the city, might not be sufficiently known to you, he confessed in your own hearing, and without blushing before your gaze, that he was an adulterer.

VI. But let it be enough for you to have lived as you pleased, and to have done what you wished; let it also be enough for you to be conscious to yourself of your own crimes, and do not reproach us with unreasonable heedlessness and indifference. We are careful in pro-

[1] Nigidianus] Who he was, is unknown.

tecting the chastity of our wives, though we are not sufficiently vigilant to guard against you; for your audacity goes beyond our imaginations. Can any deed or word, Conscript Fathers, however dishonourable, deter him who was not ashamed, in the hearing of you all, to acknowledge his adultery? Were I to make no reply on my own behalf, but merely to recite, before this whole assembly, the censorial judgment[1] of those irreproachable men, Appius Claudius and Lucius Piso[2], a judgment in which each of them concurred[3], should I not be thought to inflict such a lasting stain on your character as the efforts of your whole life could not efface? Nor, after that sentence of the senate, did we ever see you in public, except, perhaps, when you threw yourself into that camp[4] into which all the refuse of the state had collected itself. But this Sallust, who, in time of peace, had not even remained a senator, was brought back into the senate, after the expiration of his quæstorship, at a time when the government was overwhelmed with a military force, and when the same personage, who then gained the ascendancy[5], restored the exiles. But he exercised his office[6] in such a manner as to set everything to sale for which a purchaser could be found. He acted as if he thought all was right and just that he chose to do, and abused his authority as if it had been given him only to obtain spoil from it.

Having concluded his quæstorship, and having given large pledges to those, to whom, from similarity of pursuits, he had united himself, he seemed to have become one of themselves. Sallust, indeed, was an excellent specimen of that assemblage into which masses of all kinds of filth had collected as into a gulf; whatever licentious and debauched characters, traitors, despisers of religion, and debtors, were to be found in the city, in the municipal towns, the colonies, and throughout Italy, had sunk there as into the waters of an ocean; persons the most abandoned and infamous, fitted for a camp only by the extravagance of their vices, and their eagerness to disturb the state.

[1] Judgment] *Elogium.* "The word signifies the sentence and the reasons for it." *Cortius.*

[2] Appius Claudius and Lucius Piso] "They were censors A.U.C. 704, and expelled from the senate many of the nobility, among whom was Sallust, if Dion Cassius, lib. xl., is to be believed." *Cortius.*

[3] In which each of them concurred] *Quo usus est quisque eorum.* This passage is very obscure. The *eorum* must refer to the censors, as Cortius observes; but *uterque* should have been used instead of *quisque.* The words *pro lege,* which follow *eorum,* I have omitted, for all the commentators suspect them, and none attempt to explain them.

[4] Camp] "That of Cæsar. Many knights and senators, after the sentences of Appius and Piso, joined the party of Cæsar, according to Dion Cassius, lib. xl." *Cortius.*

[5] Same personage, who then gained the ascendancy] He means Cæsar. The text of Cortius is *idem victor, qui exules reduxit:* with *victor* he understands *fuit.* Other copies have *idem victores, qui exules reduxit.*

[6] His office] *Honorem.* He seems to have been reinstated in his quæstorship. See below, c. 8, *bis quæstorem fieri.*

VII. But, perhaps, when he was made prætor, he conducted himself with propriety and abstinence. On the contrary, did he not spread such devastation through his province that our allies endured or expected nothing worse in war than they experienced in peace, under his government of interior Africa? He carried off, from that country, all that could either be taken away on credit, or crammed into vessels. He carried off, I say, Conscript Fathers, whatever he pleased; and bargained with Cæsar, for ten thousand pounds[1], that he should not be brought to trial. If any of these statements are false, Sallust, refute them at once, and show by what means you, who, a short time before, could not redeem even the house of your father, were able to purchase, as if you had been enriched in a dream, those expensive gardens, with the villa of Caius Cæsar at Tibur, and the rest of your possessions? Were you not ashamed to ask why I had bought the house of Crassus, when you yourself are the proprietor of an ancient country-seat which once belonged to Cæsar? Having just before, I say, eaten up, or rather devoured, your patrimony, by what means did you suddenly become so wealthy and affluent? For who would make you his heir?—a person whom no one thinks respectable enough for an acquaintance, unless he be of the same description and character as yourself?

VIII. Or can we suppose that the merits of your ancestors exalt you in your own estimation? But, whether we say that you resemble them, or that they resemble you, no addition could be made to the guilt and impurity of the whole family[2]. Or shall we rather imagine that your own honours render you insolent? But do you, O Crispus Sallust, think it as much to be twice a senator[3] and twice a quæstor, as to be twice a consul and twice to obtain a triumph? He who is eager to speak against another, ought to be free from fault himself; he only can properly reproach his neighbour, who will hear no just accusation from him[4]. But you, the parasite of every table, the pathic of every couch when your age allowed, and afterwards the adulterer, are a disgrace to every order, and perpetually remind us of the civil

[1] Ten thousand pounds] *Sestertio duodecies.* The exact sum will be 9686*l.* 18s. 2d.

[2] Guilt and impurity of the whole family] *Nihil ad omnium scelus ac nequitiam addi potest.* This is scarcely consistent with c. 5, where he abstains from saying anything against Sallust's father.

[3] Twice a senator, *&c.*] *Tantidem putas esse bis senatorem, et bis quæstorem fieri, quanti bis consularem, et bis triumphalem.* "Sallust, to his great disgrace, was made *a senator twice*, through having been expelled from the senate; but Cicero was made *bis consularis* to his great honour, having been exiled when he was a *consularis*, and afterwards recalled to the enjoyment of all his dignities. He may be called *bis triumphalis* in the same sense, since he had gained a triumph, and this honour, though not lost by his banishment, may be considered as having been renewed at his return." *Cortius.*

[4] Who will hear no just accusation from him] *Qui non potest verum ab altero audire.* "This is, *cui non ab altero vera crimina objici possunt, is demum maledicere alteri potest.* But I suspect that the passage is corrupt." *Cortius.*

war[1]. For what worse calamity do we endure from it, than that of seeing you reinstated in this assembly? But forbear to attack good men with forwardness of speech; forbear to foster the vice of an intemperate tongue; forbear to form your opinion of every man by your own conduct; for, by such conduct, you can never acquire a friend, and appear willing to have an enemy[2].

I shall say nothing more, Conscript Fathers, for I have observed that those who give unveiled narratives of the crimes of others, often incur the disgust of their auditors, even more than those who have committed them. For my own part, it must be my care to say[3], not what Sallust may deservedly hear, but what I myself may decently utter.

[1] Perpetually remind us of the civil war] *Es—civilis belli memoria.* "Because it was the civil war that restored Sallust to the senate." *Cortius.*

[2] An enemy] Meaning himself, as Cortius thinks.

[3] It must be my care to say, *&c.*] *Ratio habenda est—ut ea dicam.* These words seem more appropriate to the commencement than the conclusion of a speech.

EPITOME OF ROMAN HISTORY.

BY LUCIUS ANNÆUS FLORUS.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Roman people, during seven hundred years, from the time of king Romulus to that of Cæsar Augustus, performed such mighty acts both in peace and war, that if any one compares the greatness of their empire with its years, he will think it out of proportion to its age[1]. So far throughout the world have they extended their arms, that those who read their exploits, learn the fate, not of one people only, but of all mankind. So numerous are the toils and dangers in which they have been exercised, that ability[2] and fortune seem to have concurred in establishing their sway.

As it is of the highest importance, therefore, to learn this history[3] as well as others, but as the vastness of the subject is a hindrance to the knowledge of it, and the variety of topics distracts the faculty of attention[4], I shall follow the example of those who describe the face of the earth[5], and shall comprise the whole representation of the matter, as it were, in a small tablet, adding something, as I hope, to the admiration with which this eminent people are regarded, by showing their whole grandeur together and at one view. If

[1] Out of proportion to its age] *Ætatem ultra.* "He will think that so much could not have been done in so short a space of time." *Freinshemius.*

[2] Ability] *Virtus.* In the same sense as in Sallust, Cat., c. 1, and elsewhere: see the Notes. So Florus, at the commencement of c. 3, says of Tullus Hostilius, *Cui in honorem virtutis regnum ultro datum.*

[3] This history] *Hoc.* I follow Duker's text, in which the passage stands thus: *Quare quum præcipuè hoc quoque, sicut cætera, operæ pretium sit cognoscere, tamen quia, &c.* But it is probably corrupt. In some copies the words *sicut cætera* are wanting, and in some the word *sigillatim* is found after *cognoscere.* Grævius conjectures that Florus wrote *Quare cùm præcipua quæque operæ pretium sit cognoscere sigillatim, tamen quia, &c.*

[4] Distracts the faculty of attention] *Aciem intentionis abrumpit.* "So we say *abrumpere sermonem.*" Minellius.

[5] Face of the earth] *Terrarum situs.* Situations of places on the earth.

any one, then, contemplates the Roman people as he would contemplate a man, and considers its whole age, how it had its origin, how it grew up, how it arrived at a certain vigour of manhood, and how it has since, as it were, grown old, he will observe four degrees and stages of its existence. Its first period was under its kings, lasting nearly two hundred and fifty years, during which it struggled round its mother against its neighbours; this was its infancy. Its next period extended from the consulship of Brutus and Collatinus to that of Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius, a space of two hundred and fifty years, during which it subdued Italy; this was a time of action for men and arms, and we may therefore call it its youth. The next period was one of two hundred years, to the time of Cæsar Augustus, in which it subdued the whole world; this may accordingly be called the manhood, and robust maturity, of the empire. From the reign of Cæsar Augustus to our own age is a period of little less than two hundred years, in which, from the inactivity of the Cæsars, it has grown old and lost its strength, except that it now raises its arms under the emperor Trajan, and, contrary to the expectation of all, the old age of the empire, as if youth were restored to it, renews its vigour.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. OF ROMULUS, THE FIRST KING OF THE ROMANS.

The founder of the city and empire was Romulus, the son of Mars and Rhea Sylvia. The priestess, when pregnant, confessed this fact of herself, nor did report, soon afterwards, testify a doubt of it, as, being thrown, with his brother Remus, into the river by order of Amulius, he could not be destroyed; for not only did the Tiber repress its stream, but a she-wolf, leaving her young, and following the children's cries, offered her teats to the infants, and acted towards them the part of a mother. Being found, in these circumstances, under a tree, the king's shepherd carried them into a cottage, and brought them up.

The metropolis of Latium, at that time, was Alba, built by Iulus; for he had disdained Lavinium, the city of his father

Æneas. Amulius, the fourteenth descendant from them[1], was now reigning there, having dethroned his brother Numitor, of whose daughter Romulus was the son. Romulus, in the first ardour of youth, drove Amulius from the citadel, and restored his grandfather. Being fond, however, of the river, and of the mountains where he had been brought up, he thought of founding among them the walls of a new city. But as he and his brother were twins, it was resolved to consult the gods which of the two should commence the work, and enjoy the sovereignty. Romulus, accordingly, took his station on Mount Aventine, and Remus on Mount Palatine. Romulus first saw six vultures; Remus was behind him in time, but saw twelve. Being thus superior in point of augury, Romulus proceeded to build the city, with full expectation that it would prove a warlike one, for so the birds, accustomed to blood and prey, seemed to promise.

For the defence of the new city a rampart appeared sufficient. While Remus was deriding its diminutiveness, and showing his contempt for it by leaping over it, he was, whether by his brother's order is uncertain, put to death. He was certainly the first victim, and consecrated the fortification of the new city with his blood.

But Romulus had formed the idea of a city, rather than a real city; for inhabitants were wanting. In the neighbourhood there was a grove, which he made a place of refuge[2]; and immediately an extraordinary number of men, some Latin and Tuscan shepherds, others from beyond the seas, Phrygians who had come into the country under Æneas, and Arcadians under Evander, took up their residence in it. Thus of various elements, as it were, he formed one body, and was himself the founder of the Roman people. But a people consisting only of men could last but one age; wives were therefore sought from the neighbouring nations, and, as they were not obtained, were seized by force. For a pretence being made of celebrating some equestrian games, the young women who came to see them, became a prey; and this immediately gave rise to wars. The Vejentes were routed and put to flight. The city of the Cæninenses was taken and demolished; and Romulus also, with his own hands,

[1] Ch. I. From them] *Ab his.* That is, from Æneas and Iulus. It should properly be *ab hoc*, from Æneas only.

[2] A place of refuge] *Asylum.*

offered the *spolia opima*, taken from their king, to Jupiter Feretrius. To the Sabines, the gates of Rome were given up by a young woman, though not treacherously[1]; she had asked, as a reward, what they wore on their left arms, but whether she meant their shields or their bracelets, is doubtful. They, to keep their word, and be revenged on her, buried her under their bucklers. The enemy having thus gained admission within the walls, there ensued, in the very forum, so desperate an engagement, that Romulus intreated Jupiter *to stop the shameful flight of his men*; and hence a temple was afterwards erected, and Jupiter surnamed Stator. At last the women who had been carried off, rushed, with their hair dishevelled, between the contending parties, and separated them. Thus peace was made, and a league established, with Tatius[2]; and a wonderful event followed, namely, that the enemy, leaving their habitations, removed into the new city, and shared their hereditary property with their sons-in-law, as a portion for their daughters.

The strength of the city being soon increased, this most wise monarch made the following arrangement in the state; that the young men, divided into tribes, should be ready, with horses and arms, for any sudden demands of war; and that the administration of affairs should be in the hands of the older men, who, from their authority, were called Fathers, and from their age, the Senate[3]. When he had thus regulated matters, and was holding an assembly of the people at the lake of Caprea, near the city, he was suddenly snatched out of their sight. Some think that he was cut to pieces by the senate, on account of his excessive severity; but a tempest which then arose, and an eclipse of the sun, were apparent proofs of his deification. This opinion Julius Proculus soon after confirmed, asserting that he had seen Romulus in a more majestic shape than he had had when alive; that he also commanded them to acknowledge him as a deity, as it pleased the gods that he should be called Quirinus in heaven; and that thus Rome should have the sovereignty of the world.

[1] Not treacherously] *Nec dolo.* Florus means that she intended no treachery to her countrymen, but wished to rob or disarm the enemy by depriving them of their bracelets or shields.

[2] Tatius] King of the Sabines. Comp. c. 15.

[3] The Senate] *Senatus.* From *senes*, old men.

CHAP. II. OF NUMA POMPILIUS.

The successor of Romulus was Numa Pompilius, whom, when he was living at Cures, a town of the Sabines, the Romans of their own accord solicited, on account of his celebrated piety, to become their king. It was he who taught them sacred rites and ceremonies, and the whole worship of the immortal gods, and who instituted the pontiffs, augurs, Salii, and other sarcedotal offices among the Roman people. He also divided the year into twelve months, and the days into those for legal business and for vacation. He appointed the sacred shields and the image of Pallas, as certain secret pledges of empire; and ordered the temple of double-faced Janus to be the symbol of peace and war. He assigned the fire of Vesta to the care of virgins, that its flame might constantly burn, in imitation of the stars of heaven, as a guardian of the empire. All these arrangements he pretended to make by the advice of the goddess Egeria, that his barbarous subjects might more willingly submit to them. In process of time, he brought that uncivilised people to such a condition, that they managed, with piety and justice, a government which they had acquired by violence and oppression.

CHAP. III. OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

To Numa Pompilius succeeded Tullus Hostilius, to whom the kingdom was voluntarily given in honour of his ability. It was he that established military discipline, and the whole art of war. Having, therefore, trained the youth in an extraordinary manner, he ventured to defy the Albans, a powerful, and, for a long time, a leading people. But as both sides, being equal in strength, were weakened by frequent engagements, the fortunes of the two people, to bring the war to a speedier decision, were committed to the Horatii and Curiatii, three twin-brothers, chosen on each side. It was a doubtful and noble conflict, and had a wonderful termination. For after three were wounded on one side, and two killed on the other, the Horatius who survived, adding subtlety to valour, counterfeited flight in order to separate his enemies, and then, attacking them one by one, as they were able to pursue him, overcame them all. Thus (an honour rarely attained by any other) a victory was secured by the hand of

one man. But this victory he soon after sullied by a murder. He had observed his sister in tears at the sight of the spoils that he wore, which had belonged to one of the enemy betrothed to her, and chastised the love of the maiden, so unseasonably manifested, with his sword. The laws called for the punishment of the crime; but esteem for his valour saved the murderer, and his guilt was shielded by his glory.

The Alban people did not long keep their faith; for being called out, according to the treaty, to assist the Romans in the war against Fidenæ, they stood neutral betwixt the two parties, waiting for a turn of fortune. But the crafty king of the Romans, seeing his allies ready to side with the enemy, roused the courage of his army, pretending that he had ordered them so to act; hence hope arose in the breasts of our men, and fear in those of the enemy. The deceit of the traitors was accordingly without effect; and, after the enemy was conquered, Tullus caused Metius Fufetius, as a breaker of the league, to be tied between two chariots, and torn in pieces by swift horses. Alba itself, which, though the parent of Rome, was nevertheless its rival, he demolished, but previously removed all the wealth of the place, and the inhabitants themselves, to Rome, that thus a kindred city might seem not to have been destroyed, but to have been re-united to its own body.

CHAP. IV. OF ANCUS MARCIUS.

Next reigned Ancus Marcius, a grandson of Numa Pompilius, and of a similar disposition. He encompassed the city[1] with a wall, made a bridge over the Tiber, that flows through the town, and settled the colony of Ostia at the junction of the river with the sea; even then, apparently, feeling a presentiment, that the riches and supplies of the whole world would be brought to that maritime store-house of the city.

CHAP. V. OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

Afterwards, Tarquinius Priscus, though sprung from a

[1] Ch. IV. The city] *Mœnia muro amplexus est.* "That *mœnia* is often used for the *buildings in cities*, is shown by Salmas. ad Lamprid. Commod., c. 17; Schulting ad Senec. Controv., vi.; and Gronov. Obs., ii., 12." *Duker.*

country beyond the sea, making application for the throne, obtained it through his industry and accomplishments; for, having been born at Corinth, he had joined to his Grecian wit the arts of Italy. This king increased the authority of the senate by adding to its number, and augmented the tribes with additional centuries; for Attius Nævius, a man eminent in augury, forbade their number to be increased. The king, for a trial of Nævius's skill, asked him *if that which he had conceived in his mind could be done?* The other, having tried the question by augury, answered *that it could. I was thinking then*, replied the king, *whether I could cut this whetstone with my razor. You can then*, rejoined the augur; and the king cut it. Hence augury came to be a sacred institution among the Romans.

Nor was the ability of Tarquinius greater in peace than in war; for he reduced, by frequent attacks, the twelve tribes of Etruria, from whom were adopted the fasces, robes of state, curule-chairs, rings, horse-trappings, military cloaks, and the gown called *prætexta*. Hence also came the custom of riding in triumph, in a gilded chariot, with four horses; as well as embroidered togæ, and striped tunics; and, in fine, all ornaments and marks of distinction by which regal dignity is rendered imposing.

CHAP. VI. OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Servius Tullius was the next that assumed the government; nor was the meanness of his extraction any hindrance to his exaltation, though he was the son of a female slave. For Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, had improved his talents, which were extraordinary, by a liberal education; and a flame, that had been seen surrounding his head, had portended that he would be famous. Being, therefore, on the death of Tarquinius, put in the king's place, by the aid of the queen, (as if merely for a time,) he exercised the government, thus fraudulently obtained, with such effect, that he seemed to have obtained it by right. By this king the Roman people were submitted to a census, disposed into classes, and divided into *curiæ* and companies; and, through his eminent ability, the whole commonwealth was so regulated, that all distinctions of estate, dignity, age, employments, and

offices, were committed to registers, and a great city was governed with all the exactness of the smallest family.

CHAP. VII. OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

The last of all the kings was Tarquinius, to whom the name of Superbus, or the Proud, was given, on account of his deportment. He chose rather to seize by violence, than patiently to wait for, the kingdom of his grandfather, which was held from him by Servius, and, having set some assassins to murder him, managed the power, obtained by crime, not more justly than he gained it. Nor did his wife Tullia differ from him in disposition; for, to salute her husband king, as she was riding in her chariot, she drove her startled horses over the blood-stained corpse of her father. He himself offended the senate by putting some of them to death, disgusted the whole nation by his pride, (which, to men of right feelings, is more intolerable than cruelty,) and, after glutting his inhumanity at home, turned at length against his enemies. Thus the strong towns in Latium were taken, Ardea, Ocriculum, Gabii, Suessa, Pometia.

He was also cruel to his own family; for he scrupled not to scourge his son, in order that he might gain credit with the enemy when feigning himself a deserter. This son, being received, as he had wished, at Gabii, and consulting his father *what he desired to have done*, the father answered (what pride!) by striking off[1], with his staff, the heads of some poppies that chanced to grow higher than the rest, wishing it thence to be understood that the chief men at Gabii were to be put to death.

From the spoils of the captured cities, however, he built a temple, at the consecration of which, though the other gods gave up their ground, Juventus and Terminus, strange to say, stood firm: Yet the obstinacy of these deities pleased the augurs, as it promised that all would be firm and endur-

[1] The father answered (what pride!) by striking off, *&c.*] *Excutiens—(quæ superbia!) sic respondit.* "Florus, in ascribing this to pride, speaks rather with reference to Tarquinius' general character for pride, than according to what was really the case on this occasion; for it was rather to be attributed to prudence, in order to prevent his designs from being betrayed." *Grævius.* There is a similar misrepresentation a little above, where the scourging of Sextus Tarquinius, which was merely a stratagem, is attributed to his father's cruelty.

ing. But what was extremely surprising, was, that at the foundation of the edifice a human head was found by the builders; and all were persuaded that this was a most favourable omen, portending that the seat of empire, and supreme head of the world, would be in that place.

The Roman people tolerated the pride of this king, as long as lust was not united with it; but this additional oppression they were not able to endure on the part of his sons, one of whom having offered violence to Lucretia, a most excellent matron, she put an end to her dishonour by killing herself. All power was then taken out of the hands of kings.

CHAP. VIII. A RECAPITULATION OF THE ACTS OF THE SEVEN KINGS.

This is the first age, and, as it were, infancy, of the Roman people, which it had under seven kings, who, by a certain contrivance of the fates, were as various in their dispositions as the nature and advantage of the commonwealth required. Who was more daring than Romulus? Such a man was necessary to hold the government. Who was more religious than Numa? Circumstances required that he should be so, in order that a barbarous people might be softened by fear of the gods. What sort of man was Tullus, that author of military discipline? How necessary to warlike spirits, that he might improve their valour by discipline! What kind of king was the architect Ancus? How fitted to extend the city by means of a colony, to unite it by a bridge, and secure it by a wall! The decorations and insignia of Tarquinius, too, how much dignity did they add to this great people from the very dress! What did the census instituted by Servius effect, but that the state should know its own strength? Lastly, the tyrannic government of the proud Tarquin produced some good, and indeed a great deal; for it came to pass, by means of it, that the people, exasperated by wrongs, were inflamed with a desire of liberty.

CHAP. IX. OF THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT.

Under the conduct and guidance of Brutus and Collatinus, therefore, to whom the dying matron had recommended

the avenging of her cause, the Roman people, incited apparently by some impulse from the gods, to vindicate the honour of insulted liberty and chastity, suddenly deserted the king, made spoil of his property, consecrated his land to their god Mars, and transferred the government to the hands of those asserters of their liberty[1], with a change only of its power and name; for they resolved that it should be held, not for life, but only for a year, and that there should be two rulers instead of one, lest the authority, by being vested in a single person, or by being retained too long, might be abused; and, instead of kings, they called them *consuls*, that they might remember they were *to consult* the welfare of their citizens. So great exultation, on account of their newly-recovered liberty, took possession of them, that they scarcely believed they could carry their change of condition far enough, and deprived one of the consuls of his office, and expelled him from the city, for no other reason than that his name and family were the same as those of the kings. Valerius Publicola, accordingly, being elected in his place, used his utmost endeavours to advance the dignity of the liberated people; for he lowered the fasces before them at a public assembly, and gave them the right of hearing appeals against the consuls themselves. He also removed his house, which stood upon an eminence, into the level parts of the town, that he might not offend the people by appearing to occupy a fortress. Brutus, meanwhile, endeavoured to gain the favour of the citizens by the destruction and slaughter of his own family; for finding that his sons were endeavouring to bring back the royal family into the city, he brought them into the forum, and caused them, in the midst of an assembly of the people, to be scourged with rods, and then beheaded; in order that he might seem, as a parent of the public, to have adopted the people in the room of his own children.

The Roman people, being now free, took up arms against other nations, first, to secure their liberty, next, for the acquisition of territory, afterwards in support of their allies, and, finally, for glory and empire. Their neighbours, on every side, were continually harassing them, as they had no land of their own (the very pomœrium belonging to the

[1] Asserters of their liberty] Brutus and Collatinus.

enemy[1]), and as they were situated, as it were, at the junction of the roads to Latium and Etruria, and, at whatever gate they went out, were sure to meet a foe. At length, as if in a certain destined course[2], they proceeded against their opponents one after another, and, subduing always the nearest, reduced all Italy under their sway.

CHAP. X. THE WAR WITH PORSENA.

After the royal family was expelled, the first war that the people made was in defence of their liberty; for Porsena, king of Etruria, came against them with a large army, designing to restore the Tarquins by force. Yet, though he pressed them hard both with arms and with famine, and seizing the Janiculum, occupied the very entrance to the city, they withstood and repelled him, and struck him, at last, with such amazement, that, though he had the advantage[3], he of his own accord concluded a treaty of friendship with those whom he had almost conquered. Then appeared those Roman prodigies and wonders, Horatius, Mucius, and Cloelia, who, if they were not recorded in our annals, would now appear fabulous characters. For Horatius, being unable alone to repel the enemies that pressed him on all sides, swam across the Tiber after the bridge was broken down, without letting go his arms. Mutius Scævola, by a stratagem, made an attempt on the king in the midst of his camp, but having stabbed one of his courtiers by mistake, and being seized, he thrust his hand into a fire that was burning there, and increased the king's terror by a piece of craft, saying, "that you may know what a man you have escaped, three hundred of us have sworn to the same undertaking;" while, strange to relate, Mucius himself stood unmoved, and the king shuddered, as if his own hand had been burning. Thus the men displayed their valour; but that the

[1] Ch. IX. The very pomœrium belonging to the enemy] *Statim hostile pomœrium. Pomœrium* here means the ground immediately outside the wall.

[2] Certain destined course] *Contagione quadam.* Thus Cicero uses *contagio* for the natural connexion of causes and effects, *naturæ contagio, ipsa rerum contagio*, De Fato, c. 3, 4.

[3] Ch. X. Though he had the advantage] *Superior.* This does not agree well with *repulit*, "repulsed him," just above.

other sex might not want its praise, there was a like spirit among the young women; for Clœlia, one of the hostages given to the king, having escaped from her keepers, crossed the river of her country on horseback. The king, in consequence, being struck with so many and so great prodigies of valour, bid them farewell, and left them free.

The Tarquins continued the war, till Brutus, with his own hand, killed Aruns, the king's son, and fell dead upon his body of a wound received from his adversary, as if he would pursue the adulterer even to Tartarus.

CHAP. XI. OF THE WAR WITH THE LATINS.

The Latins also took part with the Tarquins, out of rivalry and envy towards the Romans, desiring that a people, who ruled abroad, might at least be slaves at home. All Latium, accordingly, under the leadership of Mamilius of Tusculum, roused their spirits as if to avenge the king's cause. They came to a battle near lake Regillus, where success was for a long time doubtful, till Posthumius, the dictator, threw a standard among the enemy, (a new and remarkable stratagem,) that it might be recovered by rushing into the midst of them. Cossus[1], the master of the horse, too, ordered the cavalry to take off their bridles, (this was also a new contrivance,) that they might attack with greater force. Such at last was the desperateness of the engagement, that fame reported two of the gods, on white horses, to have been present to view it, and it was universally believed that they were Castor and Pollux. The Roman general accordingly worshipped them, and, on condition of gaining the victory, promised them temples; a promise which he afterwards performed, as payment to the gods who assisted him.

Thus far they contended for liberty. Afterwards they fought with the same Latins, perseveringly and without intermission, about the boundaries of their territory. Sora (who would believe it?) and Algidum were a terror to them. Satricum and Corniculum were provinces. Of Verulæ and Bovillæ I am ashamed to speak; but we triumphed. Tibur,

[1] Ch. XI. Cossus] "Florus has erroneously said Cossus instead of Titus Æbutius Elva. Cossus was master of the horse under the Dictator Æmilius Mamercinus, A.U.C. 327." *Stadius.* "That Florus has made a mistake is admitted by all except Robortellus, who would expunge the word 'Cossus.'" *Freinshemius.*

now a portion of the suburbs, and Prænestе, a pleasant summer residence, were not attacked till vows for success had been offered in the Capitol. Fæsulæ was as much to us as Carræ[1] was of late; the grove of Aricia was as considerable as the Hercynian forest, Fregellæ as Gesoriacum[2], the Tiber[3] as the Euphrates. That Corioli was taken, was thought (disgraceful to relate) such a cause for triumph, that Caius Marcius Coriolanus added a name from the captured town to his own, as if he had subdued Numantia or Africa. There are extant also spoils taken from Antium, which Mænius put up on the rostra in the forum, after capturing the enemy's fleet, if a fleet, indeed, it could be called; for there were only six beaked vessels. But this number, in those early times, was sufficient for a naval war.

The most obstinate of the Latins, however, were the Æqui and Volsci, who were, as I may say, daily enemies. But these were chiefly subdued by Lucius Quintius, the dictator taken from the plough, who, by his eminent bravery, saved the camp of the consul, Lucius Minucius, when it was besieged and almost taken. It happened to be about the middle of seed-time, when the lictor found the patrician leaning on his plough in the midst of his labour. Marching from thence into the field, he made the conquered enemies, that he might not cease from the imitation of country work, pass like cattle under the yoke. His expedition being thus concluded, the triumphant husbandman returned to his oxen, and, O faith of the gods, with what speed! for the war was begun and ended within fifteen days; so that the dictator seemed to have hastened back to resume the work which he had quitted.

CHAP. XII. THE WARS WITH THE ETRURIANS, FALISCI, AND FIDENATES.

The Vejentes, on the side of Etruria, were continual enemies of the Romans, attacking them every year; so that

[1] Carræ] A city of Osroene in Mesopotamia, where Crassus was killed. See iii., 11.

[2] Gesoriacum] A harbour of the Morini in Gaul, afterwards called Bononia.

[3] The Tiber] *Tiberis.* This can hardly be right, though it has been generally adopted for the old reading *Tigris.* Florus would scarcely have instanced the river that actually ran through the city. Davies, in his translation, has *Liris.*

the single family of the Fabii offered extraordinary assistance, and carried on a private war against them. But the slaughter that befel them was sufficiently memorable. Three hundred (an army of patricians) were slain at Cremera, and the gate that let them pass, when they were proceeding to battle, was stigmatised with the name of *wicked*. But that slaughter was expiated by great victories, the enemies' strongest towns being reduced by one general after another, though in various methods. The Falisci surrendered of their own accord; the Fidenates were burned with their own fire; the Vejentes were plundered and utterly destroyed.

During the siege of the Falisci, an instance of honour on the part of the Roman general was regarded as wonderful, and not without justice; for he sent back to them, with his hands bound behind him, a schoolmaster who intended to betray their city, with some boys whom he had brought with him. Being an upright and wise man, he knew that that only was a true victory which was gained with inviolate faith and untainted honour. The people of Fidenæ, not being a match for the Romans with the sword, armed themselves with torches and party-coloured fillets resembling serpents, in order to excite terror in the enemy, and marched out against them like madmen; but their dismal dress was only an omen of their destruction. How great the strength of the Vejentes was, a ten-years' siege proves. It was then that the Roman soldiers first wintered under skins, while the extraordinary winter labour was recompensed with pay, and the soldiers were voluntarily bound by an oath not to return till the city was taken. The spoils of Lars Tolumnius, the king of the Vejentes, were offered to Jupiter Feretrius. The destruction of the city was at last effected, not by scaling-ladders, nor by a breach in the walls, but by a mine, and stratagems under ground. The spoil was thought so great, that the tenth was sent to the Pythian Apollo, and the whole Roman people were called out to share in the pillage. Such was Veii at that time; who now remembers that it existed? what relic or vestige is left of it? Even the trustworthiness of our annals can hardly make us believe that Veii ever had a being.

CHAP. XIII. OF THE WAR WITH THE GAULS.

At this point, whether through the envy of the gods, or the appointment of fate, the rapid progress of the advancing empire was stopped, for a short time, by an invasion of the Galli Senones. Whether this period were more hurtful to the Romans by the disasters which it caused them, or more glorious by the proofs which it gave of their valour, I am unable to tell. Such, however, was the violence of the calamity, that I must suppose it inflicted upon them, by divine Providence, for a trial of their spirit, the immortal gods desiring to know whether the conduct of the Romans would merit the empire of the world. The Galli Senones were a nation naturally fierce, and rude in manners; and, from the vastness of their bodies, and the corresponding weight of their arms, so formidable in all respects, that they seemed evidently born for the destruction of men and the depopulation of cities. Coming originally from the remotest parts of the earth, and the ocean that surrounds all, and having wasted everything in their way, they settled between the Alps and the Po; but not content with this position, they wandered up and down Italy, and were now besieging the town of Clusium. The Romans interposed on behalf of their allies and confederates, by sending, according to their custom, ambassadors. But what regard to justice was to be expected from barbarians? They only grew more daring; and hence arose a conflict. After they had broken up from Clusium, and were marching towards Rome, Fabius, the consul, met them at the river Allia with an army. Scarcely ever was there a more disgraceful defeat; and Rome has therefore set a damnatory mark on this day in its calendar. The Roman army being routed, the Gauls approached the city. Garrison there was none; but then, or never, true Roman courage showed itself. In the first place the elder men, who had borne the highest offices, met together in the forum, where, the high-priest performing the ceremony of devotion, they consecrated themselves to the infernal gods; and immediately afterwards returning, each to his own house, they seated themselves, dressed as they were in their long robes and richest ornaments, on their curule chairs, that, when the enemy came, they might die with proper dignity.

The high-priests and flamens[1], taking whatever was most sacred in the temples, hid part of it in casks buried in the earth, and carried part away with them in waggons. The virgins of the priesthood of Vesta, at the same time, followed, with their feet bare, their sacred things as they were conveyed from the city. But Lucius Albinus, one of the common people, is said to have assisted them in their flight; for, setting down his wife and children, he took up the virgins into his vehicle; so much, even in their utmost extremity, did regard for the public religion prevail over private affections.

A band of the youth (which, it is certain, scarcely amounted to a thousand) took their position, under the command of Manlius, in the citadel on the Capitoline mount, intreating Jupiter himself, as if present in the place, that "as they had united to defend his temple, he would support their efforts with his power." The Gauls, meantime, came up, and finding the city open, were at first apprehensive that some stratagem was intended, but soon after, perceiving nobody in it, they rushed in with shouting and impetuosity. They entered the houses, which in all parts stood open, where they worshipped the aged senators, sitting in their robes on their curule chairs, as if they had been gods and genii; but afterwards, when it appeared that they were men (otherwise deigning to answer nothing[2]), they massacred them with cruelty equal to their former veneration. They then threw burning brands on the houses, and with fire, sword, and the labour of their hands, levelled the city with the ground. But round the single Capitoline mount, the barbarians (who would believe it?) were detained six months, though making every effort, not only by day but by night, to reduce it. At length, as some of them were making an ascent in the night-time, Manlius, being awakened by the gabbling of a goose, hurled them down from the top of the rock; and, to deprive

[1] *Flamens*] *Flamines*. A *Flamen* was a priest appointed to any particular deity; as the *flamen* of Jupiter, the *flamen* of Mars, *&c.* It is a word of uncertain derivation, but probably for *plamen* or *pileamen*, from the *pileus*, or cap, which they wore. See Dion. Halicarn., ii., 64.

[2] Ch. XIII. Otherwise deigning to answer nothing] *Alioqui nihil respondere dignantes.* The exact signification of the word *alioqui*, is, as Duker observes, "sufficiently obscure." N. Heinsius, by a happy conjecture, alters it into *alloqui* which (with the preceding *ubi* changed into *ibi*) makes excellent sense.

the enemy of all hope of success, and make a show of confidence on his own part, he threw out some loaves of bread, though he was in great want, from the citadel. On a certain fixed day, too, he sent out Fabius, the high-priest, from the citadel, through the midst of the enemy's guards, to perform a solemn sacrifice on the Quirinal hill. Fabius, under the protection of religion, returned safe through the weapons of the enemy, and reported that "the gods were propitious." At last, when the length of their siege had tired the barbarians, and when they were offering to depart for a thousand pounds of gold, (making that offer, however, in an insolent manner, throwing a sword into the scale with unfair weights, and proudly crying out, "Woe to the conquered!") Camillus, suddenly attacking them in the rear, made such a slaughter of them as to wash out all traces of the fire with an inundation of Gallic blood. But with pleasure may we give thanks to the immortal gods on the very account of this great destruction; for that fire buried the cottages of the shepherds, and that flame hid the poverty of Romulus. What, indeed, was the effect of that conflagration, but that a city, destined for the seat of men and gods, should not seem to have been destroyed or overthrown, but rather cleansed and purified? After being defended, therefore, by Manlius, and restored by Camillus, it rose up again, with still more vigour and spirit, against the neighbouring people. But first of all, not content with having expelled the Gauls from their city, they so closely pursued them under the conduct of Camillus, as they were dragging their broken remains up and down through Italy, that at this day not a trace of the Senones is left in the country. On one occasion, there was a slaughter of them at the river Anio, when Manlius, in a single combat, took from a barbarian, among other spoils, a golden chain; and hence was the name of the Torquati[1]. On another occasion they were defeated in the Pomptine territory, when Lucius Valerius, in a similar combat, being assisted by a sacred bird sitting upon his helmet, carried off the spoils of his enemy; and hence came the name of the Corvini. At last Dolabella, some years afterwards, cut off all that remained of them at the lake

[1] Torquati] From *torques*, a chain or collar for the neck. *Corvini* from *corvus*, a raven.

Vadimo in Etruria, that none of that nation might survive to boast that Rome had been burned by them.

CHAP. XIV. THE LATIN WAR.

In the consulship of Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, the Romans turned from the Gauls upon the Latins, a people always ready to attack them from rivalry for empire, and now from contempt for the burnt state of the city. They demanded that the right of citizenship should be granted them, and a participation in the government and public offices; and presumed that they could now do something more than struggle for these privileges. But who will wonder that the enemy should then have yielded, when one of the consuls put his own son to death, for fighting, though successfully, contrary to orders, as if there were more merit in observing command than in gaining a victory; and the other, as if by the admonition of the gods, devoted himself, with his face covered, and in front of the army, to the infernal deities, so that, casting himself into the thickest of the enemy's weapons, he opened a new way to victory by the track of his own blood.

CHAP. XV. THE SABINE WAR.

After the Latins, they attacked the nation of the Sabines, who, unmindful of the alliance contracted under Titus Tatius, had united themselves, by some contagion of war, to the Latins. But the Romans, under Curius Dentatus, their consul, laid waste, with fire and sword, all that tract which the Nar and the springs of Velinus inclose, as far as the Adriatic sea. By which success such a number of people, and such an extent of territory, was brought under their jurisdiction, that even he who had made the conquest could not tell which was of the greater importance.

CHAP. XVI. THE SAMNITE WAR.

Being then moved by the intreaties of Campania, they attacked the Samnites, not on their own account, but, what is more honourable, on that of their allies. A league had indeed been made with both those nations, but the Campanians had made theirs more binding and worthy of regard, by a sur-

render of all that they had. The Romans accordingly took up the war against the Samnites as if on their own behalf.

The region of Campania is the finest of all countries, not only in Italy, but in the whole world. Nothing can be softer than its air; indeed it produces flowers twice a year. Nothing can be more fertile than its soil; and it is therefore said to have been an object of contention between Bacchus and Ceres. Nothing can be more hospitable than its shores; for on them are those noble harbours, Caieta, Misenus, and Baiæ with its warm springs, as well as the lakes Lucrinus and Avernus, places of retirement as it were for the sea[1]. Here, too, are those vine-clad mountains, Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus, and Vesuvius the finest of all, the imitator of the fires of Ætna. On the sea are the cities Formiæ, Cumæ, Puteoli, Naples, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and, the chief of all, Capua, which was formerly one of the three greatest cities in the world, Rome and Carthage being the others.

In defence of this city, and this country, the Roman people attacked the Samnites, a nation, if you would know its wealth, equipped with gold and silver armour, and with clothes of various colours even to ostentation[2]; if you would understand its subtlety, accustomed to assail its enemies by the aid of its forests and concealment among the mountains; if you would learn its rage and fury, exasperated to destroy the city of Rome by sacred laws and human sacrifices; if you would look to its obstinacy, rendered desperate by six violations of the treaty, and by its very defeats. Yet in fifty years, by means of the Fabii and Papirii, fathers and sons, the Romans so subdued and reduced this people, so demolished the very ruins of their cities, that Samnium may now be sought in Samnium; nor does it easily appear whence there was matter for four-and-twenty triumphs over them. But the greatest defeat that the Romans received from this nation was at the Caudine Forks, in the consulship of Veturius and Posthumius. For the Roman army being inclosed,

[1] Ch. XVI. Places of retirement—for the sea] *Quædam maris otia.* "He elegantly applies this term to these estuaries, into which the sea pours itself, and there, as it were, rests and takes its ease." *Salmasius.* Lucretius uses the word *otia* for resting-places, v., 1386.

[2] To ostentation] *Ad ambitum.* "Ryckius rightly interprets *ambitus* 'ostentation.'" *Duker.*

by means of an ambush, within that defile, whence it was unable to extricate itself, Pontius, the general of the enemy, struck with such extraordinary good fortune, consulted his father Heremius how he should act, who, as a man of greater age and experience, judiciously advised him "either to release them all, or to put them all to the sword." But Pontius preferred making them pass, despoiled of their arms, beneath the yoke; so that they were not made friends by his mercy, but rendered greater enemies after such dishonour. The consuls, therefore, without delay, and in a noble spirit, removed, by a voluntary surrender of themselves, the disgrace of the treaty; and the soldiers, clamorous for revenge, and led on by Papirius, rushed furiously along the line of march, with their swords drawn (fearful to relate!) before they came to battle; and the enemy affirm that in the encounter the eyes of the Romans were like burning fire. Nor was there an end put to the slaughter, until they retaliated with the yoke upon their enemies and their general who was taken prisoner.

CHAP. XVII. THE WAR WITH THE ETRURIANS AND SAMNITES COMBINED.

As yet the Roman people had warred only with single nations, but soon after it had to struggle with a combination of them; yet in such circumstances it was a match for them all. The twelve tribes of the Etrurians, the Umbri, the most ancient people of Italy, hitherto unassailed in war, and those that remained of the Samnites, suddenly conspired for the utter destruction of the Roman name. The terror excited by nations so numerous and so powerful was very great. The standards of four armies, ready for engagement, flew far and wide throughout Etruria. The Ciminian forest, too, which lay between Rome and Etruria, and which had hitherto been as little explored as the Caledonian or Hercynian forests, was so great an object of dread, that the senate charged the consul not to venture on such a peril. But no danger deterred the general from sending his brother before to learn the possibilities of forcing a passage. He, putting on a shepherd's dress, and examining all around in the night, reported that the way was safe. Fabius Maximus, in consequence, terminated a most hazardous war without hazard;

for he suddenly assailed the enemy as they were in disorder and straggling about, and, possessing himself of the higher grounds, thundered down on those below at his pleasure, the aspect of the war being as if weapons were hurled on children of earth from the sky and the clouds. Yet final cess was not secured without bloodshed; for one of consuls, being surprised in the hollow of a valley, sacri his life, devoted, after the example of his father, to the fernal gods; and made this act of devotion, natural to family, the price of victory.

CHAP. XVIII. THE WAR WITH THE TARENTINES AND PYRRHUS.

Next follows the Tarentine War, one, indeed, in title and name, but manifold in victories; for it involved in one ruin, as it were, the Campanians, Apulians, and Lucanians, as well as the Tarentines, who were the authors of it, that is to say, the whole of Italy, and, together with all these, Pyrrhus, the most famous king of Greece; so that the Roman people, at one and the same time, completed the reduction of Italy and commenced their transmarine triumphs.

Tarentum was built by the Lacedæmonians, and was formerly the metropolis of Calabria, Apulia, and all Lucania; it was famous for its size, and walls, and harbour, and admired for its situation; for, being placed at the very entrance to the Adriatic, it sends its vessels to all the adjacent countries, as Istria, Illyricum, Epirus, Greece, Africa, and Sicily. A large theatre[1] lies close upon the harbour, built so as to overlook the sea; which theatre was the cause of all the calamities that befel the unhappy city. They happened to be celebrating games, when they saw from thence the Roman fleet rowing up to the shore, and, supposing that they were enemies approaching, ran out and attacked them without further consideration[2]; for "who or whence were the Romans?" Nor

[1] Ch. XVIII. A large theatre] *Majus theatrum.* The word *majus* puzzles the commentators. Salmasius conjectures that there may have been two theatres, a greater and a less. Some copies have *urbis theatrum*, and Freinshemius conjectures *amphitheatrum.*

[2] Without further consideration] *Sine discrimine.* Without waiting to discriminate whether they were enemies or not.

was this enough; an embassy came from Rome without delay, to make a complaint; and this embassy they vilely insulted, with an affront that was gross[1] and disgraceful to be mentioned. Hence arose the war. The preparations for it were formidable, so many nations, at the same time, rising in behalf of the Tarentines, and Pyrrhus more formidable than them all, who, to defend a city, which, from its founders being Lacedæmonians, was half Greek, came with all the strength of Epirus, Thessalia, and Macedonia, and with elephants, till then unknown in Italy; menacing the country by sea and land, with men, horses, and arms, and the additional terror of wild beasts.

The first battle was fought by the consul Levinus, at Heraclea, on the Liris, a river of Campania; a battle so desperate, that Obsidius, commander of a Frentane troop of horse, riding at the king, put him into disorder, and obliged him to throw away his royal *insignia* and quit the field. He would doubtless have been defeated, had not the elephants, turning round, rushed forward to attract the attention of the combatants[2]; when the horses, startled at their bulk and ugliness, as well as at their strange smell and noise, and imagining the beasts, which they had never seen before, to be something more terrible than they were, spread consternation and havoc far and wide.

A second engagement took place at Asculum in Apulia, under the consuls Curius and Fabricius, with somewhat better success; for the terror of the beasts had in some degree passed off, and Caius Minucius, a spearman of the fourth legion, having cut off the trunk of one of them, showed that the monsters were mortal. Lances were accordingly heaped upon them, and firebrands, hurled against their towers, covered the troops of the enemy with flaming ruins. Nor was there any stop to the slaughter till night separated the combatants; and the king himself, the last of those that retreated, was carried off by his guards, with a wound in the shoulder, on his own shield.

[1] An affront that was gross, *&c.*] Valerius Maximus, ii., 2, says that Posthumius, one of the ambassadors, *urinâ respersum fuisse;* Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat., c. 4, intimates something worse.

[2] To attract, *&c.*] *In spectaculum belli.* A phrase of doubtful meaning. See Duker, who refers to Sallust, Jug., c. 101, *Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus*, and to Florus above, c. 11, *interfuisse spectaculo* (*sc.* prælii) *deos.*

The last battle was fought by the same leaders, near what are called the Arusine plains in Lucania; but success was then wholly on the side of the Romans. Chance brought that termination to the struggle which valour would have given; for the elephants being again brought into the front line, the heavy stroke of a weapon descending on the head of a young one, made it turn about; and then, as it was trampling down numbers of its own party, and whining with a loud noise, its dam recognised it, and broke out of her place as though to revenge the injury done to it, disordering all around her, as if they had been troops of the enemy, with her unwieldly bulk. Thus the same beasts, which had gained the first victory, and balanced the second, gave the third to the Romans without dispute.

Nor did they engage with Pyrrhus only with arms and in the field, but contended with him also in counsel, and at home within the city. For the subtle king, after his first victory, being convinced of the valour of the Romans, despaired of gaining success by arms, and had recourse to stratagem. He burnt the bodies of the Romans that were slain, treated the prisoners kindly, and restored them without ransom; and having afterwards sent ambassadors to the city, he sought, by every means in his power, to be received into friendship and to make a league with them. But at that period the conduct of the Romans approved itself in every way, in war and in peace, abroad and at home; nor did any other conquest, more than that over the Tarentines, show the fortitude of the Roman people, the wisdom of their senate, and the gallantry of their generals. What sort of men were those whom we find trampled down by the elephants in the first battle? The wounds of all were in their breasts; some had fallen dead upon their enemies; all had swords in their hands, and threatening left in their looks; and their anger lived even in death itself. Pyrrhus was so struck with admiration at the sight, that he exclaimed, "Oh, how easy were it for me to gain the empire of the world, if I had Romans for my soldiers; or for the Romans, if they had me for their king!" And what must have been the expedition of those who survived, in recruiting the army? For Pyrrhus said, "I see plainly that I was born under the constellation of Hercules, since so many heads of enemies, that were cut off, arise again upon me out of their own blood, as if

they sprung from the Lernæan serpent." And what kind of senate was there? when, on the address of Appius Cæcus, the ambassadors were sent away from the city with their presents, and assured their king, who asked them what they thought of the enemy's abode, that "the city appeared to them a temple, and the senate an assembly of kings." And what sort of generals were there? either in the camp, when Curius sent back the physician that offered the head of king Pyrrhus for sale, and Fabricius refused a share of the kingdom offered him by Pyrrhus; or in peace, when Curius preferred his earthen vessels to the gold of the Samnites, and Fabricius, with the gravity becoming a censor, condemned ten pounds of silver, in the possession of Rufinus, though a man of consular dignity, as a luxury.

Who then can wonder that the Romans, with such manners, and with a brave soldiery, were victorious? And that in this one war with the Tarentines, they brought under their power, within the space of four years, the greatest part of Italy, the stoutest nations, the most wealthy cities, and the most fruitful regions? Or what can more exceed credibility than a comparison of the beginning of the war with the end of it? Pyrrhus, victorious in the first battle, laid waste Campania, Liris[1], and Fregellæ, whilst all Italy was in alarm, and took a view of Rome, which was well-nigh captured, from the heights of Prænestę, filling the eyes of the trembling city, at the distance of twenty miles, with smoke and dust. The same prince being afterwards twice forced from his camp, twice wounded, and driven over sea and land into Greece, his own country, peace and quiet ensued; and so vast was the spoil from so many wealthy nations, that Rome could not contain her own victory. Hardly ever did a finer or more glorious triumph enter the city; when before this time you could have seen nothing but the cattle of the Volscians, the flocks of the Sabines, the chariots of the Gauls, or the broken arms of the Samnites; but now, if you looked on the captives, they were Molossians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Bruttians, Apulians, and Lucanians; if upon the pomp of the procession, there was gold, purple, statues, pictures, and all the ornaments of Tarentum. The people of Rome, however, be-

[1] Liris] This word is elsewhere found only as the name of a river. Freinshemius takes it here for that of a town. Minellius suggests that Florus may mean the banks of the Liris.

held nothing with greater pleasure than those beasts which they had dreaded, with their towers on their backs; which, not without a sense of their captivity, followed the victorious horses with their heads bowed to the earth.

CHAP. XIX. THE PICENIAN WAR.

Soon after all Italy enjoyed peace, (for who would venture on war after the subjugation of Tarentum?) except that the Romans thought proper, of their own accord, to pursue those who had joined the enemy. The people of Picenum were in consequence subdued, with Asculum, their metropolis, under the conduct of Sempronius; who, as there was a tremor of the earth during the battle, appeased the goddess Earth by vowing a temple to her.

CHAP. XX. THE SALLENTINE WAR.

The Sallentines shared the fate of the people of Picenum; and Brundusium, the chief city of the country, with its famous harbour, was taken by Marcus Atilius. In this contest Pales, the goddess of shepherds, demanded, of her own accord, a temple as the price of the victory.

CHAP. XXI. THE WAR WITH THE VOLSINI.

The last of the Italians that fell under the government of the Romans were the Volsini, the richest of all the Etrurians, who sought aid against rebels that had formerly been their slaves, and that had turned their liberty, granted them by their masters, against their masters themselves, taking the government into their own hands, and making themselves tyrants. But these were chastised for their presumption under the leadership of Fabius Gurges.

CHAP. XXII. OF SEDITIONS.

This is the second age of the Roman people, and, as it were, its youth; in which it was extremely vigorous, and grew warm and fervid in the flower of its strength. Thus a certain rudeness, derived from the shepherds, their ancestors, which still remained in them, betrayed something of an untamed spirit. Hence it happened that the army, having mutinied in the camp, stoned their general, Posthumius, for withholding the spoil which he had promised them; that

under Appius Claudius they refused to conquer the enemy when they had the power; that on occasion of the soldiers, with Volero at their head, declining to serve, the fasces of the consul were broken; and that the people punished their most eminent leaders with exile, when they opposed their will: as Coriolanus, for desiring them to till their grounds, (nor would he have less severely revenged his wrongs in war, had not his mother Veturia, when he was leading on his forces, disarmed him with her tears,) and Camillus, because he seemed to have divided the plunder of Veii unfairly between the common people and the army. But the latter, with better fortune[1] than Coriolanus, grew old in the city which he had taken, and afterwards avenged his countrymen, at their entreaty, on their enemies the Gauls.

Disputes were also carried on, more violently than was just and reasonable, with the senate; insomuch that the people, leaving their dwellings, threatened devastation and ruin to their country.

CHAP. XXIII. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

The first disagreement was occasioned by the tyranny of the money-lenders, who vented their resentment even on the backs of their debtors, scourging them as if they were slaves; and the commons, in consequence, withdrew under arms to the Sacred Mount, from which they were with difficulty recalled by the authority of Menenius Agrippa, an eloquent and wise man; nor would they have returned at all if they had not obtained tribunes for themselves. The fable of his, in the old style, so powerfully persuasive to concord, is still extant, in which he said that "the members of the human body were once at variance among themselves, alleging, that while all the rest discharged their duties, the stomach alone continued without occupation; but that at length, when ready to die, they returned from their disagreement to a right understanding, as they found that they were nourished with the food that was by the stomach reduced to blood."

[1] Ch. XXII. But the latter, with better fortune, *&c.*] *Sed hic melior* [obsessis], *in captâ urbe consenuit. Obsessis* occurs in some copies, but Duker and Grævius omit it. The city which he had taken was Veii. But it is not said in any other author that Camillus spent his old age at Veii. Salmasius understands *consenuit* of pining at the misfortunes of his country; but this interpretation is so forced that it seems less reasonable to accept it than to suppose Florus to have been mistaken.

CHAP. XXIV. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

The licentiousness of the Decemvirate gave rise to the second disagreement, which occurred in the middle of the city. Ten eminent men of the city, chosen for the purpose, had, by order of the people, drawn up in a body certain laws which had been brought from Greece, and the whole course of the administration of justice had been arranged in twelve tables; but, though the object of their office was accomplished, they still retained the fasces that had been delivered to them, with a spirit like that of kings. Appius Claudius, above all the rest, advanced to such a degree of audacity, that he destined for dishonour a free-born virgin, forgetting both Lucretia, and the kings, and the laws which he himself had written. When her father Virginius, therefore, saw his daughter unjustly sentenced, and dragged away to slavery, he slew her, without any hesitation, in the midst of the forum, with his own hand; and, bringing up the troops of his fellow-soldiers, he dragged the whole band of tyrants, beset with an armed force, from the Aventine Mount to imprisonment and chains.

CHAP. XXV. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

The question of the propriety of intermarriages raised a third sedition, it being demanded that plebeians should be allowed to intermarry with patricians. This tumult broke out on Mount Janiculum, Canuleius, a tribune of the people, being the leader in it.

CHAP. XXVI. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

An ambition for public honours occasioned a fourth sedition, from a demand being made that plebeians should be admitted to magistracies. Fabius Ambustus, the father of two daughters, had married one to Sulpicius, a man of patrician family, and the other to Stolo, a plebeian. The latter, on some occasion, being rather scornfully laughed at by her sister, because she had been startled at the sound of the lictor's staff, (which was unknown in her family,) could not endure the affront. Her husband, in consequence, having gained the tribuneship, obtained from the senate, though much against their will, a share in public honours and offices for the plebeians.

But in these very seditions, you may not improperly ad-

mire the conduct of this great people; for at one time they supported liberty, at another chastity, at another the respectability of their birth[1], at another their right to marks and distinctions of honour; and among all these proceedings, they were vigilant guardians of nothing more than of liberty, and could by no bribery be corrupted to make sale of it; though there arose from time to time, as was natural among a people already great, and growing daily greater, citizens of very pernicious intentions. Spurius Cassius, suspected of aiming at kingly power by the aid of the agrarian law, and Mælius, suspected of a similar design from his excessive largesses to the people, they punished with instant death. On Spurius, indeed, his own father inflicted the punishment. Ahala, the master of the horse, killed Mælius in the middle of the forum, by order of Quinctius the dictator. Manlius, also, the defender of the Capitol, when he behaved himself too arrogantly, and unsuitably to the rank of a citizen, presuming on having liberated most of the debtors, they precipitated from that very citadel which he had preserved. In this manner, at home and abroad, in peace and war, did the Roman people pass the period of adolescence, that is to say, the second age of their empire, in which they subdued with their arms all Italy between the Alps and the sea.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I. INTRODUCTORY.

After Italy was conquered and subjugated, the Roman people, now approaching its five-hundredth year, and being fairly arrived at maturity, was then truly robust and manly, (if robustness and manhood may be attributed to a nation,) and had begun to be a match for the whole world. Accordingly (wonderful and scarcely credible to relate!) that people who had struggled with their neighbours at home for nearly five hundred years, (so difficult was it to give Italy a head,) overran, in the two hundred years that follow, Africa, Europe, Asia, and indeed the whole world, with their wars and victories.

[1] Ch. XXVI. Respectability of their birth] *Natalium dignitatem.* They maintained that all citizens were of sufficiently respectable birth to intermarry with the patricians.

CHAP. II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

The victor-people of Italy, having now spread over the land as far as the sea, checked its course for a little, like a fire, which, having consumed the woods lying in its track, is stopped by some intervening river. But soon after, seeing at no great distance a rich prey, which seemed in a manner detached and torn away from their own Italy, they were so inflamed with a desire to possess it, that since it could neither be joined to their country by a mole or bridge, they resolved that it should be secured by arms and war, and reunited, as it were, to their continent[1]. And behold! as if the Fates themselves opened a way for them, an opportunity was not wanting, for Messana[2], a city of Sicily in alliance with them, happened then to make a complaint concerning the tyranny of the Carthaginians.

As the Romans coveted Sicily, so likewise did the people of Carthage; and both at the same time, with equal desires and equal forces, contemplated the attainment of the empire of the world. Under the pretext, therefore, of assisting their allies, but in reality being allured by the prey, that rude people, that people sprung from shepherds, and merely accustomed to the land, made it appear, though the strangeness of the attempt startled them, (yet such confidence is there in true courage,) that to the brave it is indifferent whether a battle be fought on horseback or in ships, by land or by sea.

It was in the consulship of Appius Claudius that they first ventured upon that strait which has so ill a name from the strange things[3] related of it, and so impetuous a current. But they were so far from being affrighted, that they regarded the violence of the rushing tide as something in their favour, and, sailing forward immediately and without delay, they defeated Hiero, king of Syracuse, with so much rapidity, that he owned he was conquered before he saw the enemy. In the consulship of Duilius and Cornelius, they likewise

[1] Ch. II. Reunited, as it were, to their continent] *Ad continentem suum revocanda bello.* As *bello jungenda* occurs immediately before, Freinshemius and Duker, though they retain the latter *bello* in the text, as it is found in all copies, advise its omission.

[2] Messana] Now Messene.

[3] That strait—strange things, *&c.*] The strait of Messina. "By *strange things* (*monstris*) he means Scylla and Charybdis." *Salmasius.*

had courage to engage at sea, and then the expedition used in equipping the fleet was a presage of victory; for within sixty days after the timber was felled, a navy of a hundred and sixty ships lay at anchor; so that the vessels did not seem to have been made by art, but the trees themselves appeared to have been turned into ships by the aid of the gods. The aspect of the battle, too, was wonderful; as the heavy and slow ships of the Romans closed with the swift and nimble barks of the enemy. Little availed their naval arts, such as breaking off the oars of a ship, and eluding the beaks of the enemy by turning aside; for the grappling-irons, and other instruments, which, before the engagement, had been greatly derided by the enemy, were fastened upon their ships, and they were compelled to fight as on solid ground. Being victorious, therefore, at Liparæ, by sinking and scattering the enemy's fleet, they celebrated their first naval triumph. And how great was the exultation at it! Duilius, the commander, not content with one day's triumph, ordered, during all the rest of his life, when he returned from supper, lighted torches to be carried, and flutes to play, before him, as if he would triumph every day. The loss in this battle was trifling, in comparison with the greatness of the victory; though the other consul, Cornelius Asina, was cut off, being invited by the enemy to a pretended conference, and put to death; an instance of Carthaginian perfidy.

Under the dictatorship of Calatinus, the Romans expelled almost all the garrisons of the Carthaginians from Agrigentum, Drepanum, Panormus, Eryx, and Lilybæum. Some alarm was experienced at the forest of Camarina, but we were rescued by the extraordinary valour of Calpurnius Flamma, a tribune of the soldiers, who, with a choice troop of three hundred men, seized upon an eminence occupied by the enemy to our annoyance[1], and so kept them in play till the whole army escaped; thus, by eminent success, equalling the fame of Thermopylæ and Leonidas, though our hero was indeed more illustrious, inasmuch as he escaped and outlived so great an effort, notwithstanding he wrote nothing[2] with his blood.

[1] To our annoyance] *Infestum.*

[2] Notwithstanding he wrote nothing, &c.] *Licet nihil scripserit sanguine.* "A hallucination of Florus, who inadvertently attributes to Leonidas what was done by Othryades. Leonidas wrote nothing with his blood, as far, at least, as

In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, when Sicily was become as a suburban province of the Roman people, and the war was spreading further, they crossed over into Sardinia, and into Corsica, which lies near it. In the latter they terrified the natives by the destruction of the city of Olbia, in the former by that of Aleria; and so effectually humbled the Carthaginians, both by land and sea, that nothing remained to be conquered but Africa itself. Accordingly, under the leadership of Marcus Attilius Regulus, the war passed over into Africa. Nor were there wanting some on the occasion, who mutinied at the mere name and dread of the Punic sea, a tribune named Mannius increasing their alarm; but the general, threatening him with the axe if he did not obey, produced courage for the voyage by the terror of death. They then hastened their course by the aid of winds and oars, and such was the terror of the Africans at the approach of the enemy, that Carthage was almost surprised with its gates open.

The first prize taken in the war was the city of Clypea, which juts out from the Carthaginian shore as a fortress or watch-tower. Both this, and more than three hundred fortresses besides, were destroyed. Nor had the Romans to contend only with men, but with monsters also; for a serpent of vast size, born, as it were, to avenge Africa, harassed their camp on the Bagrada. But Regulus, who overcame all obstacles, having spread the terror of his name far and wide, having killed or taken prisoners a great number of the enemy's force, and their captains themselves, and having despatched his fleet, laden with much spoil, and stored with materials for a triumph, to Rome, proceeded to besiege Carthage itself, the origin of the war, and took his position close to the gates of it. Here fortune was a little changed; but it was only that more proofs of Roman fortitude might be given, the

we learn from the writings of antiquity. But such an act is universally attributed to Othryades, both by poets and prose writers." *Salmasius.* Othryades was the survivor of the three hundred Spartans who fought with three hundred Argives for the right of possessing a piece of land called Thyrea. Being ashamed to return to Sparta alone, he slew himself on the field of battle, first writing on his shield, with his blood, that Thyrea belonged to the Lacædemonians. For an account of the combat, see Herod., i., 82. Freinshemius thinks the words are not Florus's, but those of some *glossator.* Gronovius would read *licet nonnihil scripserit sanguine*, which would be no great improvement.

greatness of which was generally best shown in calamities. For the enemy applying for foreign assistance, and Lacedæmon having sent them Xanthippus as a general, we were defeated by a captain so eminently skilled in military affairs. It was then that by an ignominious defeat, such as the Romans had never before experienced, their most valiant commander fell alive into the enemy's hands. But he was a man able to endure so great a calamity; as he was neither humbled by his imprisonment at Carthage, nor by the deputation which he headed to Rome; for he advised what was contrary to the injunctions of the enemy, and recommended that no peace should be made, and no exchange of prisoners admitted. Even by his voluntary return to his enemies, and by his last sufferings, whether in prison or on the cross, the dignity of the man was not at all obscured. But being rendered, by all these occurrences, even more worthy of admiration, what can be said of him but that, when conquered, he was superior to his conquerors, and that, though Carthage had not submitted, he triumphed over Fortune herself?

The Roman people were now much keener and more ardent to revenge the fate of Regulus than to obtain victory. Under the consul Metellus, therefore, when the Carthaginians were growing insolent, and when the war had returned into Sicily, they gave the enemy such a defeat at Panormus, that they thought no more of that island. A proof of the greatness of this victory was the capture of about a hundred elephants, a vast prey, even if they had taken that number, not in war, but in hunting[1]. Under the consulship of Appius Claudius, they were overcome, not by the enemy, but by the gods themselves, whose auspices they had despised, their fleet being sunk in that very place where the consul had ordered the chickens to be thrown overboard, because he was warned by them not to fight. Under the consulship of Marcus Fabius Buteo, they overthrew, near Ægimurus, in the African sea, a fleet of the enemy which was just sailing for Italy. But

[1] A vast prey—not in war, but in hunting] *Sic quoque magna præda, si gregem illum non bello, sed venatione cepisset.* "The sense is, it would have been a considerable capture if he had taken these hundred elephants, not in battle, but in hunting, in which more are often taken." *Grævius.* "In this explanation Perizonius acquiesced." *Duker.* Most readers, I fear, will wish that a better were proposed.

O how great materials for a triumph were then lost by a storm, when the Roman fleet, richly laden with spoil, and driven by contrary winds, covered with its wreck the coasts of Africa and the Syrtes, and of all the islands lying amid those seas[1]! A great calamity! But not without some honour to this eminent people, from the circumstance that their victory was intercepted only by a storm, and that the matter for their triumph was lost only by a shipwreck. Yet, though the Punic spoils were scattered abroad, and thrown up by the waves on every promontory and island, the Romans still celebrated a triumph. In the consulship of Lutatius Catulus, an end was at last put to the war near the islands named Ægates. Nor was there any greater fight during this war; for the fleet of the enemy was laden with provisions, troops, towers, and arms; indeed, all Carthage, as it were, was in it; a state of things which proved its destruction, as the Roman fleet, on the contrary, being active, light, free from incumbrance, and in some degree resembling a land-camp, was wheeled about by its oars like cavalry in a battle by their reins; and the beaks of the vessels, directed now against one part of the enemy and now against another, presented the appearance of living creatures. In a very short time, accordingly, the ships of the enemy were shattered to pieces, and filled the whole sea between Sicily and Sardinia with their wrecks. So great, indeed, was the victory, that there was no thought of demolishing the enemy's city; since it seemed superfluous to pour their fury on towers and walls, when Carthage had already been destroyed at sea.

CHAP. III. THE LIGURIAN WAR.

After the Carthaginian war was ended, there followed a time of repose indeed, but short, and as it were only to take breath. As a proof of peace, and of a real cessation from

[1] Coasts—of all the islands lying amid those seas] Duker's edition, and almost every other, has *omnium imperia gentium, insularum littora, implevit*, which Grævius has pronounced, and others have seen, to be nonsense. Tollius for *imperia* proposed *promontoria;* but I have thought it better to follow the conjecture offered by Markland, (Epistle to Hare, p. 38, cited by Duker,) *omnium inter mari jacentium insularum, &c.*, though this is rather bold, and not supported by anything similar in Florus.

arms, the Temple of Janus was then shut for the first time since the reign of Numa. But it was immediately and without delay opened again. For the Ligurians, and the Insubrian Gauls, as well as the Illyrians, began to be troublesome. Indeed, the two former nations, situate at the foot of the Alps, that is, at the very entrance to Italy, stirred up, apparently, by some deity, lest the Roman arms should contract rust and mould, and at length becoming, as it were, our daily and domestic enemies[1], continued to exercise the young soldiery in the business of war; and the Romans whetted the sword of their valour on each of those nations as upon a whetstone. The Ligurians, lying close to the bottom of the Alps, between the rivers Varus and Macra, and shrouded in woody thickets, it was more trouble to find than to conquer. Defended by their position and facilities of escape, and being a hardy and nimble race, they rather committed depredations as occasion offered, than made regular war. After all their tribes, therefore, the Salyi, the Deceates, the Oxybii, the Euburiates, and the Ingauri, had baffled the Romans for a long time with success, Fulvius at length surrounded their recesses with flames, Bæbius drew them down into the plains, and Posthumius so disarmed them that he scarcely left them iron to till the ground.

CHAP. IV. THE GALLIC WAR.

The Galli Insubres, who were also borderers upon the Alps, had the tempers of savage beasts, and bodies greater than human. But by experience, it was found that, as their first onset was more violent than that of men, so their subsequent conduct in battle was inferior to that of women. The bodies of the people about the Alps, reared in a moist atmosphere, have somewhat in them resembling their snows, and, as soon as they are heated in fight, run down with perspiration, and are relaxed with any slight motion, as it were by the heat of the sun. These had often at other times sworn, but especially under their general Britomarus, that they would not

[1] Two former nations—daily and domestic enemies] *Utrique quotidiani et quasi domestici hostes.* As Florus speaks of three nations, and then says *utrique*, the commentators have been in doubt which of them are meant by that word. I have followed Salmasius, with whom Perizonius coincides. The Illyrians were more remote than the other two.

loose their belts before they mounted the Capitol. And it happened accordingly; for Æmilius conquered and disarmed them in the Capitol. Soon after, with Ariovistus for their leader, they vowed to their god Mars a chain made out of the spoils of our soldiers. But Jupiter prevented the performance of their vow; for Flaminius erected a golden trophy to Jove out of their chains. When Viridomarus was their king, they vowed the arms of the Romans to Vulcan; but their vows had a very different result; for Marcellus, having killed their king, hung up his arms to Jupiter Feretrius, being the third *spolia opima* since those of Romulus, the father of the city.

CHAP. V.

The Illyrians, or Liburnians, live at the very root of the Alps, between the rivers Arsia and Titius, extending far over the whole coast of the Adriatic. This people, in the reign of a queen named Teutana, not content with depredations on the Roman territory, added an execrable crime to their audacity. For they beheaded our ambassadors, who were calling them to account for their offences; and this death they inflicted, not with the sword, but, as if they had been victims for sacrifice, with the axe; they also burnt the captains of our ships with fire. These insults were offered, to make them the more offensive, by a woman. The people were in consequence universally reduced to subjection, by the efforts of Cnæus Fulvius Centimalus; and the axe, descending on the necks of their chiefs, made full atonement to the manes of the ambassadors.

CHAP. VI. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

After the first Carthaginian war, there was scarcely a rest of four years, when there was another war; inferior indeed in length of time, (for it occupied but eighteen years,) but so much more terrible, from the direfulness of its havoc, that if any one compares the losses on both sides, the people that conquered was more like one defeated. What provoked this noble people was, that the command of the sea was forced from them, that their islands were taken, and that they were obliged to pay tribute which they had before been accustomed to impose. Hannibal, when but a boy, swore to his father, before an altar, to take revenge on the Romans; nor was

he backward to execute his oath. Saguntum, accordingly, was made the occasion of a war; an old and wealthy city of Spain, and a great but sad example of fidelity to the Romans. This city, though granted, by the common treaty, the special privilege of enjoying its liberty, Hannibal, seeking pretences for new disturbances, destroyed with his own hands and those of its inhabitants, in order that, by an infraction of the compact, he might open a passage for himself into Italy.

Among the Romans there is the highest regard to treaties, and consequently, on hearing of the siege of an allied city, and remembering, too, the compact made with the Carthaginians, they did not at once have recourse to arms, but chose rather to expostulate on legal grounds. In the mean time the Saguntines, exhausted with famine, the assaults of machines, and the sword, and their fidelity being at last carried to desperation, raised a vast pile in the market-place, on which they destroyed, with fire and sword, themselves, their wives and children, and all that they possessed. Hannibal, the cause of this great destruction, was required to be given up. The Carthaginians hesitating to comply, Fabius, who was at the head of the embassy, exclaimed, "What is the meaning of this delay? In the fold of this garment I carry war and peace; which of the two do you choose?" As they cried out "War," "Take war, then," he rejoined, and, shaking out the fore-part of his toga in the middle of the senate-house, as if he really carried war in its folds, he spread it abroad, not without awe on the part of the spectators.

The sequel of the war was in conformity with its commencement; for, as if the last imprecations of the Saguntines, at their public self-immolation and burning of the city, had required such obsequies to be performed to them, atonement was made to their manes by the devastation of Italy, the reduction of Africa, and the destruction of the leaders and kings who engaged in that contest. When once, therefore, that sad and dismal force and storm of the Punic war had arisen in Spain, and had forged, in the fire of Saguntum, the thunderbolt long before intended for the Romans, it immediately burst, as if hurried along by resistless violence, through the middle of the Alps, and descended, from those snows of incredible altitude, on the plains of Italy, as if it had been hurled from the skies. The violence of its first assault

burst, with a mighty sound, between the Po and the Ticinus. There the army under Scipio was routed; and the general himself, being wounded, would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not his son, then quite a boy[1], covered his father with his shield, and rescued him from death. This was[2] the Scipio who grew up for the conquest of Africa, and who was to receive a name from its ill-fortune.

To Ticinus succeeded Trebia, where, in the consulship of Sempronius, the second outburst of the Punic war was spent. On that occasion, the crafty enemy, having chosen a cold and snowy day, and having first warmed themselves at their fires, and anointed their bodies with oil, conquered us, though they were men that came from the south and a warm sun, by the aid (strange to say!) of our own winter.

The third thunderbolt[3] of Hannibal fell at the Trasimene lake, when Flaminius was commander. There also was employed a new stratagem of Carthaginian subtlety; for a body of cavalry, being concealed by a mist rising from the lake, and by the osiers growing in the fens, fell upon the rear of the Romans as they were fighting. Nor can we complain of the gods; for swarms of bees settling upon the standards, the reluctance of the eagles[4] to move forward, and a great earthquake that happened at the commencement of the battle, (unless, indeed, it was the trampling of horse and foot, and the violent concussion of arms, that produced this trembling of the ground,) had forewarned the rash leader of approaching defeat.

The fourth, and almost mortal wound of the Roman empire, was at Cannæ, an obscure village of Apulia; which, however, became famous by the greatness of the defeat, its celebrity being acquired by the slaughter of forty thousand men. Here the general, the ground, the face of heaven, the day, indeed all nature, conspired together for the destruction

[1] Ch. VI. Quite a boy] *Prætextatus admodum.* "As we say *admodum puer, admodum adolescens.*" Salmasius. He had but just laid aside the *toga prætexta*, and assumed the *toga virilis.*

[2] This was] *Hic erat.* Duker and others read *erit.*

[3] The third thunderbolt, *&c.*] *Trasimenus lacus tertium fulmen Hannibalis.* Literally, "The Trasimene lake was the third thunderbolt of Hannibal," an affected mode of expression.

[4] Reluctance of the eagles, *&c.*] *Aquilæ prodire nolentes.* The standards, which were fixed in the ground, could scarcely be pulled up.

of the unfortunate army. For Hannibal, the most artful of generals, not content with sending pretended deserters among the Romans, who fell upon their rear as they were fighting, but having also noted the nature of the ground in those open plains, where the heat of the sun is extremely violent, the dust very great, and the wind blows constantly, and as it were statedly, from the east, drew up his army in such a position, that, while the Romans were exposed to all these inconveniences, he himself, having heaven, as it were, on his side, fought with wind, dust, and sun in his favour. Two vast armies[1], in consequence, were slaughtered till the enemy were satiated, and till Hannibal said to his soldiers, "Put up your swords." Of the two commanders, one escaped, the other was slain; which of them showed the greater spirit, is doubtful. Paulus was ashamed to survive; Varro did not despair. Of the greatness of the slaughter the following proofs may be noticed; that the Aufidus was for some time red with blood; that a bridge was made of dead bodies, by order of Hannibal, over the torrent of Vergellus; and that two modii[2] of rings were sent to Carthage, and the equestrian dignity estimated by measure.

It was afterwards not doubted, but that Rome might have seen its last day, and that Hannibal, within five days, might have feasted in the Capitol, if (as they say that Adherbal, the Carthaginian, the son of Bomilcar, observed,) "he had known as well how to use his victory as how to gain it." But at that crisis, as is generally said, either the fate of the city that was to be empress of the world, or his own want of judgment, and the influence of deities unfavourable to Carthage, carried him in a different direction. When he might have taken advantage of his victory, he chose rather to seek enjoyment from it, and, leaving Rome, to march into Campania and to Tarentum, where both he and his army soon lost their vigour, so that it was justly remarked that "Capua proved a Cannæ to Hannibal;" since the sunshine of Campania, and the warm springs of Baiæ, subdued (who could have believed

[1] Two vast armies] *Duo maximi exercitus.* The armies of the two consuls, Paulus Æmilius and Varro.

[2] Two modii] The *modius*, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, is said to be equal to 1 gall. 7.8576 pints, English measure. Two *modii* will therefore be nearly 3¼ gallons.

it ?) him who had been unconquered by the Alps, and unshaken in the field. In the mean time the Romans began to recover, and to rise as it were from the dead. They had no arms, but they took them down from the temples; men were wanting, but slaves were freed to take the oath of service; the treasury was exhausted, but the senate willingly offered their wealth for the public service, leaving themselves no gold but what was contained in their children's *bullæ*[1], and in their own belts and rings. The knights followed their example, and the common people that of the knights; so that when the wealth of private persons was brought to the public treasury, (in the consulship of Lævinus and Marcellus,) the registers scarcely sufficed to contain the account of it, or the hands of the clerks to record it.

But how can I sufficiently praise[2] the wisdom of the centuries in the choice of magistrates, when the younger sought advice from the elder as to what consuls should be created? They saw that against an enemy so often victorious, and so full of subtlety, it was necessary to contend, not only with courage, but with his own wiles. The first hope of the empire, now recovering, and, if I may use the expression, coming to life again, was Fabius, who found a new mode of conquering Hannibal, which was, *not to fight*. Hence he received that new name, so salutary to the commonwealth, of *Cunctator*, or Delayer. Hence too it happened, that he was called by the people *the shield of the empire*. Through the whole of Samnium, and through the Falerian and Gauran forests, he so harassed Hannibal, that he who could not be reduced by valour, was weakened by delay. The Romans then ventured, under the command of Claudius Marcellus, to engage him; they came to close quarters with him, drove him out of his dear Campania, and forced him to raise the siege of Nola. They ventured likewise, under the leadership of Sempronius Grac-

[1] Bullæ] A sort of ornament suspended from the necks of children, which, among the wealthy, was made of gold. It was in the shape of a bubble on water, or as Pliny says, (*H. N.*, xxxiii., 1,) of a heart.

[2] But how can I sufficiently praise, *&c.*] *Quid autem in deligendis magistratibus quæ centuriarum sapient.* &c. As these words want coherence, Grævius would omit the *quid*, and read *In deligendis autem magistratibus quæ, &c.* Duker thinks it sufficient to understand *dicam* or *memorem*: *Quid autem* memorem—*quæ sapientia, &c.*

chus, to pursue him through Lucania, and to press hard upon his rear as he retired; though they then fought him (sad dishonour!) with a body of slaves; for to this extremity had so many disasters reduced them; but they were rewarded with liberty[1]; and from slaves they made them Romans.

O amazing confidence in the midst of so much adversity! O extraordinary courage and spirit of the Roman people in such oppressive and distressing circumstances! At a time when they were uncertain of preserving their own Italy, they yet ventured to look to other countries; and when the enemy were at their throat, flying through Campania and Apulia, and making an Africa in the middle of Italy[2], they at the same time both withstood that enemy, and dispersed their arms over the earth into Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain.

Sicily was assigned to Marcellus, and did not long resist his efforts; for the whole island was conquered in the conquest of one city. Syracuse, its great and, till that period, unconquered capital, though defended by the genius of Archimedes, was at last obliged to yield. Its triple wall, and three citadels, its marble harbour, and the celebrated fountain of Arethusa, were no defence to it, except so far as to procure consideration for its beauty when it was conquered.

Sardinia Gracchus reduced; the savageness of the inhabitants, and the vastness of its Mad Mountains[3], (for so they are called,) availed it nothing. Great severity was exercised upon its cities, and upon Caralis, the city of its cities[4], that a nation, obstinate and regardless of death, might at least be humbled by concern for the soil of its country.

[1] But they were rewarded with liberty, *&c.*] The whole of the concluding sentence of this paragraph, in Duker's edition, as well as most others, stands thus: *Nam huc usque tot mala compulerant, sed libertate donati, fecerant de servitute Romanos.* The passage is in some way corrupt, as all the commentators have noticed. Salmasius conjectures, *Sed libertate donati. Fecerat de servis virtus Romanos.* No better emendation has been proposed.

[2] Making an Africa in the middle of Italy] All the editors have either *Mediamque de Italiâ Africam facerent*, or *Mediamque jam de, &c.* I have followed the conjecture of N. Heinsius, *Mediâque de Italiâ Africam facerent.*

[3] Mad Mountains] *Insanorum montium.* "A frigid and absurd conceit of Florus. These mountains were on the sea, and startling in name rather than in reality. Livy speaks of them, lib. xxx. *A Corsicâ in Sardiniam trajecit* [Claudius]. *Ibi superantem Insanos Montes—tempestas—disjecit classem.*" Salmasius.

[4] Caralis, the city of its cities] *Urbemque urbium Caralim.* Now *Cagliari.*

Into Spain were sent the two Scipios, Cnæus and Publius, who wrested almost the whole of it from the Carthaginians; but, being surprised by the artifices of Punic subtlety, they again lost it, even after they had slaughtered the enemy's forces in great battles. The wiles of the Carthaginians cut off one of them by the sword, as he was pitching his camp, and the other by surrounding him with lighted faggots, after he had made his escape into a tower. But the other Scipio, to whom the fates had decreed so great a name from Africa, being sent with an army to revenge the death of his father and uncle, recovered all that warlike country of Spain, so famous for its men and arms, that seminary of the enemy's force, that instructress of Hannibal, from the Pyrenæan mountains (the account is scarcely credible) to the Pillars of Hercules and the Ocean, whether with greater speed or good fortune, is difficult to decide; how great was his speed, four years bear witness; how remarkable his good fortune, even one city proves, for it was taken on the same day in which siege was laid to it, and it was an omen of the conquest of Africa that Carthage in Spain was so easily reduced. It is certain, however, that what most contributed to make the province submit, was the eminent virtue of the general, who restored to the barbarians certain captive youths and maidens of extraordinary beauty, not allowing them even to be brought into his sight, that he might not seem, even by a single glance, to have detracted from their virgin purity.

These actions the Romans performed in different parts of the world, yet were they unable, notwithstanding, to remove Hannibal, who was lodged in the heart of Italy. Most of the towns had revolted to the enemy, whose vigorous commander used even the strength of Italy against the Romans. However, we had now forced him out of many towns and districts. Tarentum had returned to our side; and Capua, the seat, home, and second country of Hannibal, was again in our hands; the loss of which caused the Punic leader so much affliction, that he then directed all his force against Rome.

O people worthy of the empire of the world, worthy of the favour and admiration of all, not only men but gods! Though they were brought into the greatest alarm, they desisted not from their original design; though they were

concerned for their own city, they did not abandon their attempts on Capua; but, part of their army being left there with the consul Appius, and part having followed Flaccus to Rome, they fought both at home and abroad at the same time. Why then should we wonder that the gods themselves, the gods, I say, (nor shall I be ashamed[1] to admit it,) again opposed Hannibal as he was preparing to march forward when at three miles' distance from Rome. For, at every movement of his force, so copious a flood of rain descended, and such a violent storm of wind arose, that it was evident the enemy was repulsed by divine influence, and the tempest proceeded, not from heaven, but from the walls of the city and the Capitol. He therefore fled and departed, and withdrew to the furthest corner of Italy, leaving the city in a manner adored[2]. It is but a small matter to mention, yet sufficiently indicative of the magnanimity of the Roman people, that during those very days in which the city was besieged, the ground which Hannibal occupied with his camp was offered for sale at Rome, and, being put up to auction, actually found a purchaser. Hannibal, on the other side, wished to imitate such confidence, and put up for sale the bankers' houses in the city; but no buyer was found; so that it was evident that the fates had their presages.

But as yet nothing had been effectually accomplished by so much valour, or even through such eminent favour from the gods; for Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was approaching with a new army, new strength, and every fresh requisite for war. There had doubtless been an end of Rome, if that general had united himself with his brother; but Cladius Nero, in conjunction with Livius Salinator, overthrew him as he was pitching his camp. Nero was at that time keeping Hannibal at bay in the furthest corner of Italy;

[1] Nor shall I be ashamed, *&c.*] Why should he be ashamed to admit that Rome was saved by the aid of the gods? To receive assistance from the gods was a proof of merit. The gods help those who help themselves, says the proverb. When he says that the gods "*again* opposed Hannibal," he seems to refer to what he said above in speaking of the battle of Cannæ, that the deities, averse to Carthage, prevented Hannibal from marching at that time to Rome.

[2] In a manner adored] *Tantum non adoratam.* "Not being able to take the city," says Grævius, "he seemed to have come only to look at it and turn away, as those do who adore any object. This is the meaning of Florus's conceit."

while Livius had marched to the very opposite quarter, that is, to the very entrance and confines of Italy; and of the ability and expedition with which the consuls joined their forces, (though so vast a space, that is, the whole of Italy where it is longest, lay between them,) and defeated the enemy with their combined strength, when they expected no attack, and without the knowledge of Hannibal, it is difficult to give a notion. When Hannibal, however, had knowledge of the matter, and saw his brother's head thrown down before his camp, he exclaimed, "I perceive the evil destiny of Carthage." This was his first confession of that kind, not without a sure presage of his approaching fate; and it was now certain, even from his own acknowledgment, that Hannibal might be conquered. But the Roman people, full of confidence from so many successes, thought it would be a noble enterprise to subdue such a desperate enemy in his own Africa. Directing their whole force, therefore, under the leadership of Scipio, upon Africa itself, they began to imitate Hannibal, and to avenge upon Africa the sufferings of their own Italy. What forces of Hasdrubal, (good gods!) what armies of Syphax, did that commander put to flight! How great were the camps of both that he destroyed in one night by casting firebrands into them! At last, not at three miles' distance, but by a close siege, he shook the very gates of Carthage itself. And thus he succeeded in drawing off Hannibal when he was still clinging to and brooding over Italy. There was no more remarkable day, during the whole course of the Roman empire, than that on which those two generals, the greatest of all that ever lived, whether before or after them, the one the conqueror of Italy, and the other of Spain, drew up their forces for a close engagement. But previously a conference was held between them concerning conditions of peace. They stood motionless awhile in admiration of each other. When they could not agree on a peace, they gave the signal for battle. It is certain, from the confession of both, that *no troops could have been better drawn up, and no fight more obstinately maintained.* This Hannibal acknowledged concerning the army of Scipio, and Scipio concerning that of Hannibal. But Hannibal was forced to yield, and Africa became the prize of the victory; and the whole earth soon followed the fate of Africa.

CHAP. VII. THE FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR.

When Carthage was overcome, no nation was ashamed of being conquered. The people of Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and all other countries, as if carried away by a certain tide and torrent of fortune, immediately shared the destiny of Africa. But the first of all were the Macedonians, a people that had formerly aspired to the dominion of the world. Though Philip, therefore, was then king, the Romans seemed nevertheless to be fighting against king Alexander. The Macedonian war was greater from its name than from any regard due to the nation itself. It had its origin from a treaty of Philip, by which he had joined to himself Hannibal when he was previously triumphant in Italy. Further cause was then given for it, by an application from Athens for relief against the injuries of the king, at a time when, beyond the just rights of victory, he was wreaking his fury upon their temples, altars, and the sepulchres of the dead. To petitioners of such consideration the senate thought it right to give assistance; for kings, commanders, peoples, and nations, were now seeking protection from this one city. Under the consul Lævinus, therefore, the Roman people, having entered the Ionian Sea for the first time, coasted along the whole of Greece with their fleet, as if in triumph; for it carried all the spoils of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Africa; and a laurel that grew up[1] in the general's ship, promised certain victory. Attalus, king of Pergamus, came of his own accord to their assistance; the Rhodians, too, came, who were a naval people, and who struck terror into all parts by sea with their ships, while the consul did the same on land with his horse and foot. The king was twice defeated, twice put to flight, and twice despoiled of his camp; but nothing was more terrible to the Macedonians than the sight of their wounds, which were not inflicted with darts, arrows, or any Grecian weapon, but with huge javelins, and swords of no less weight, and gaped beyond what was necessary for producing death[2].

[1] A laurel that grew up, *&c.*] *Nata in prætoriâ puppe laurus.* This is mentioned by Livy, xxxii., 1, as having been reported to the senate by the proconsul P. Sulpicius.

[2] Beyond what was necessary for producing death] *Ultra mortem.* "Majora erant quàm necesse esset ad mortem inferendam." *Ryckius.* Some copies have *ultra morem.*

Under the conduct of Flaminius, too, we penetrated the mountains of the Chaonians, which were before impassable, and the river Aous[1], flowing through steep places which form the very barriers of Macedonia. To have effected an entrance, was victory; for the king, never afterwards venturing into the field, was forced to submission in one engagement, which indeed was far from being a regular battle, at the hills which they call Cynoscephalæ. But the consul granted him peace, and restored him his kingdom; and afterwards, that no enemy might be left behind, reduced Thebes, Eubœa, and Lacedæmon, which was making some attempts at opposition under its tyrant Nabis. To Greece he then restored its ancient condition, allowed it to live according to its own laws, and to enjoy its ancient liberty. What rejoicings, what shouts of pleasure, were heard, when this was proclaimed by the herald at the quinquennial games, in the theatre at Nemea! What an emulation of applause was there! what flowers did they heap upon the consul! They called on the herald to repeat the proclamation, in which the liberty of Achaia[2] was declared, again and again; nor did they enjoy the declaration of the consul less than the most harmonious concert of flutes and harps.

CHAP. VIII. THE SYRIAN WAR AGAINST KING ANTIOCHUS.

Antiochus immediately followed the fate of Macedonia and king Philip; fortune, by a certain influence, and as if by design, directing affairs in such a manner, that as the empire had advanced from Africa into Europe, so, from occasions spontaneously presenting themselves, it might proceed from Europe into Africa, and that the order of its victories might keep its course according to the situation of the quarters of the world. As far as the report of it was concerned, there never was any war more formidable, when the Romans reflected upon the Persians and the east, upon Xerxes and Darius, and the times when impassable mountains are said to have been cut through, and the sea to have been hidden with sails. An apparent menace from

[1] Aous] A river of Illyricum, flowing into the Ionian Sea, mentioned by Livy, xxxii., 21, xxxviii., 49.

[2] Achaia] The name which the Romans gave to Greece as their province.

heaven also alarmed them, for Apollo, at Cumæ, was in a constant perspiration; but this was only the fear of the god, under concern for his beloved Asia.

To say the truth, no country is better furnished with men, money, and arms, than Syria; but it had fallen into the hands of so spiritless a monarch, that the highest praise of Antiochus was that he was conquered by the Romans. There were two persons who impelled the king to this war; on the one hand Thoas, prince of Ætolia, who complained that his service in the war against Macedonia had not been sufficiently rewarded by the Romans; on the other, Hannibal, who, conquered in Africa, exiled from his country, and impatient of peace, was seeking through the whole world for an enemy to the Roman people. And how great would the danger have been to Rome, if the king had been guided by his directions, that is, if the desperate Hannibal had wielded the whole power of Asia! But the king, trusting to his resources, and to the mere title of monarch, thought it enough to begin the war[1]. Europe, without dispute, was now the property of the Romans; but Antiochus demanded from them Lysimachia, a city founded by his ancestors on the coast of Thrace, as if it were his by hereditary right. By the influence of this star[2], so to speak, the tempest of the Asiatic war was raised. But this greatest of kings, content with having boldly declared war, and having marched out of Asia with a great noise and tumult, and taken possession of the islands and coasts of Greece, thought of nothing but ease and luxury, as if he were already conqueror.

The Euripus divides from the continent the island of Eubœa, which is close to it, by a narrow strait, the waters of which are continually ebbing and flowing. Here Antiochus, having erected tents of cloth of gold and silk, close to the murmuring noise of the stream, while the music of flutes and stringed instruments mingled with the sound of the waters,

[1] Ch. VIII. To begin the war] *Bellum movere.* So, just below, *contentus fortiter indixisse bellum.*

[2] This star] *Hoc velut sidere.* "That is, this dispute was the cause of the Asiatic war, as the rising or setting of certain stars, such as Arcturus, the Hyades, and Pleiades, occasions tempests. *Nam ut tempestatis sæpe certo aliquo cœli signo commoventur, sic in hac comitiorum tempestate populari sæpe intelligas, quo signo commota sit.* Cic. pro Muræn., c. 17." *Duker.*

and having collected roses, though it was winter, from all quarters, formed levies, that he might seem in every way a general, of damsels and youths. Such a king, already vanquished by his own luxury, the Roman people, under the command of the consul Acilius Glabrio, having approached while he was still on the island, compelled him to flee from it by the very news of their coming. Having then overtaken him, as he was fleeing with precipitation, at Thermopylæ, a place memorable for the glorious death of the three hundred Spartans, they obliged him (not having confidence in the ground so as to make resistance even there) to flee before them by sea and land. Without the least delay they proceeded straight into Syria. The king's fleet was committed to Polyxenides and Hannibal, for Antiochus himself could not endure to look on the fight; and it was wholly destroyed by the Roman general, Æmilius Regillus, the Rhodians lending him their assistance. Let not Athens plume itself on its victories; in Antiochus we conquered a Xerxes; in Æmilius we equalled Themistocles; in our triumph at Ephesus[1] we matched that at Salamis.

The Romans then determined on the entire subjugation of Antiochus under the generalship of the consul Scipio, whom his brother Africanus, recently conqueror of Carthage, voluntarily accompanied in the character of lieutenant-general. The king had given up the whole of the sea; but we proceeded beyond it. Our camp was pitched by the river Mæander and Mount Sipylus. Here the king had taken his position, with so many auxiliary and other forces as is quite incredible. There were three hundred thousand foot, and no less a number, in proportion[2], of cavalry and chariots armed with scythes. He had also defended his army, on either side, with elephants of a vast size, making a gay appearance with gold, purple, silver, and their own ivory. But all this mighty force was embarrassed by its own vastness, as

[1] In our triumph at Ephesus] *Ephesiis.* "We must read *Epheso*, for the Romans did not fight with *the Ephesians*, but with the fleet of Antiochus at Myonesus, not far from Ephesus." *Grævius.*

[2] No less a number, in proportion, &c.] *Equitum falcatorumque curruum non minor numerus.* It is necessary to supply the words *in proportion* in the translation. "The sense is, that the number of cavalry and chariots was not less than the multitude of infantry required." *Freinshemius.*

well as by a shower of rain, which, pouring down on a sudden, had, with wonderful luck for us, spoiled the Persian bows. There was at first consternation, next flight, and then a triumph. To Antiochus, vanquished and suppliant, it was resolved to grant peace and a portion of his kingdom; and this the more readily, because he had so easily yielded.

CHAP. IX. THE ÆTOLIAN WAR.

To the Syrian war succeeded, as was to be expected, that of Ætolia; for after Antiochus was conquered, the Romans pursued the incendiaries of the Asiatic war. The charge of taking vengeance on them was committed to Fulvius Nobilior, who immediately, with his engines of war, assaulted Ambracia, the metropolis of the nation, and sometime the royal residence of Pyrrhus. A surrender followed. The Athenians and Rhodians supported the intreaties of the Ætolians for mercy; and, as we remembered the aid[1] which they had given us, we resolved to pardon them. But the war spread widely amongst their neighbours, and through all Cephallenia and Zacynthus; and whatever islands lie in that sea between the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Malea, became a portion of our conquests in that war.

CHAP. X. THE ISTRIAN WAR.

The Istrians shared the fortune of the Ætolians, whom they had recently assisted in their warlike efforts. The commencement of the enemy's military operations was successful, but that very success was the cause of their overthrow. For after they had taken the camp of Cnæus Manlius, and were devoting themselves to the enjoyment of a rich spoil, Appius Pulcher attacked them as they were mostly feasting and revelling, and not knowing, from the influence of their cups, where they were. Thus they yielded up their ill-gotten prey with their blood and breath. Apulo, their king, being set on horseback, because he was constantly stumbling from intoxication and lightness of head, could scarcely be made sensible, after he came to himself, that he was a prisoner.

[1] Ch. IX. We remembered the aid, *&c.*] "The assistance which they had given us against Philip, which Hannibal, in Livy, xxxvi., 7, and Livy himself,

CHAP. XI. THE GALLO-GRECIAN WAR.

The disaster of the Syrian war involved in it also the Gallo-Grecians. Whether they had really been among the auxiliaries of king Antiochus, or whether Manlius, too desirous of a triumph, merely pretended that they were, is doubtful. But it is certain that, though he was successful, a triumph was denied him, because the senate did not approve of his reasons for the war.

The nation of the Gallo-Grecians, as the name itself indicates, were mixed and adulterated relics of the Gauls who had devastated Greece under Brennus, and who afterwards, marching eastwards, settled in the interior of Asia. But as the seeds of fruits degenerate when their soil is changed, so the native savageness of those settlers was softened by the gentle air of Asia. In two battles, therefore, they were routed and dispersed, although they had left their abodes at the enemy's approach, and retreated to certain lofty mountains which the Tolostobogi and Testosagi then occupied. Both these tribes, being harassed with slings and arrows, surrendered themselves, promising to observe uninterrupted peace. But those that had been captured excited our wonder by attempting to bite their chains with their teeth, and offering their throats one to another to be strangled. The wife of king Orgiagon, having suffered violence at the hands of a centurion, made her escape, by a remarkable effort, from her guards, and brought the soldier's head, which she had cut off, to her husband.

CHAP. XII. THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.

While nation after nation fell in the ruin of the Syrian war, Macedonia again roused herself. The recollection and consideration of their former eminence excited that brave people to action. To Philip had succeeded his son Perses, who thought it unbecoming the dignity of the nation, that Macedonia, by being once conquered, should be conquered for ever. The Macedonians accordingly arose under him

lib. xxxiii., thought of so much consequence, that they attribute to it the victory of the Romans. Julian, too, in his Cæsars, speaks highly of the Ætolians, and says that they were not conquered by the Romans without extreme hazard." *Freinshemius.*

with much more spirit than they had shown under his father. They induced the Thracians to join their party, and thus tempered the dexterity of the Macedonians with the robust valour of the Thracians, and the daring spirit of the Thracians with the discipline of the Macedonians. To this arrangement was added the prudence of the prince, who, having surveyed the face of the country from the top of Hæmus, and having pitched several camps in steep places, had so secured his kingdom with men and arms, that he seemed to have left no access for enemies, unless they came down from heaven.

But the Romans[1], under the consul Marcius Philippus, having entered the province, and having carefully explored the approaches by the lake of Astrus[2], over troublesome and dangerous hills, and heights which seemed inaccessible even to birds, forced a passage for themselves, and, by a sudden inroad of war, alarmed the king, who was lying secure, and apprehending nothing of the kind. His consternation was so great, that he ordered all his money to be thrown into the sea, lest it should be lost[3], and his fleet to be burned, lest it should be set on fire.

Under the consul Paulus, when stronger garrisons, in great numbers, had been stationed on the frontiers, Macedonia was surprised by other ways, through the consummate art and perseverance of the general, who made a feint on one part, and effected an entrance at another; and whose mere approach was so alarming to the king, that he durst not meet the enemy in the field, but committed the management of the struggle to his generals. Being vanquished, therefore, in his absence, he fled to the sea, and took refuge in the island of Samothrace, trusting to the well-known

[1] But the Romans] *Nam—populus Romanus.* As *nam* seems out of place here, N. Heinsius suggested *tamen.*

[2] The lake of Astrus] *Astrudem paludem.* As this lake is nowhere else mentioned, the critics in general think the passage corrupt; and Salmasius proposes to read *Bistonidem paludem.* Livy, in his narrative of the same circumstances, (xliv., 2,) has *Ascuridem paludem.*

[3] Thrown into the sea, lest it should be lost, *&c.*] An allusion, as Freinshemius thinks, to Martial, Ep. ii., 80:

Hostem cùm fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit:
Dic rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?
Fannius, te 'scape his foes, stopp'd his own breath:
Was he not mad to die from fear of death?

sanctity of the place, as if temples and altars could protect him whom his mountains and arms could not defend.

No monarch longer cherished regret for his lost dignity. When he wrote as a suppliant to the Roman general, from the temple to which he had fled, and set his name to the letter, he added *King* to it. But no general was ever more respectful to captive majesty than Paulus. When his enemy came within sight, he invited him into his tent, entertained him at his own table, and admonished his own sons *to worship fortune whose power was so great.*

The triumph over Macedonia the Roman people also estimated and viewed as among the most glorious that they had ever known; for they occupied three days in witnessing it. The first day displayed the statues and pictures; the second, the arms and treasures; and the third, the captives and the king himself, who was still in a state of amazement, and as it were stupified at the suddenness of his calamity.

The people of Rome received the joyful news of this victory long before they learned it from the general's letter; for it was known at Rome on the very same day on which Perses was conquered. Two young men, with white horses, were seen cleansing themselves from dust and blood at the lake of Juturna; and these brought the news. It was generally supposed that they were Castor and Pollux, because they were two; that they had been present at the battle, because they were wet with blood; and that they had come from Macedonia, because they were still out of breath.

CHAP. XIII. THE ILLYRIAN WAR.

The contagion of the Macedonian war involved the Illyrians. They had served in it, having been hired by king Perses to harass the Romans in the rear. They were subdued without loss of time by the prætor Anicius. It was only necessary to destroy Scorda the capital, and a surrender immediately followed. The war was indeed finished before the news reached Rome that it was commenced.

CHAP. XIV. THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.

By some appointment of destiny, as if it had been so agreed between the Carthaginians and Macedonians, that

they should each be conquered a third time, both assumed arms at the same juncture, though the Macedonians took the lead in shaking off the yoke, being grown more formidable than before by having been despised. The occasion of the war is almost to be blushed at; for one Andriscus, a man of the lowest rank, seized the throne, and commenced a war against the Romans, at the same time. Whether he was a freeman or a slave is doubtful, but it is certain that he had worked for pay. Being, however, from a resemblance to king Philip, generally called Pseudo-Philip, he sustained the person and name of a king with the spirit of a king. The Romans slighting these proceedings on his part, and being content with the services of the prætor Juventius against him, rashly engaged the man when he was strengthened not only with the troops of Macedonia, but also with vast forces from Thrace, and they that were invincible against real kings, were defeated by this imaginary and pretended king. But under the consulship of Metellus they took ample revenge for the loss of their prætor and his legion; for they not only reduced Macedonia to servitude, but brought the leader in the war, who was given up to them by a petty prince of Thrace to whom he fled, in chains to the city, Fortune indulgently granting him this favour in his misfortunes, that the Roman people triumphed over him as a real king.

CHAP. XV. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

The third war with Africa was both short in its duration, (for it was finished in four years,) and, compared with those that preceded it, of much less difficulty; as we had to fight, not so much against troops in the field, as against the city itself; but it was far the greatest of the three in its consequences, for in it Carthage was at last destroyed. And if any one contemplates the events of the three periods, he will understand that the war was begun in the first, greatly advanced in the second, and entirely finished in the third.

The cause of this war was, that Carthage, in violation of an article in the treaty, had once fitted out a fleet and army against the Numidians, and had frequently threatened the frontiers of Masinissa. But the Romans were partial to this good king, who was also their ally.

When the war had been determined upon, they had to consider about the end of it. Cato, even when his opinion was asked on any other subject, pronounced, with implacable enmity, that Carthage should be destroyed. Scipio Nasica gave his voice for its preservation, lest, if the fear of the rival city were removed, the exultation of Rome should grow extravagant. The senate decided on a middle course, resolving that the city should only be removed from its place; for nothing appeared to them more glorious than that there should be a Carthage which should not be feared. In the consulship of Manlius and Censorinus, therefore, the Roman people having attacked Carthage, but giving them some hopes of peace, burned their fleet, which they voluntarily delivered up, in sight of the city. Having next summoned the chief men, they commanded them to quit the place if they wished to preserve their lives. This requisition, from its cruelty, so incensed them, that they chose rather to submit to the utmost extremities. They accordingly bewailed their necessities publicly, and shouted with one voice *to arms;* and a resolution was made to resist the enemy by every means in their power; not because any hope of success was left, but because they had rather their birthplace should be destroyed by the hands of the enemy than by their own. With what spirit they resumed the war, may be understood from the facts that they pulled down their roofs and houses for the equipment of a new fleet; that gold and silver, instead of brass and iron, was melted in their forges for the construction of arms; and that the women parted with their hair to make cordage for the engines of war.

Under the command of the consul Mancinus, the siege was warmly conducted both by land and sea. The harbour was dismantled of its works, and a first, second, and even third wall taken, while nevertheless the Byrsa, which was the name of the citadel, held out like another city. But though the destruction of the place was thus very far advanced, it was the name of the Scipios only that seemed fatal to Africa. The government, accordingly, applying to another Scipio, desired from him a termination of the war. This Scipio, the son of Paulus Macedonicus, the son of the great Africanus had adopted as an honour to his family, and, as it appeared, with this destiny, that the grandson should overthrow the

city which the grandfather had shaken. But as the bites of dying beasts are wont to be most fatal, so there was more trouble with Carthage half ruined, than when it was in its full strength. The Romans having shut the enemy up in their single fortress, had also blockaded the harbour; but upon this they dug another harbour on the other side of the city, not with a design to escape, but because no one supposed that they could even force an outlet there. Here a new fleet, as if just born, started forth; and, in the mean while, sometimes by day and sometimes by night, some new mole, some new machine, some new band of desperate men, perpetually started up, like a sudden flame from a fire sunk in ashes. At last, their affairs becoming desperate, forty thousand men, and (what is hardly credible) with Hasdrubal at their head, surrendered themselves. How much more nobly did a woman behave, the wife of the general, who, taking hold of her two children, threw herself from the top of her house into the midst of the flames, imitating the queen that built Carthage. How great a city was then destroyed, is shown, to say nothing of other things, by the duration of the fire, for the flames could scarcely be extinguished at the end of seventeen days; flames which the enemy themselves had raised in their houses and temples, that since the city could not be rescued from the Romans, all matter for triumph might at least be burned.

CHAP. XVI. THE ACHÆAN WAR.

As if this age had been destined for the subversion of cities, Corinth, the metropolis of Achaia, the ornament of Greece, situated, as if for an object of admiration, between the Ionian and Ægean Seas, soon after shared the fate of Carthage. This city (a proceeding unworthy of the Roman name) was destroyed even before it was counted among the number of undoubted enemies. The cause of the war was Critolaus[1], who used the liberty granted him by the Romans against themselves, and insulted the ambassadors sent from Rome, whether by personal violence is doubtful, but certainly by words. Revenge for this affront was committed to Metellus, who was at that time settling the state of Ma-

[1] Ch. XVI. Critolaus] He was chief of the Achæan league.

cedonia; and hence arose the Achæan war. In the first place, Metellus, now consul, cut to pieces the force of Critolaus on the open plains of Elis, and along the whole course of the Alpheus. The war was indeed ended in one battle; and a siege threatened the city itself; but, (such is the fortune of events,) after Metellus had fought, Mummius came to take the victory. He scattered, far and wide, the army of the other general Diæus, at the very entrance of the Isthmus, and dyed its two harbours with blood. At length the city, being forsaken by the inhabitants, was first plundered, and then pulled down to the sound of trumpets. What a profusion of statues, of garments, of pictures, was then burnt or scattered abroad! How great wealth the general then both carried off and burned, may be known from this fact, that whatever Corinthian brass is held in esteem throughout the world, we find to have been the relics of that conflagration. The ruin of that most opulent city even made the value of this brass the greater, inasmuch as, when many statues and images were melted together in the fire, veins of brass, gold, and silver, ran together into one mass.

CHAP. XVII. AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

As Corinth followed the fortune of Carthage, so Numantia followed that of Corinth. Nor was there a single place, throughout the whole world, that was afterwards untouched by the Roman arms. After the famous conflagrations of these two cities, there was war far and wide, not with different nations one after another, but, as it were, one war pervading the whole world at the same time; so that those cities seemed, as if by the action of the winds, to have dispersed certain sparks of war over the whole globe. Spain never had the determination to rise in a body against us; it never thought of uniting its strength, or making an effort for empire, or combining for a general defence of its liberty; else it is so surrounded on all sides by the sea and the Pyrenees, that, by the very nature of its situation, it is secure from all attacks. But it was beset by the Romans before it knew itself, and was the only one of all their provinces that did not discover its strength till it was subdued.

The war in this country lasted nearly two hundred years, from the time of the first Scipios to Cæsar Augustus, not

continuously or without intermission, but as occasions excited the Romans; nor was the dispute at first with the Spaniards, but with the Carthaginians in Spain, from whom proceeded the contagion, and connexion, and causes of all the contentions. The two Scipios, Publius and Cnæus, carried the first Roman standards over the Pyrenæan mountains, and defeated Hanno, and Hasdrubal the brother of Hannibal, in important battles; and Spain would have been carried as it were by assault, had not those gallant men been surprised by Punic subtlety in the height of victory, and cut off at a time when they were conquerors by land and sea. That Scipio, therefore, who was afterwards called Africanus, the avenger of his father and uncle, entered the country as a new and fresh province, and having speedily taken Carthage[1] and other cities, and not being content with having expelled the Carthaginians, made the province tributary to us, reduced under our dominion all places on either side of the Iberus, and was the first of the Roman generals that prosecuted a victorious course to Gades and the mouth of the Ocean[2].

But it is a greater matter to preserve a province[3] than to acquire one. Generals were accordingly despatched into several parts of the country, sometimes one way, sometimes another, who, with much difficulty, and many bloody engagements, taught those savage nations, which had till then been free, and were consequently impatient of control, to submit to the Roman yoke. Cato the Censor humbled the Celtiberians, the main strength of Spain, in several battles. Gracchus, the father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, inflicted on the same people the demolition of a hundred and fifty cities. Metellus, who was surnamed Macedonicus, deserved also to be called Celtibericus, for when he had with great glory reduced Contrebia and the Nertobriges[4], he with greater glory spared them. Lucullus conquered the Turduli and Vaccæi, from whom the younger Scipio, having been chal-

[1] Ch. XVII. Carthage] That is, New Carthage, in Spain.

[2] Mouth of the Ocean] *Oceani ora.* The Strait of Gibraltar, *Fretum Gaditanum.*

[3] A greater matter to preserve a province, *&c.*] He makes the same observation in b. iv., c. 12.

[4] The Nertobriges] This word is probably corrupt. It ought apparently to be the name of a town, not of a people; and it has been proposed to substitute *Nertobrigam.*

lenged by their king to a single combat, carried off the *spolia opima*. Decimus Brutus, taking a somewhat wider range, overcame the Celts and Lusitanians, and all the tribes of Gallæcia, crossed the river of Oblivion[1], an object of dread to the soldiers, and having pursued a victorious route along the shore of the Ocean, did not turn back until he beheld, not without some dread and apprehension of being guilty of impiety, the sun descend into the sea, and his fire buried in the waters.

But the main difficulty of the war was with the Lusitanians and Numantines; and not without reason; for they alone, of all the nations of Spain, had the good fortune to have leaders. There would, indeed, have been difficulty enough with all the Celtiberians, had not Salendicus, the author of their insurrection, been cut off at the beginning of the war. He would have been a great man, from the union of craft and daring in his character, if the course of events had favoured him. Brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended to have been sent him from heaven, and conducting himself like a prophet, he drew upon him the attention of every one. But having, with corresponding rashness, penetrated the camp of the consul in the night, he was slain near his tent by the javelin of a sentinel. The Lusitanians Viriathus stirred up, a man of the most consummate craft, who, from a hunter becoming a robber, was from a robber suddenly made a leader and commander, and who would have been, if fortune had seconded his attempts, the Romulus of Spain. Not content with defending the liberty of his countrymen, he for fourteen years wasted all that belonged to the Romans, on both sides of the Iberus and Tagus, with fire and sword. He attacked the camps of prætors and governors, defeated Claudius Unimanus, with the almost utter destruction of his army, and erected, in the mountains of his country, trophies adorned with the robes and fasces which he had taken from our generals. At last the consul Fabius Maximus overcame him, but his victory was disgraced by his successor, Pompi-

[1] The river of Oblivion] Otherwise called Limia, or Limius. Strabo, lib. iii.; Pomp. Mel., iii., 1; Cellar., ii., 1. It was called the river of Oblivion from the loss of some troops on its banks, in some of the contentions of the Spaniards among themselves. The word *transiit*, or some such verb, is, as Duker observes, wanting in the text.

lius, who, eager to bring the matter to an end, proceeded against the hero, when he was weakened and meditating a surrender, by the aid of fraud and treachery and domestic assassins, and conferred upon his adversary the glory of seeming to have been invincible by any other means.

CHAP. XVIII. THE NUMANTINE WAR.

Numantia, however inferior to Carthage, Capua, and Corinth, in wealth, was, in regard to valour and distinction, equal to them all. If we look to the conduct of its inhabitants, it was the greatest glory of Spain; for, though without a wall, without towers, situate only on a slight ascent by the river Douro, and manned only with four thousand Celtiberians, it held out alone, for the space of fourteen years, against an army of forty thousand men; nor did it hold out merely, but also several times repulsed them[1], and forced them to dishonourable treaties. At last, when it was found impregnable by its present assailants, it was necessary, they thought, to apply to him who had destroyed Carthage.

Scarcely ever, if we may confess the truth, was the pretext for a war more unjust. The Numantines had sheltered certain Segidians, some of their own allies and relatives, who had escaped from the hands of the Romans. The intercession which they made for these refugees had no effect; and when they offered to withdraw themselves from all concern in the war, they were told *to lay down their arms* as the condition of a treaty on fair terms. This was understood by the barbarians to signify that their hands were to be cut off. In consequence they immediately flew to arms, and under the conduct of Megara, a very determined leader, attacked Pompeius; yet, when they might have cut his army to pieces, they chose rather to make a treaty with him. They had next for an assailant Hostilius Mancinus, whose troops they so dispirited, by continual slaughters, that not a man of them could endure the looks or voice of a Numantine. Yet, when they might have put all his followers to the sword, they preferred making a treaty also with him, and were content with

[1] Ch. XVIII. Several times repulsed them] *Sæpiùs aliquando perculit.* This is the reading preferred by Lipsius. Duker has *sæviùs*, which Grævius interprets *Sævius quàm Carthago, Capua, et Corinthus.* But these names are at too great a distance for such an interpretation.

despoiling his men of their arms. But the people of Rome, incensed at the ignominy and shame of this Numantine treaty, no less than at the Caudine treaty of former days, expiated the dishonour of their miscarriage, for the present, by the surrender of Mancinus[1]. But afterwards, under the leadership of Scipio, who was prepared by the burning of Carthage for the destruction of cities, they grew outrageous for revenge.

At first, however, Scipio had a harder struggle in the camp than in the field, with our own troops than with those of Numantia. For the soldiery, under his orders, were of necessity exercised in constant, excessive, and even servile labour[2]. Such as knew not how to bear arms, were ordered to carry an extraordinary number of stakes for ramparts; and such as were unwilling to be stained with blood, were forced to defile themselves with dirt. Besides, all the women and servant-boys, and all baggage except what was requisite for use, was dismissed.

Justly has it been said, that an army is of the same worth as its leader. When the troops were thus reduced to discipline, a battle was fought, and that was effected which none had ever expected to see, namely, that every one saw the Numantines fleeing. They were even willing to surrender themselves, if nothing but what was endurable by men had been required of them. But as Scipio was eager for a full and absolute victory, they were brought to such despair, that, having gorged themselves, as if for a funeral-banquet, with half-raw flesh and *celia*[3], (a name which they give to a drink of the country made from corn,) they rushed out to battle with a determination to die. Their object was understood by our

[1] By the surrender of Mancinus] *Deditione Mancini.* Mancinus was placed, by the consul Publius Furius, at the gate of Numantia, unarmed, and with his hands tied behind him. But the Numantines refused to receive him. See Vell. Pat., ii., 90, 5. The subject is also mentioned by Appian, and by Plutarch, Life of Tib. Gracchus.

[2] Excessive—labour] *Injustis—operibus.* "*Injustus*," says Duker, "for *immodicus* and *nimius*. Some have proposed to read *insuetis*, but Madame Dacier defends *injustus* by a reference to Virgil, Geo., iii., 346:

Haud secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis,
Injusto sub fasce viam dum carpit."

[3] *Celia*] A sort of *cerevisia*, or beer. See Plin., H. N., xxii., 25. "Probably," says Scheller, "a Spanish word."

general, and to men defying death the opportunity of fighting was not granted. But when famine pressed hard upon them, (as they were surrounded with a trench and breastwork, and four camps,) they intreated of Scipio to be allowed the privilege of engaging with him, desiring that he would kill them as men, and, when this was not granted, they resolved upon making a sally. A battle being the consequence, great numbers of them were slain, and, as the famine was still sore upon them, the survivors lived for some time on their bodies[1]. At last they determined to flee; but this their wives prevented, by cutting, with great treachery, yet out of affection, the girths of their saddles. Despairing, therefore, of escape, and being driven to the utmost rage and fury, they resolved to die in the following manner. They first destroyed their captains, and then themselves and their native city, with sword and poison and a general conflagration. Peace be to the ashes of the most brave of all cities; a city, in my opinion, most happy in its very sufferings; a city which protected its allies with honour, and withstood, with its own force, and for so long a period, a people supported by the strength of the whole world. Being overpowered at length by the greatest of generals, it left no cause for the enemy to rejoice over it. Its plunder, as that of a poor people, was valueless; their arms they had themselves burnt; and the triumph of its conquerors was only over its name.

CHAP. XIX. SUMMARY OF THE ROMAN WARS FOR TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

Hitherto the Roman people had been noble, honourable, pious, upright, and illustrious. Their subsequent actions in this age, as they were equally grand, so were they more turbulent and dishonourable, their vices increasing with the very greatness of their empire. So that if any one divides this third age, which was occupied in conquest beyond the sea, and which we have made to consist of two hundred years, into two equal parts, he will allow, with reason and justice, that the first hundred years, in which they subdued

[1] Lived for some time on their bodies] *Aliquantisper inde vixere.* The commentators agree in giving this sense to *inde.* See Val. Max., vii., 6, 2.

Africa, Macedonia, Sicily, and Spain, were (as the poets sing) golden years; and that the other hundred, which to the Jugurthine, Cimbrian, Mithridatic, and Parthian wars, as well as those of Gaul and Germany, (in which the glory of the Romans ascended to heaven,) united the murders of the Gracchi and Drusus, the Servile War, and (that nothing might be wanting to their infamy) the war with the gladiators, were iron, blood-stained, and whatever more severe can be said of them. Turning at last upon themselves, the Romans, as if in a spirit of madness, and fury, and impiety, tore themselves in pieces by the dissensions of Marius and Sylla, and afterwards by those of Pompey and Cæsar.

These occurrences, though they are all involved and confused, yet, that they may appear the more clearly, and that what is bad in them may not obscure what is good, shall be related separately and in order. And in the first place, as we have begun, we shall give an account of those just and honourable wars which they waged with foreign nations, that the daily increasing greatness of the empire may be made more manifest; and we shall then revert to those direful proceedings, those dishonourable and unnatural contests, of the Romans among themselves.

CHAP. XX.

After Spain was subdued in the West, the Roman people had peace in the East; nor had they peace only, but, by unwonted and unexampled good fortune, wealth left them by bequests from kings, and indeed whole kingdoms at once, fell into their possession. Attalus, king of Pergamus, son of king Eumenes, who had formerly been our ally and fellow-soldier, left a will[1] to the following effect: "Let the Roman people be heir to my property." Of the king's property the kingdom was a portion. The Romans accordingly entering on the inheritance, became possessors of the province, not by war and arms, but, what is more satisfactory, by testamentary right.

But as to what followed, it is hard to say whether the Romans lost or recovered this province with the greater

[1] Attalus—left a will] See note on the Letter of Mithridates, Fragments of Sallust's History, p. 242.

ease. Aristonicus, a high-spirited youth of the royal family, brought over to his interest, without much difficulty, part of the cities which had been subject to the kings[1], and reduced a few, which offered resistance, as Myndus, Samos, and Colophon, by force of arms. He then cut to pieces the army of the prætor Crassus, and took Crassus himself prisoner. But the Roman general, remembering the dignity of his family and the name of Rome, struck out the eye of the barbarian, who had him in custody, with a wand, and this provoked him, as he intended, to put him to death. Aristonicus, not long after, was defeated and captured by Perperna, and, upon giving up all claim to the kingdom, kept in confinement. Aquilius then suppressed the relics of the Asiatic war, by poisoning certain springs, (a most dishonourable proceeding,) in order to force some cities to a surrender. This act, though it hastened his victory, rendered it infamous; for, contrary to the laws of the gods and the practices of our ancestors, he desecrated the Roman arms, which had till then been pure and inviolate, by the use of detestable drugs.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I. THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

This was the state of things in the east. But in the southern quarter there was no such tranquillity. Who, after the destruction of Carthage, would have expected any war in Africa? Yet Numidia roused herself with no small effort; and in Jugurtha there was something to be dreaded after Hannibal. This subtle prince assailed the Romans, when they were illustrious and invincible in arms, by means of his wealth; and it fortunately happened, beyond the expectation of all, that a king eminent in artifice was ensnared by artifice.

Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, and son of Micipsa by adoption, having determined, from a desire of being sole king, to put his brothers to death, but having less fear of them than of the senate and people of Rome, in whose faith and protection the kingdom was placed, effected his first crime

[1] Subject to the kings] Eumenes and Attalus.

by treachery; and having got the head of Hiempsal, and then turned his efforts against Adherbal, he brought the senate over to his side, (after Adherbal had fled to Rome,) by sending them money through his ambassadors. This was his first victory over us. Having by similar means assailed certain commissioners, who were sent to divide the kingdom between him and Adherbal, and having overcome the very integrity of the Roman empire[1] in Scaurus, he prosecuted with greater confidence the wicked course which he had commenced. But dishonesty cannot long be concealed; the corrupt acts of Scaurus's bribed commission came to light, and it was resolved by the Romans to make war on the fratricide[2]. The consul Calpurnius Bestia was the first general sent to Numidia; but Jugurtha, having found that gold was more efficient against the Romans than iron, purchased peace of him. Being charged with this underhand dealing, and summoned, on the assurance of safe conduct, to appear before the senate, the prince, with equal boldness, both came to the city and procured the death of Massiva, his competitor for the kingdom of Masinissa, by the aid of a hired assassin. This was another reason for war against Jugurtha. The task of inflicting the vengeance that was to follow was committed to Albinus; but Jugurtha (shameful to relate!) so corrupted his army also, that, through the voluntary flight of our men in the field, he gained a victory, and became master of our camp; and an ignominious treaty, as the price of safety to the Romans, being added to their previous dishonour, he suffered the army, which he had before bought, to depart.

At this time, to support, not so much the Roman empire as its honour, arose Metellus, who, with great subtlety, assailed the enemy with his own artifices; an enemy who sought to delude him, sometimes with intreaties, sometimes with threats, sometimes with flight that was evidently pretended, and sometimes with such as seemed to be real[3]. But

[1] Ch. I. The very integrity of the Roman empire] *Ipsos Romani imperii mores.* "Because Scaurus seemed of all men the most grave and abstinent." *Freinshemius.* See the note on Sall., Jug., c. 15.

[2] Fratricide] *Parricidam.* See note on Sall., Cat., c. 14.

[3] Flight that was evidently pretended—such as seemed to be real] *Jam simulatâ, jam quasi verâ fugâ.* There is something corrupt in this passage; for, as

the Roman, not content with devastating the fields and villages, made attempts on the principal cities of Numidia, and for a long time sought in vain to reduce Zama; but Thala, a place stored with arms and the king's treasures, he succeeded in capturing. Afterwards he pursued the prince himself, deprived of his cities, and forced to flee from his country and kingdom, through Mauretania and Getulia. Finally, Marius, having greatly augmented the army, (for, from the obscurity of his own birth, he enlisted numbers of the lowest class of people,) attacked the king when he was already defeated and disabled, but did not conquer him more easily than if he had engaged him in full and fresh vigour. The same general, also, with wonderful good fortune, reduced Capsa, a city built by Hercules, lying in the middle of Africa, and defended by serpents and sandy deserts, and forced his way, by the aid of a certain Ligurian, into Mulucha, a city seated on a rocky eminence, the approach to it being steep and apparently inaccessible. Soon after he gave a signal overthrow, near the town of Cirta, not only to Jugurtha himself, but to Bocchus, the king of Mauretania, who, from ties of blood, had taken the part of the Numidian prince. But the Mauretanian, distrusting the condition of his own affairs, and apprehensive of being involved in another's ruin, offered to purchase, by the surrender of Jugurtha, a treaty and alliance with Rome. That most treacherous of princes, accordingly, was ensnared by the treachery of his own father-in-law, and delivered into the hands of Sylla, and the people of Rome at last beheld Jugurtha loaded with chains and led in triumph, while the king himself, conquered and captive, looked again on the city which he had vainly prophesied "was to be sold, and doomed to perish if it could but find a buyer." But if it had been to be sold[1], it had a purchaser in him, and since he did not escape, it will appear certain that it is not destined to perish.

Duker and Perizonius observe, there is no conceivable difference between *quasi vera fuga* and *simulata fuga*. The manuscripts vary a little, but afford no help.

[1] But if it had been to be sold] *Jam ut venalis fuisset.* Madame Dacier proposed *nam ut.* Some editions have *tamen ut.*

CHAP. II. THE WAR WITH THE ALLOBROGES.

Thus did the Romans succeed in the south. In the north there were much more sanguinary proceedings, and in a greater number of places at once. Nothing is more inclement than those regions. The air is severe, and the tempers of the inhabitants similar to it. From all this tract, on the right and the left, and in the midst of the northern quarter, burst forth savage enemies. The Salyi were the first people beyond the Alps that felt our arms, in consequence of Marseilles, a most faithful and friendly city, having complained of their inroads. The Allobroges and Arverni were the next, as similar complaints from the Ædui called for our assistance and protection against them. The river Varus is a witness of our victories, as well as the Isara and Vindelicus, and the Rhone, the swiftest of all rivers. The greatest terror to the barbarians were the elephants, which matched the fierceness of those people. In the triumph there was nothing so conspicuous as king Bituitus, in his variegated arms and silver chariot, just as he had fought. How great the joy was for both victories, may be judged from the fact that both Domitius Ænobarbus, and Fabius Maximus, erected towers of stone upon the places where they had fought, and fixed upon them trophies adorned with the arms of the enemy: a practice not usual with us, for the Roman people never upbraided their conquered enemies with their victories over them.

CHAP. III. THE WARS WITH THE CIMBRI, TEUTONES, AND TIGURINI.

The Cimbri, Teutones, and Tigurini, fleeing from the extreme parts of Gaul[1], because the Ocean had inundated their country, proceeded to seek new settlements throughout the world; and being shut out from Gaul and Spain, and wheel-

[1] Ch. III. From the extreme parts of Gaul] *Ab extremis Galliæ.* As *Gallia* occurs again, a few lines below, it is apparent that there is something wrong in the passage. Cluverius, Germ. Antiq., i., 10, ii., 4, iii., 22, suggests that we should read *Germaniæ.* Grævius and Duker say that the most ancient inhabitants of Gaul were Germans, and that therefore Florus may reasonably have used *Gallia* as synonymous with *Germania.* I have little doubt, however, that Cluverius is right; for Florus was too careful of his language to make so inelegant a repetition as *exclusi Gallia* after *ab extremis Galliæ profugi.*

ing about[1] towards Italy, they sent deputies to the camp of Silanus, and from thence to the senate, requesting that "the people of Mars[2] would allot them some land as a stipend, and use their hands and arms for whatever purpose they pleased." But what lands could the people of Rome give them, when they were ready to fight among themselves about the agrarian laws? Finding their application, therefore, unsuccessful, they resolved to obtain by force what they could not get by intreaty. Silanus could not withstand the first attack of the barbarians, nor Manlius the second, nor Cæpio the third. All the three commanders were routed, and driven from their camps. Rome would have been destroyed, had not Marius happened to live in that age. Even he did not dare to engage them at once, but kept his soldiers in their camp, until the impetuous rage and fury, which the barbarians have instead of valour, should subside. The savages, in consequence, set off for Rome, insulting our men, and (such was their confidence of taking the city) asking them *whether they had any messages to send to their wives.* With not less expedition than they had threatened, they marched in three bodies over the Alps, the barriers of Italy. But Marius, exerting extraordinary speed, and taking a shorter route, quickly outstripped the enemy. Assailing first the Teutones, at the very foot of the Alps, in a place which they call *Aquæ Sextiæ*, in how signal a battle (O heavenly powers!) did he overthrow them! The enemy possessed themselves of a valley, and a river running through the midst of it, while our men wanted water; but whether Marius allowed this to happen designedly, or turned an error to his advantage, is doubtful; certain it is, however, that the courage of the Romans, stimulated by necessity, was the cause of their victory. For when the troops clamoured for water, "You are men," he replied; "yonder you have it." Such, in consequence, was the spirit with which they fought, and such the slaughter of the enemy, that the Romans drank from the ensanguined stream not more water than blood of the bar-

[1] Wheeling about] *Quum—regyrarent.* The latter word is a conjecture of Salmasius, approved by Grævius. Duker retains the common reading *remigrarent*, which is manifestly corrupt.

[2] The people of Mars] *Martius populus.* They intimated that one warlike people ought to oblige another warlike people.

barians. Their king himself, Teutobochus, who was accustomed to vault over four or six horses at once, could scarcely mount one when he fled, and being taken prisoner in the neighbouring forest, was a remarkable object in the triumph, for, being a man of extraordinary stature, he towered above the trophies themselves.

The Teutones being utterly cut off, Marius directed his efforts against the Cimbri. This people had made a descent, even (who would believe it?) in the time of winter, which raises the Alps[1] still higher than ordinary, rolling forward, like a falling mass of rock, from the Tridentine heights into Italy as far as the Adige. Attempting the passage of the river, not by the aid of a bridge or of boats, but, with the stupidity of savages, trying to stem it with their bodies, and making vain efforts to stop its current with their hands and shields, they at last blocked it up with a mass of trees thrown into it, and so got across. And had they immediately marched for Rome in a body, and eager for battle, the danger to the city would have been great; but delaying in the parts about Venice, where the climate of Italy is most luxurious, their vigour was diminished by the very mildness of the country and atmosphere. When they had been further relaxed by the use of bread, cooked flesh, and pleasant wines, Marius opportunely came up with them. They requested our general to fix upon a day for battle, and he appointed the next. They engaged in an open plain, which they call the Raudian field. There fell on the side of the enemy to the number of sixty thousand; on ours fewer than three hundred. The barbarians were slaughtered during an entire day. Marius had also assisted valour by artifice, in imitation of Hannibal and his stratagem at Cannæ. In the first place, he had fixed on a foggy day[2], so that he could charge the enemy before they were aware of his approach; and, as it

[1] Raises the Alps] *Quæ altiùs Alpes levat.* "This is very true," says Grævius, "for snow is spread over snow, and is turned, they say, into stone." See c. 10, *hyeme creverant Alpes.*

[2] He had fixed on a foggy day] *Nebulosum diem.* To attribute these stratagems to Marius, in imitation of Hannibal, is absurd. Marius was asked to fix a day for battle, and chose the next, without knowing whether it would be foggy or clear. The fog, too, as Florus says, was so dense that the Gauls could not see the Romans approaching; yet he states that there was sunshine reflected from the Roman helmets, and making the heaven seem in a blaze.

was windy also, he manœuvred so that the dust was driven into the eyes and faces of the enemy; while, in addition, he had arranged his troops to face the east, so that, as was afterwards learned from the prisoners, the heaven seemed to be on fire from the glittering of the Roman helmets and the reflection of the sun's rays from them. But the struggle with the enemies' wives was not less severe than that with themselves; for the women, being mounted on the waggons and other carriages, which had been ranged around as a defence, fought from them, as from towers, with spears and pikes. The death of these savages was as glorious as their contest for victory; for when, upon sending an embassy to Marius, they failed to obtain their liberty, and sacerdotal protection[1], which it was not lawful to grant, they either fell, after strangling or braining the whole of their children, by mutual wounds, or hanged themselves, with ropes made of their own hair, upon trees and the yokes of their waggons. Their king Bojorix fell in the battle, fighting furiously, and not without avenging himself.

The third body, the Tigurini, which, as if for a reserve, had taken post on the Noric heights of the Alps, dispersing in different ways, and betaking themselves to ignoble flight or depredations, at last quite disappeared. This joyful and happy news, of the deliverance of Italy and the securing of the empire, the people of Rome received, not, as is usual, by the mouths of men, but, if we may believe it, by the intervention of the gods themselves. For the very same day on which the contest was decided, two young men, crowned with laurel, were seen, in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux, to deliver a letter to the prætor; and a general rumour prevailed in the theatre of a victory over the Cimbri[2], attended with the expression, "May it be happy for

[1] Sacerdotal protection] *Sacerdotium.* "They did not desire, as Madame Dacier supposes, to institute any sacerdotal body, either peculiar to themselves, or in common with any other priests, but merely requested to be committed to the custody of the Vestal virgins. *Orârunt ut—virginibus Vestalibus dono mitterentur, affirmantes æquè se, atque illas, virilis concubitûs expertes futuras.* Val. Max., vi., 1, fin." *Duker.*

[2] Of a victory over the Cimbri, *&c.*] *Frequensque in spectaculo rumor* Victoriæ Cimbricæ Feliciter, *dixit.* Thus stands the passage in Duker's text, and, I believe, in all others, as if *Victoriæ* were a dative depending on *feliciter*, and the sense were, "Good fortune for the victory over the Cimbri." In this sense

us." What could be more wonderful, what more extraordinary, than this? For as if Rome, raised on her own hills, had taken a view of the battle, the people were clapping their hands in the city, as is the case at a show of gladiators, at the very moment when the Cimbri were falling in the field.

CHAP. IV. THE THRACIAN WAR.

After the Macedonians were subdued, the Thracians, please the gods[1], rebelled; a people who had themselves been tributary to the Macedonians, and who, not satisfied with making inroads into the neighbouring provinces of Thessaly and Dalmatia, advanced as far as the Adriatic. Being content with this as a boundary, nature apparently stopping their progress, they hurled their weapons into the waves. No cruelty, however, during the whole course of their march, had been left unexercised by their fury upon such as they took prisoners; they offered human blood to the gods; they drank from men's skulls; they made death, from fire and sword[2], more ignominious by every kind of insult; and they even forced by tortures[3] infants from their mothers' wombs.

Of all the Thracians the most savage were the Scordisci; and to their strength was added cunning. Their situation

Gruter and Freinshemius expressly say that the words are to be taken, and adduce a passage or two from Suetonius in which *feliciter* is joined with a dative. But these datives in Suetonius are, as Duker observes in his note, datives of the person; and both he and Scheffer doubt whether a dative of the thing, such as *victoriæ*, can properly be used with *feliciter*. Duker therefore proposes to take *victoriæ Cimbricæ* as a genitive with *rumor*, and to let *feliciter* stand by itself, as in Phæd., v., 1, 4: *Feliciter*, *subclamant*. In this sense I have given the passage in the translation.

[1] Ch. IV. Please the gods] *Si diis placet*: A contemptuous expression, similar to our phrase *God wot*, as "Peter, God wot, thought to do it."

[2] Death, from fire and sword] *Mortem tam igni quàm fumo* is the common reading. I have adopted Wasse's conjecture, *ferro*. Duker, indeed, endeavours to support *fumo* by references to Cicero, Verr., i., 17, where a man is described as tortured by fumigation, and to Vulcat. Gall., iv., with the notes of Casaubon and Salmasius. But there would be no need to say that the Thracians *added insult* to death by smoke, a death sufficiently insulting in itself.

[3] Forced by tortures, *&c.*] *Extorquere tormentis*. "*Tormenta* accipio funes circa ventrem tensos et ligatos. *Tormento tensior*, Priap. Carm., v. Vide ibi Scalig. Colv. et Scip. Gentil. ad Apul. Apol. non longè à princ. Quanquam etiam aliis modis compresso ventre partus extorqueri potest." *Duker.*

among woods and mountains agreed with their temper. An army, accordingly, which Cato commanded, was not only routed or put to flight by them, but, what resembled a prodigy, entirely cut off. Didius, however, drove them back, as they were straggling and dispersed in unrestrained devastation of the country, into their own Thrace. Drusus repelled them further, and hindered them from crossing the Danube. Minucius made havoc of them all along the banks of the Hebrus, though he lost many of his men when the river, which deceived them with its [illegible], was attempted by his cavalry. Piso passed over Rhodope and Caucasus. Curio went as far as Dacia, but was afraid to penetrate the darkness of its forests. Appius advanced to the Sarmatians, Lucullus to the Tanais, the boundary of those nations, and to the lake Mæotis. Nor were these most savage of enemies subdued by any other treatment than such as they exercised on others; for cruelties by fire and sword were inflicted on all that were taken prisoners. But nothing seemed more horrid to these barbarians than that they should be left with their hands cut off, and be obliged to live and survive their sufferings.

CHAP. V. THE MITHRIDATIC WAR.

The Pontic nations lie to the north, along the sea on the left[1], and have their name from the Pontus. Of these people and countries the most ancient king was Æetes. After him reigned Artabazes, who was sprung from one of the seven Persians. Then came Mithridates, the mightiest of all kings; for though four years were sufficient to defeat Pyrrhus, and seventeen to conquer Hannibal, this monarch held out for forty years, till, being subdued in three great wars, he was, by the good fortune of Sylla, the bravery of Lucullus, and the greatness of Pompey, entirely brought to nothing.

As a pretext for war, he alleged to Cassius, our ambassador, that "his borders were wasted by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia." Moved, however, by a spirit of ambition, he burned with a desire to grasp all Asia, and, if he could, all Europe. Our vices gave him hope and confidence; for while we were distracted by civil wars, the opportunity of attacking

[1] Ch. V. Along the sea on the left] *In mare sinistrum.* The Pontus Euxinus which lies on the left of those sailing from Italy into Asia Minor.

us tempted him; and Marius, Sylla, and Sertorius showed him from a distance that the side of the empire was exposed. In the midst, therefore, of these sufferings and disturbances of the commonwealth, the tempest of the Pontic war, as if seizing its opportunity, suddenly descended, as from the extreme heights of the north, upon a people wearied and preoccupied. Its first irruption at once snatched Bithynia from us. Asia was next seized with similar terror, and our cities and people without delay revolted to the king. He himself was active and urgent, and exercised cruelty as if he thought it a virtue. Nor what could be more atrocious than one of his edicts, ordering all citizens of Rome that were in Asia to be put to death? Then, indeed, homes, temples, and altars, and all obligations, human and divine, were violated.

This terror in Asia opened to the king also a passage into Europe. Accordingly, Archelaus and Neoptolemus, two of his generals, being despatched thither, the Cyclades, Delos, Eubœa, (and all the islands except Rhodes, which adhered to us more firmly than ever,) with Athens, the very glory of Greece, were seized by his troops. The dread of the king even affected Italy and the city of Rome itself. Lucius Sylla, therefore, a man excellent in war, hastened to oppose him, and repelled, as with a push of the hand, the enemy who was advancing with equal impetuosity. Athens, a city which was the mother of corn, he first compelled, by siege and famine, to eat (who would believe it?) the flesh of human beings; and then, having undermined the harbour of the Piræeus, with its six walls and more[1], and having reduced *the most ungrateful of men*[2], as he himself called them, he yet

[1] With its six walls and more] *Sex quoque et amplius muris.* "What *six* walls were those," says Grævius, "that were overthrown by Sylla? From the records of antiquity it does not appear that the Piræeus had any other than the two long walls." He therefore conjectures that these six walls must have been merely walls erected for the occasion, one behind the other, as successive defences against the besiegers; a conjecture which he supports by a reference to Appian's account of the siege. Duker agrees with Grævius. Bede, indeed, on the Acts of the Apostles, and Orosius, vi., 2, speak of the Piræeus as being fortified with a sevenfold wall, (*septemplici muro,*) but they seem merely to have been misled by this passage of Florus.

[2] Most ungrateful of men] *Ingratissimos hominum.* As having banished or ill-treated most of their benefactors and great men, Theseus, Solon, Miltiades, Cimon, Demosthenes, *&c.*

spared them for the honour of their deceased ancestors, and for the sake of their religion and fame. Having next driven the king's garrisons from Eubœa and Bœotia, he dispersed the whole of his forces in one battle at Chæronea, and in a second at Orchomenus; and shortly after, crossing over into Asia, he overthrew the monarch himself, when the war would have been brought to a conclusion, had he not been desirous to triumph over Mithridates rather speedily than completely[1].

The following, however, was the condition in which Sylla placed Asia. A treaty was made with the people of Pontus. He recovered Bithynia for[2] king Nicomedes, and Cappadocia for Ariobarzanes. Asia thus became ours again, as it had begun to be. But Mithridates was only repulsed. This state of things, accordingly, did not humble the people of Pontus, but incensed them. For the king, being caught, as it were, with the hope of possessing Asia and Europe[3], now sought to recover both by right of war, not as belonging to others, but because he had before lost them.

As fires, therefore, which have not been completely extinguished, burst forth into greater flames, so Mithridates, with an increased number of forces, and indeed with the whole strength of his kingdom, descended again upon Asia, by sea, by land, and along the rivers. Cyzicus, a noble city, adorns the shore of Asia with its citadel, walls, harbour, and towers. This city, as if it had been another Rome, he assailed with

[1] Rather speedily than completely] *Cito quàm verè.* "Florus has here fallen into an error, for Sylla did not triumph over Mithridates till some years afterwards, at the conclusion of the civil war. Nor did he make peace with Mithridates from desire of a triumph, but that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against the faction of Marius, which was then domineering in Italy." *Duker.*

[2] He recovered Bithynia for, *&c.*] In all the editions the passage stands thus: *Recepit Bithyniam à rege Nicomede, ab Ariobarzane Cappadociam.* This, as all the commentators observe, is evidently corrupt. I have followed the emendation proposed by Salmasius: *Recepit Bithyniam regi Nicomedi, Ariobarzani Cappadociam.* Lipsius conjectured, *Recipit Bithyniam à Rege Nicomedes, Ariobarzanes Cappadociam.*

[3] Asia and Europe] Grævius and Madame Dacier wished to expunge *Europâ* from the text, but Duker desires to preserve it, as Mithridates, in the preceding part of the war, had had a view to a portion of Europe as well as to all Asia. But as *alienam* and *raptam* follow in the singular, the expunction seems justifiable.

his whole warlike force; but a messenger, who, (surprising to relate,) seated on a stuffed skin, and steering his course with his feet, had made his way through the middle of the enemy's ships, (appearing, to those who saw him from a distance, to be some kind of sea-monster,) gave the citizens courage to make resistance, by assuring them that Lucullus was approaching. Soon after, distress reverting upon the king, and famine, from the long continuance of the siege, and pestilence, as a sequel to the famine, pressing grievously upon him, Lucullus surprised him as he was endeavouring to retreat, and slew so great a portion of his army, that the rivers Granicus and Æsapus were reddened with blood. The crafty king, well acquainted with Roman avarice, ordered the baggage and money to be scattered about by his troops as they fled, as a means of retarding the course of the pursuers.

Nor was his retreat by sea more fortunate than that by land; for a tempest, in the Pontus Euxinus, falling on a fleet of above a hundred ships, laden with warlike stores, shattered it with so miserable a havoc, that its fate presented the appearance of the sequel to a sea-fight, as it Lucullus, by some compact with the waves and storms, had delivered the king to the winds to conquer.

The whole strength of his mighty kingdom was now greatly impaired; but his spirit rose with his misfortunes. Turning, therefore, to the neighbouring nations, he involved in his destruction almost the whole of the east and north. The Iberians, Caspians, Albanians, and the people of both Greater and Lesser Armenia, were solicited to join him; and Fortune, by every means in her power, sought glory, and name, and titles, for her favourite Pompey, who, seeing Asia excited with new commotions, and one king rising after another, thought that he ought not to delay till the strength of the nations should be united, but, having speedily made a bridge of boats, was the first of all before him[1] to pass the

[1] First of all before him] *Omnium ante se primus.* A mode of expression common among the Greeks, as in Xen. Sympos., c. viii., 40: ἱεροπρεπέστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημένων, "You seem the greatest ornament to the priesthood of all that were before you." So Milton, Par L., iv., 323:

Adam, the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

Other examples might be found in abundance.

Euphrates, and overtaking the king in the middle of Armenia, suppressed him (such was his good fortune!) in one battle. The engagement took place by night, and the moon was Pompey's ally; for having, as if fighting on his side, stationed herself in the rear of the enemy, and in front of the Romans, the men of Pontus, by mistake, discharged their weapons at their own long shadows, taking them[1] for bodies of the enemy. In that night, indeed, Mithridates was utterly overcome; for he was able to do nothing afterwards; though he made all manner of efforts, like serpents, which, when their head is crushed, threaten with their tails to the last. Having fled from the enemy to the Colchians, he sought to alarm, by a sudden descent, the coasts of Sicily and our own Campania, to form a communication between the Bosporus and Colchis[2], then to hasten through Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, and so to make a sudden inroad into Italy. But this he only conceived; for, being prevented from the execution of it by a revolt of his subjects, and by the treachery of his son Pharnaces, he at last ended by the sword the life which he had in vain attempted by poison.

Pompey, meantime, in pursuit of the remains of the rebels in Asia, was hurrying through divers nations and countries. Following the Armenians eastward, and capturing Artaxata, the metropolis of the kingdom, he allowed Tigranes, on offering submission, to retain his throne. Then, steering his course by the stars, as in a voyage over the sea, towards the Scythian north, he overthrew the Colchians, gave quarter to Iberia, spared the Albanians, and, pitching his camp at the foot of Mount Caucasus, commanded Orodes, king of the Colchians, to remove down into the plains, and required also Arthoces, who ruled the Iberians, to give his children as hostages. Orodes, too, who sent him from his country of

[1] Long shadows, taking them, &c.] *Umbras suas quasi hostium corpora, &c.* Not very likely. Lipsius would strike out *suas;* but it occurs in all the copies.

[2] To form a communication between the Bosporus and Colchis] *Colchis tenus jungere Bosporon.* "These words labour under no small obscurity. To me, however, Florus seems to mean nothing more than that Mithridates wished, as Appian states, to attach to himself the natives lying between the Bosporus and Colchis, and, with their aid, to transfer the war into Europe." *Duker.* Madame Dacier thought of explaining *jungere Bosporon* by "jungere ripas Bospori ponte ex navibus," but this would deprive *Colchis tenus* of all meaning.

Albania a golden couch and other presents, he amply rewarded. Afterwards, turning his army to the south, and passing Mount Libanus in Syria, and Damascus, he led the Roman standards through the well-known groves of perfumes, and the forests of frankincense and balm. The Arabians, if he gave them any commission, were ready to execute it. The Jews made an effort to defend Jerusalem; but this city he also entered, and saw the grand mystery of an impious nation laid open, as it were, under a golden sky[1]. And being chosen arbiter between two brothers, who were disputing about the throne, he gave sentence that Hyrcanus should be king, and cast Aristobulus, as he was unwilling to submit to his decision, into chains. Thus the Roman people, under the leadership of Pompey, having traversed the whole of Asia where it is broadest, made that the middle province of their empire which they had previously accounted the last. For except the Parthians, who preferred coming to a treaty, and the Indians, who were as yet ignorant of us, all Asia, between the Red and Caspian Seas and the Ocean, was under our jurisdiction, having been either conquered or overawed by the arms of Pompey.

CHAP. VI. THE WAR AGAINST THE PIRATES.

In the mean time, while the Romans were engaged in different parts of the world, the Cilicians had spread themselves over the sea, and, by the obstruction of commerce, and the disruption of the bonds of human society, had made the seas as impassable by their piracies as they would have been rendered by a tempest.

The state of Asia, disturbed by the wars of Mithridates, gave confidence to these desperate and audacious robbers, who, under covert of the confusion of a war raised by others, and the odium against a foreign prince, roved up and down without control. Even at first, under a leader named

[1] The grand mystery—under a golden sky] *Illud grande impiæ gentis arcanum patens, sub aureo uti cælo.* Thus stands the passage in Duker. Some editions have *sub aureo vitem cælo*, but *vitem* is a mere conjecture of Lipsius, from a passage in Josephus, Ant., xiv., 3, where it is said that Aristobulus sent to Rome, as a present to Pompey, a golden vine. This conjecture Salmasius, Grævius, and Selden, unite in condemning. Grævius himself proposed *sub aureo uti velo*,

Isidorus, they did not confine themselves[1] to the neighbouring sea, but exercised their piracies between Crete and Cyrene, and between Achaia and the Malean Gulf, which, from the spoils that they took there, they named the Golden Gulf. Publius Servilius was sent against them, who, though he worsted their light and nimble brigantines[2] with his heavy and well-appointed ships of war, did not obtain a victory without much bloodshed. He was not, however, content with driving them from the sea, but sacked their strongest towns, stored with spoil that they had been long in collecting, Phaselis, Olympos, and Isaurus, the very stronghold of Cilicia, whence, conscious that he had achieved a great exploit, he assumed the name of Isauricus.

Yet the pirates, though humbled by so many losses, could not, on that account, confine themselves to the land, but, like certain animals, which have a twofold nature for living either on land or in water, they became, upon the retreat of the enemy, impatient of remaining ashore, and sprung back again into the waters, extending their excursions, indeed, somewhat more widely than before. So that Pompey, who had been so fortunate already, was considered a fit person to secure a victory over these depredators, and this was made an addition to his Mithridatic province[3]. Resolving, accordingly, to suppress, at once and for ever, a plague that had dispersed itself over the whole sea, he proceeded against it with extraordinary[4] mea-

observing that Pompey entered the Sanctum Sanctorum, and saw in it nothing but empty space, covered with a veil embroidered with gold.

[1] Ch. VI. Did not confine themselves] *Non contenti.* The *non* is not in Duker's text, but the necessity for it is shown in the notes both by him and Grævius. The sea between Crete and Cyrene, and the Malean Gulf, could not be called *proximum mare* with reference to Cilicia.

[2] Brigantines] *Myoparonas.* A word compounded, according to Festus, of two words, *myon*, (as Scaliger reads,) and *paron*, both signifying vessels of some kind. Turnebus, Adversar., iii., 1, thinks that they had their name from the island *Paros* and the city *Myus.* Scaliger, on Festus, would derive the word from μῦς, a mouse, and Paros, on the supposition that they were shaped something like the body of a mouse.

[3] Was made an addition to his Mithridatic province] *Mithridaticæ provinciæ facta accessio.* "Florus is in error in supposing that the war against the pirates was an addition or appendix to the Mithridatic war, for he was not sent against Mithridates till the war with the pirates was ended, as is clear from Cicero pro Leg. Manil., Plutarch, and Appian." *Duker.*

[4] Extraordinary] *Divino.* As δῖος and δαιμόνιος are used among the Greeks.

sures. As he had a large naval force, both of his own and our allies the Rhodians, he secured the entrances both of the Pontus and the Ocean[1], with the aid of several captains and commanders. Gellius was stationed in the Tuscan sea, Plotius in that of Sicily. Gratilius guarded the Ligurian bay, Pompeius[2] the Gallic, Torquatus the Balearic; Tiberius Nero had charge of the Strait of Gibraltar, where the entrance to our sea opens; Lentulus watched the Libyan sea, Marcellinus the Egyptian, the young Pompeys the Adriatic, Terentius Varro the Ægean and Pontic, Metellus the Pamphylian, and Cæpio the Asiatic; while Porcius Cato locked up the mouth of the Propontis like a gate, with his ships drawn across it. Thus, whatever pirates were to be found in any harbour, bay, creek, recess, promontory, strait, or peninsula, were inclosed and secured, as it were, with a net. Pompey himself directed his efforts against Cilicia, the source and origin of the war. Nor did the enemy shrink from an engagement with him, not, indeed, from confidence in their strength, but, as they were hard pressed, they were willing to appear daring. But they did nothing more than meet the first onset, for immediately afterwards, when they saw the beaks of our ships encircling them, they threw down their weapons and oars, and, with a general clapping of hands, which was with them a sign of supplication, intreated for quarter. Never did we obtain a victory with so little bloodshed. Nor was any nation afterwards found so faithful to us; a state of things which was secured by the remarkable prudence of the general, who removed this maritime people far from the sight of the sea, and tied them down, as it were, to the inland parts of the country. Thus, at the same time, he both recovered the free use of the sea for ships, and restored to the land its own men.

In this triumph what shall we most admire? Its expedition, as being gained in forty days? Its good fortune, as not a single ship was lost? Or its durable effect, as the Cilicians, in consequence of it, were never after pirates?

[1] Entrances both of the Pontus and the Ocean] *Utraque Ponti et Oceani ora.* Both the Thracian Bosporus and the *Fretum Gaditanum*, or Strait of Gibraltar.

[2] Pompeius] Duker conjectures *Pomponius*, as in Appian.

CHAP. VII. THE CRETAN WAR.

The Cretan war, if we would but admit the truth, we ourselves occasioned, solely from a desire of subduing that noble island. It was thought to have favoured Mithridates, and we resolved to take vengeance for this offence by force of arms. The first who invaded the island was Marcus Antonius; and, indeed, with such vast hopes and confidence of success, that he carried in his vessels more chains than arms. He, however, paid the penalty of his rashness, for the enemy captured most of his ships, and the dead bodies of the prisoners were suspended from the sails and tackling. In this manner the Cretans, with their sails spread, rowed back in triumph to harbours.

At a subsequent period, Metellus, after wasting the whole island with fire and sword, drove the inhabitants to their fortresses and towns, and took Gnossus[1], Erythræa, and Cydonia, *the mother*, as the Greeks are wont to call it, *of its cities*[2]; and so cruel was his treatment of the prisoners, that most of them poisoned themselves, while others sent offers of surrender to Pompey, who was then at a distance. Pompey, though fully engaged in Asiatic affairs, nevertheless despatched Antonius as his deputy to Crete, and thus gained reputation from another man's province. But Metellus enforced the rights of war on the enemy only the more unmercifully, and, after suppressing Lasthenes and Panares, captains of Cydonia, returned home victorious; yet from so remarkable a conquest he gained nothing more than the surname of Creticus.

CHAP. VIII. THE BALEARIC WAR.

As the family of Metellus Macedonicus was accustomed to military surnames, it was not long, after one of his sons became Creticus, till the other was called Balearicus. The Balearic Isles, at that time, had infested the seas with piratic outrages. You would wonder that a savage people, living in the woods, should venture even to look upon the sea from the top of their rocks. But they had courage to go

[1] Ch. VII. Took Gnossus] It is necessary to supply, in the Latin text, *cepit*, or some such verb, which, as Duker observes, seems to have been lost.

[2] *Mother of its cities.*] *Urbium matrem.* Its metropolis.

on board some ill-made boats, and, from time to time, surprised vessels sailing by with unexpected attacks. Seeing also a Roman fleet approaching from the sea, and looking upon it as a prize, they ventured to engage it, and, at the first onset, covered the ships with a vast shower of small and great stones. Every one of them fights with three slings; and who can wonder that their execution with these instruments is very sure, when they are the only weapons of the nation, and the use of them is their only exercise from their infancy? A child receives no food from his mother but what he has struck down with his sling at her bidding. But they did not long frighten the Romans with their stones; for, when they came to close combat, and felt the effects of our beaks, and the weapons that fell upon them, they set up a bellowing like oxen, and fled to the shore, where, dispersing themselves among the nearest hills, they were to be found before they could be conquered.

CHAP. IX. THE EXPEDITION TO CYPRUS.

The fate of the islands was come; and Cyprus, in consequence, was taken without a war. Of this island, which abounded in wealth from times of old, and was for this reason[1] sacred to Venus, Ptolemy was king; but such was the fame of its riches, and not without cause, that a people who had conquered nations, and was accustomed to give away kingdoms, ordered, at the instigation of Publius Clodius the tribune, that the king's property, though he was their ally and still living, should be brought into the public treasury. Ptolemy, upon the news of this decree, hastened his death by poison. Porcius Cato, however, brought the wealth of Cyprus in Liburnian vessels[2] into the mouth of the Tiber, an event which replenished the treasury of Rome more largely than any triumph.

[1] Ch. IX. For this reason] *Ob hoc.* "I see no ground for this assertion: *it was rich*, therefore *sacred to Venus*. It would surely rather have been sacred to Juno. To me, therefore, it appears that we should read, not *ob hoc*, on account of this, but *ad hoc*, in addition to this." *Freinshemius.* This conjecture is approved both by Grævius and Duker.

[2] Liburnian vessels] *Liburnis.* "Those vessels were now called Liburnian, which were previously termed triremes, quadriremes, *&c.*, as is shown by Scheffer, de Milit. Nav., ii., 2." *Duker.* Their name was from the Liburni, a people of Illyricum. The reader may consult the commentators on Hor. Epod., i., 1.

CHAP. X. THE GALLIC WAR.

When Asia was subdued by the efforts of Pompey, Fortune conferred what remained to be done in Europe upon Cæsar. There were still left the most savage of all nations, the Gauls and Germans; and Britain, though separated from the whole world, had yet one to conquer it. The first commotion in Gaul arose from the Helvetii, who, lying between the Rhone and the Rhine, and finding their country insufficient for them, came forth, after setting fire to their cities, (an act equivalent to an oath that they would not return,) to ask of us new settlements. But Cæsar, having asked for time to consider of their application, prevented them, meanwhile, from getting off, by breaking down the bridge over the Rhone, and straightway drove back this warlike nation to their former abodes, as a shepherd drives his flocks into the fold. The next affair was a war with the Belgæ, which was attended with far more bloodshed, as being a struggle with men fighting for their liberty. In the course of it were displayed many brave acts among the soldiery, and a remarkable one of the general himself, who, when his troops were on the point of flight, having snatched a buckler from a retreating soldier, hurried to the front of the army, and restored the battle by his own exertions. Then followed a naval war with the Veneti, but there was a greater struggle in it with the Ocean than with the ships of the enemy; for the vessels were rude and ill-shaped, and were shattered as soon as they felt our beaks; but the contest was obstructed by the shallows, as the Ocean, retiring by its usual ebbs during the engagement, seemed disposed to put a stop to the war.

There were also other diversities of operation, according to the nature of the people and the ground. The Aquitani, a crafty nation, betook themselves to their caverns; Cæsar ordered them to be shut up in them. The Morini dispersed themselves among their woods; he ordered the woods to be set on fire.

Let no one say that the Gauls are mere senseless warriors; for they act with cunning. Indutiomarus called together the Treviri, Ambiorix the Eburones; and the two, in the absence of Cæsar, having entered into a conspiracy, fell

upon his lieutenant-generals. Indutiomarus was valiantly repulsed by Dolabella, and his head carried from the field. Ambiorix, however, placing an ambuscade in a valley, gave us by that contrivance a defeat, so that our camp was plundered, and our treasure carried off. Then we lost Cotta, and Titurius Sabinus, one of the legates. Nor was any revenge afterwards taken on Ambiorix, as he lay in perpetual concealment beyond the Rhine.

Yet the Rhine was not, on that account, left unassailed; nor was it just that the receiver and protector of our enemies should escape. The first battle against the Germans on its banks arose indeed from very just grounds; for the Ædni made complaints of their inroads. And how great was the haughtiness of Ariovistus! When our ambassadors said to him, "Come to Cæsar," "And who is Cæsar?" he retorted; "let him come to me, if he will. What is it to him what our Germany does? Do I meddle with the Romans?" In consequence of this reply, so great was the dread of the unknown people in the Roman camp, that wills were publicly made even in the *principia*[1]. But the greater the vast bodies of the enemy were, the more were they exposed to swords and other weapons. The ardour of the Roman soldiers in the battle cannot be better shown than by the circumstance that when the barbarians, having raised their shields above their heads, protected themselves with a testudo[2], the Romans leaped upon their very bucklers, and then came down upon their throats with their swords.

The Tencteri were the next that made complaints of the

[1] Ch. X. Even in the *principia*] *Etiam in principiis.* "He means either that the chief men of the army, military tribunes, prefects, and others, who were quartered in the *principia*, made their wills; or that the common soldiers, seized with terror, betrayed their feelings by making their wills under the very eyes of the general and the other officers." *Duker.* "The lower part of the camp was separated from the upper by a broad open space, which extended the whole breadth of the camp, called *principia*, (Liv., vii., 12,) where the tribunal of the general was erected, where he either administered justice or harangued the army, Tacit. Annal. i., 67, Hist., iii., 13; where the tribunes held their courts, (*jura reddebant,*) Liv. xxviii., 24; and punishments were inflicted, Suet. Oth., c. 1, Aug., c. 24; where the principal standards of the army, and the altars of the gods stood, Tacit. Annal., i. 39." Adam's Rom. Ant., p. 343, 8vo. ed.

[2] With a testudo] *Testudine.* See Sall., Jug., c. 98.

Germans. Cæsar then, of his own impulse, crossed the Moselle[1] by a bridge of ships, and passed even the Rhine itself, to seek the enemy in the Hercynian forests. But the whole nation had fled away to their thickets and fens, so great alarm did the Roman force, suddenly appearing on that side of the river, excite in them. Nor was the Rhine crossed by Cæsar only once, but even a second time, when a bridge was built over it. The consternation of the barbarians grew then much greater, for when they saw their Rhine taken captive with a bridge, which seemed to them as a yoke laid upon it, they all fled a second time to their woods and marshes, and, what was most vexatious to Cæsar, no enemies remained to be conquered.

All, therefore, by land and sea[2], being subdued, he cast his eyes upon the wide Ocean, and, as if the world which the Romans possessed was not sufficient for them, he meditated the conquest of another. Having accordingly equipped a fleet, he set sail for Britain. He crossed the water with extraordinary expedition, for, having started from a harbour of the Morini[3] at the third watch, he reached the island before mid-day. The shores were crowded with a tumultuous assemblage of the enemy, and their chariots, as if in consternation at the sight of something strange, were hurrying backwards and forwards. Their trepidation was in consequence a victory to Cæsar, who received arms and hostages from them while they were in alarm, and would have proceeded further along their coasts, had not the Ocean punished his daring fleet with a wreck. He returned, therefore, for the present, into Gaul; but, having augmented his fleet, and reinforced his army, he ventured again upon the same Ocean, and pursued the same Britains into the Caledonian forests, taking one of the Cavelian princes[4] prisoner. Con-

[1] The Moselle] *Mosula.* Generally written *Mosella.*

[2] All—by land and sea] *Omnibus—terrâ marique.* By *mari* the people and places on the coast are meant.

[3] Harbour of the Morini] *Morino portu.* What harbour Florus means, is uncertain. The Morini were on the coast of the English channel, opposite Dover.

[4] One of the Cavelian princes] *Unum è regibus Cavelianis.* None of the editors think this reading sound. "Freinshemius excellently conjectures *unum è regibus Cassivelauni*, or *unum è regibus Cassivelaunum*; for though Cæsar did not take Cassivelaunus himself, Florus may mean that he took some captain or petty prince of Cassivelaunus." *Grævius.*

tent with these exploits, (for his object was not to get a province, but a name,) he sailed back with greater booty than before, the Ocean itself being also more tranquil and propitious, as if it acknowledged itself to be under his power.

But the greatest rising of all the Gauls, which was also the last, was when that prince, so formidable for his stature, martial skill, and courage, (his very name, Vercingetorix, being apparently intended to excite terror,) drew together all the Arverni and Bituriges, in conjunction with the Carnutes and Sequani. This king, upon festivals and days of assembly, when he had the people collected in great numbers in the groves, roused them, by his high-spirited harangues, to recover their former liberty and rights. Cæsar was at that time absent, levying troops at Ravenna, and the Alps had grown higher during the winter[1], so that they thought his passage stopped. But he, (such was his happy temerity at the report of these proceedings,) forcing a way with a light-armed troop over tops of mountains previously impassable, and over snows never before trodden, reached Gaul, collected a force from the different winter-quarters, and secured a position in the midst of the country before he was apprehended to be on the borders of it. Proceeding then against the cities that took the chief part in the insurrection, he overthrew Avaricum, with its garrison of forty thousand men, and burned to the ground Alexia, though relying upon a force of two hundred and fifty thousand. The whole stress of the war was at last collected about Gergovia, a city of the Arverni, which eighty thousand men defended with the aid of a wall, a citadel, and precipitous rocks. This great city he first weakened by famine, surrounding it with a rampart, palisades, a trench, (the river being let into the trench,) eighteen towers, and a high breastwork; and afterwards, when the inhabitants ventured upon sallies, he slaughtered them from the ramparts with swords and pikes; and at last forced them to surrender. The king of the place himself, (the greatest ornament of the victory,) after having come as a suppliant to the Roman

[1] The Alps had grown higher during the winter] *Hyeme creverant Alpes.* See note, c. 3, on *quæ altius Alpes levat.*

camp, and thrown his royal ensigns and arms at the feet of Cæsar, exclaimed, "Receive them[1]: thou, O bravest of men, hast conquered a brave man."

CHAP. XI. THE PARTHIAN WAR.

Whilst the Romans, by the instrumentality of Cæsar, were subduing the Gauls in the north, they received a grievous blow from the Parthians in the east. Nor could we complain of Fortune; there was no consolation for the disaster. The avarice of the consul Crassus, who, in defiance of gods and men, was longing eagerly for Parthian gold, was punished with the destruction of eleven legions, and the loss of his own head.

Metellus, a tribune of the people, had cursed Crassus, as he was going out of Rome, with bitter execrations. After the army had passed Zeugma, the Euphrates swallowed up the standards which had been carried into it by a sudden whirlwind. When he had pitched his camp at Nicephorium, ambassadors, sent to him by king Orodes, urged him "to remember the treaties made with Pompey and Sylla;" to which the consul, whose heart was set upon the king's treasures, made, without even a pretext of justice, no other reply than that *he would give his answer at Seleucia*. The gods, therefore, the avengers of violated treaties, refused their assistance neither to the secret artifices, nor to the open valour, of our enemies. The first military error of Crassus was to desert the Euphrates, which alone could supply him with provisions or secure his rear. He then trusted a Syrian named Mazaras, a counterfeit deserter, till, under his guidance, the army was led into the middle of an open plain, and exposed to the enemy on every side. Scarcely, in consequence, had he reached Carræ[2], when Sillaces and Surenas, the king's generals, displayed their standards waving with gold and silken banners. Immediately afterwards, the cavalry gathering around, showered upon the Romans their arrows as thick as hail or rain. The army was thus cut off with a direful slaughter. The consul, being invited to a conference, would, upon a given signal, have

[1] Receive them] *Habe*. Duker has *Habes* in the text, but recommends in his note the imperative, which it can scarcely be doubted is the true reading.

[2] Ch. XI. Carræ] See i., 11.

fallen alive into the hands of the enemy, had not the Parthians, in consequence of resistance from the tribunes, hastened to prevent his escape with their swords. Yet even thus his head was carried off, and made an object of derision to the enemy. His son, almost in the sight of his father, they cut off with the same weapons. The relics of the unhappy army, scattered wherever the hope of escape drove them, through Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, scarcely brought home the news of the disaster.

The head of Crassus, when cut off, together with his right hand, was carried to the king, and treated by the enemy, not unjustly, with mocking insult. Molten gold was poured into his mouth, that the flesh of him whose mind had burnt with desire of gold, might, when dead and inanimate, be burnt with gold itself.

CHAP. XII. A RECAPITULATION.

This is the third age of the Roman people, described with reference to its transactions beyond the sea; an age in which, when they had once ventured beyond Italy, they carried their arms through the whole world. Of which age, the first hundred years were pure and pious, and, as I have called them, *golden*, free from vice and immorality, as there yet remained the sincere and harmless integrity of the pastoral life[1], and the imminent dread of a Carthaginian enemy supported the ancient discipline. The succeeding hundred, which we have reckoned from the destruction of Carthage, Corinth, and Numantia, and from the inheritance bequeathed us by king Attalus in Asia, to the times of Cæsar and Pompey, and those of Augustus who succeeded them, and of whom we shall speak hereafter, were as lamentable and disgraceful for the domestic calamities, as they were honourable for the lustre of the warlike exploits that distinguished them. For, as it was glorious and praiseworthy to have acquired the rich and powerful provinces of Gaul, Thrace, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, as well as those of the Armenians and Britons, which, though of not much advantage, were great names to add to the splendour of the empire, so it was disgraceful and lamentable,

[1] Ch. XII. Of the pastoral life] *Pastoriæ sectæ.* "That *secta* is used for a way and manner of life, is well known." *Duker. Sectam rationemque vitæ*, Cic. pro Cæl., c. 17.

at the same time, to have fought at home with our own citizens, with our allies, our slaves, and gladiators, while the whole senate was divided into parties. And I know not whether it would not have been better for the Roman people to have been content with Sicily and Africa, or even to have been without them, while still enjoying the dominion of Italy, than to grow to such greatness as to be ruined by their own strength. For what else produced those intestine distractions but excessive good fortune? It was the conquest of Syria that first corrupted us; and the succession afterwards, in Asia, to the estate of the king of Pergamus. Such wealth and riches ruined the manners of the age, and overwhelmed the republic, which was sunk in its own vices as in a common sewer. For how did it happen that the Roman people demanded from their tribunes lands and subsistence, unless through the scarcity, which they had by their luxury produced? Hence there arose the first and second sedition of the Gracchi, and a third, that of Apuleius[1]. From what cause did the equestrian order, being divided from the senate, domineer by virtue of the judiciary laws, if it was not from avarice, in order that the revenues of the state, and trials of causes, might be made a means of gain? Hence again it was that the privilege of citizenship was promised to the Latins, and hence were the arms of our allies raised against us. And what shall we say as to the wars with the slaves? How did they come upon us, but from the excessive number of slaves? Whence arose such armies of gladiators against their masters, if it was not that a profuse liberality, by granting shows to gain the favour of the populace, made that an art which was once but a punishment of enemies? And to touch upon more specious vices, did not the ambition for honours take its rise from the same excess of riches? Hence also proceeded the outrages of Marius, hence those of Sylla. The extravagant sumptuousness of banquets, too, and profuse largesses, were not they the effects of wealth, which must in time lead to want? This also stirred up Catiline against his country. Finally, whence did that insatiable desire of power and rule proceed, but from a superabundance of riches? This it was that armed Cæsar and Pompey with fatal weapons for the destruction of the state.

[1] That of Apuleius] See c. 16.

Of all these domestic distractions of the Roman people, distinct from their foreign and justifiable wars, we shall give an account in their proper order.

CHAP. XIII. THE SEDITIOUS NATURE OF THE TRIBUNITIAL POWER.

The Tribunitial Power furnished occasions for all kinds of seditions; a power which, under pretence of maintaining the rights of the common people, (for whose protection it was established,) but in reality to acquire authority for itself, courted the favour of the populace by proposing laws respecting the division of lands, the distribution of corn, and the disposal of judicial proceedings. In all these laws there was indeed a colour of equity. For what was more just, than that the commons should have their full rights from the senate, that a people who had conquered all other nations, and was master of the world, might not live without altars and hearths of their own? What was more equitable, than that the poorer class of people should be maintained from the public treasury of their country? What was more conducive to the security of equal liberty, than that, while the senate settled the provinces, the authority of the equestrian order should be supported by judicial privileges[1]? Yet these very objects led to harm, and the unhappy state became a prize for its own overthrow. For the transference of the judicial power from the senate to the knights, caused peculation with regard to taxes[2], the patrimony of the government; while the purchase of corn exhausted the treasury, the nerves of the commonwealth. And how could the common people be put in possession of lands, but by the ejection of those that already occupied them, who were them-

[1] Ch. XIII. By judicial privileges] *Judiciorum regno.* The law respecting the choice of *judices* was several times altered. At first they were chosen only from the senators; afterwards, by a law of Caius Gracchus, only from the *equites;* next, by a law of Cæpio, from both orders; and various changes succeeded. See Adam's Rom. Antiq., p. 236, 8vo. ed.

[2] Caused peculation with regard to taxes] *Vectigalia supprimebat.* "It was easy for the *equites,* (many of whom were farmers of the revenues,) when they were granted by the law of Gracchus the privilege of being *judices,* to favour those of their own class on trials, and thus to allow of much malappropriation of the public money." *Stadius.* "*Suppressa vectigalia* are *intercepta et in privatos usus conversa.* 'Supprimere pecuniam' for to convert to one's own use occurs in Cic. pro Cluent., c. 25, 36." *Duker.*

selves a part of the people, and who moreover held their estates, as bequeathed to them from their forefathers, by prescription of time and right of inheritance?

CHAP. XIV. THE SEDITION OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

Tiberius Gracchus kindled the first flame of contention, a man who was unquestionably the first in Rome for family, person, and eloquence. But he, whether dreading to be involved in the odium of Mancinus's surrender[1], (as he had been one of the sureties for the performance of that treaty,) and joining in consequence the popular party, or moved by a regard to equity and justice, and taking pity on the commons, in order that a people who had conquered[2] all other nations, and was master of the world, might not continue exiles from their own altars and hearths, or from whatever motive he acted, entered upon a great political measure, and, when the day for propounding the bill for it was come, ascended the Rostra attended with a vast train of followers; nor did the nobility, on the other side, fail to meet him with a body of opponents, among whom were the rest of the tribunes. But when Gracchus observed Cnæus Octavius opposing his laws, he laid hands upon him, in violation of the rights of the tribunitial body and the privilege of their office, and thrust him from the Rostra; and, besides, put him so much in fear of instant death, that he was obliged to lay down his office. Gracchus was in consequence made one of three commissioners for the division of the lands. But when, to complete his objects, he requested, at the comitia, that his term of office might be prolonged, and a party of the nobility, and of those whom he had expelled from their lands, rose up against him, a sanguinary conflict ensued in the forum. Having, upon this, fled to the Capitol, and exhorting the people to save his life, touching his head, at the same time, with his hand, he excited the idea that he was asking for royalty and a diadem. The people, therefore, at the instigation of Scipio Nasica, being roused to take up arms, he was, with apparent justice, put to death.

[1] Ch. XIV. Mancinus's surrender] *Mancinianæ deditionis.* See ii., 18.

[2] A people who had conquered, *&c.*] The same words occur in the preceding chapter. Probably, as Duker observes, they ought to be omitted in one of the passages.

CHAP. XV. THE SEDITION OF CAIUS GRACCHUS.

Shortly after, Caius Gracchus was animated with equal ardour to become the avenger of his brother's death and the maintainer of his laws. Endeavouring, accordingly, with similar tumult and terror, to reinstate the people in their forefathers' lands, promising them the late bequest of Attalus for their support, and becoming elated and influential by means of a second tribuneship, he pursued for a time, with the support of the common people, an apparently successful course; but when Minucius, another of the tribunes, ventured to oppose his laws, he had the boldness, relying on the aid of partisans, to take possession of the Capitol so fatal to his family. Being driven thence, with a great slaughter among his party, he sought refuge on Mount Aventine, where, a number of the senators assailing him, he was cut off by the consul Opimius. Insult was also offered to his dead body; and the sacred head of a tribune of the people was paid for to his assassins with its weight in gold.

CHAP. XVI. THE SEDITION OF APULEIUS.

Apuleius Saturninus, however, still persisted to promote the laws of the Gracchi, so much was he encouraged by Marius, who, being always an enemy to the nobility, and presuming, moreover, on his consulship, endeavoured, after killing openly, at the comitia, Annius his competitor[1] for the tribunate, to introduce in his stead one Caius Gracchus, a man without tribe or name, but who, by a forged pedigree, had represented himself as one of the family of the Gracchi.

Apuleius, exulting with impunity amidst so many and so great outrages, applied himself, with such determination, to pass the laws of the Gracchi, that he even prevailed upon the senate to take an oath to promote his object, threatening such as hesitated that he would procure their exile[2]. Yet there was one who chose exile rather than to

[1] Ch. XVI. His competitor] The competitor of Apuleius. Valerius Maximus, ix., 7, 3, says that he was killed by the people, but calls him Aulus Numius. The manuscripts of Florus vary as to the name.

[2] That he would procure their exile] *Aquâ et igni interdicturum.* "That he would interdict from fire and water," the common form of words used in the sentence of banishment.

take the oath. After the banishment of Metellus, therefore, when the nobility were greatly dispirited, and when he was domineering in his third year, he proceeded to such a height of audacity, that he even disturbed the consular comitia with a new murder. In order to make Glaucias, an abettor of his insanity, consul, he ordered his rival Caius Memmius to be slain, and, in the midst of the consequent tumult, joyfully heard himself called *king* by his followers. But the senate afterwards combining against him, and Marius, as he was no longer able to support him, becoming his opponent, a pitched battle was fought in the forum, and, being driven from the field, he took refuge in the Capitol. Being, however, besieged, and deprived of water, and producing in the minds of the senators, by the representations of his deputies, a belief that he repented of what he had done, he was allowed to come down from the Capitol, and was received, with the leaders of his party, into the senate-house, when the people, bursting into the building, overwhelmed him with sticks and stones, and tore him to pieces before he was dead.

CHAP. XVII. THE SEDITION OF DRUSUS.

Last of all, Livius Drusus, depending not only on the influence of the tribuneship, but on the authority of the senate, and the consent of all Italy, endeavoured to promote the same laws, and, by attempting one thing after another, excited so violent a combustion in the state, that not even the first flash of it could be endured; and, being cut off by a sudden death, he left a war as an inheritance to his posterity. The Gracchi, by their law respecting the judicial power, had divided the Roman people into two parties, and made of one nation a state with two heads. The Roman knights, feeling strong in such extraordinary privileges[1], as having the lives and fortunes of the greatest men in their hands, were, by intercepting the public revenues[2], robbing the state at their pleasure; while the senate, weakened by the banishment of Metellus[3] and the condemnation of Rutilius[4], had

[1] Ch. XVII. Extraordinary privileges] The *judices* being now elected from the *equites*. See note on c. 13.

[2] Intercepting the public revenues] *Interceptis vectigalibus.* See note on c. 13.

[3] Metellus] See c. 16.

[4] Rutilius] He had held the consulship, and was a man of high character, but was brought to trial for extortion, and condemned by a faction of the *equites*. *Stadius.*

lost all the pride of their dignity. In this state of affairs, Servilius Cæpio and Livius Drusus, men equal in wealth, spirit, and dignity, (whence the rivalship that animated Drusus arose,) proceeded to maintain, the former the cause of the equestrian order, and the latter that of the senate. Standards, eagles, and banners accompanied each, and there was as much hostility in *one city* as there could have been in two camps. Cæpio, in the first place, making an attack upon the senate, singled out Scaurus and Philippus, leaders among the nobility, to prosecute them for bribery at elections. Drusus, to oppose these proceedings, attracted the populace to his side by the prospect of passing the laws of the Gracchi, and inspired the allies, by means of the same laws, with the hope of obtaining the civic franchise. There is a saying of his remembered, "that he had left nothing for any one to give away, unless he would distribute dust or air." The day for proposing the bills arrived, when suddenly so vast a multitude showed themselves on all sides, that the city seemed to be beset with a crowd of enemies. Yet the consul Philippus ventured to oppose the bills; but an officer, seizing him by the throat, did not let him go till the blood gushed from his mouth and eyes. The bills were accordingly proposed and passed by force. But the allies, immediately afterwards, demanded the civic franchise which had been offered as the price of their assisting to pass them, when death, meantime, carried off Drusus, who was unable to keep his word, and who was sick of the disturbances which he had rashly excited; a death very seasonable at such a crisis. Nevertheless, the allies did not, on that account, cease to demand, by force of arms, the performance of Drusus's promise from the Roman people.

CHAP. XVIII. THE WAR WITH THE ALLIES.

Though this war be called a war with the allies, to extenuate the odium of it, it was, if we acknowledge the truth, a civil war. For as the people of Rome united in itself the Etrurians, the Latins, and the Sabines, and derives one blood from them all, it formed one body of those several members, and is one people composed of them all. Nor did the allies with less disgrace excite an insurrection within Italy than the citizens within the city.

When the allies, therefore, had with great justice[1] demanded the freedom of a city which they had strengthened by their exertions, (with the hope of which Drusus, from a desire of getting power, had inspired them,) the same firebrand that burned Drusus, inflamed the allies, after he was cut off by the perfidy of his fellow-citizens, to take up arms and attack the city. Than such an outbreak what could be more sad, what more calamitous? when all Latium and Picenum, all Etruria and Campania, and at last Italy itself, rose up in arms against their metropolis and parent; when those monsters of ingratitude from the municipal towns led all the flower of our most brave and faithful allies under their several standards, Popedius heading the Marsians, Afranius the Latins, their whole senate and consuls the Umbrians[2], and Telesinus the Samnites and Lucanians; and when a people that was arbiter of princes and nations could not govern itself, and Rome, that had conquered Asia and Europe, was assailed from Corfinium.

The first step in the war was to have been taken on the Alban Mount, when, on the festival of the Latin *Feriæ*, the consuls, Julius Cæsar and Marcus Philippus, were to have been assassinated amidst the sacrifices and altars. That atrocity being prevented by a discovery, the whole fury of the war burst forth at Asculum, where certain commissioners, who had come from Rome, were slain in the midst of a crowd at the public games. This outrage bound them, as it were by an oath, to prosecute the impious war. Immediately, therefore, the various signals for hostilities

[1] Ch. XVIII. With great justice] *Justissime.* "This does not seem to be consistent with what is said above, that the allies excited an insurrection with disgrace to themselves (*flagitio*). Unless Florus means that though the demands of the allies were just, yet they ought to have borne patiently with the refusal of them on the part of Rome, which they were to regard as their mother-city, just as children bear with hard treatment from their parents." *Duker.*

[2] Their whole senate and consuls the Umbrians] *Umbros totus senatus et consules.* Lipsius, Freinshemius, Faber, Perizonius, Grævius, and Duker, are unanimous in suspecting this passage of being corrupt. The name of a leader seems to be wanting. Perizonius thinks that we should read *Popedius Marsos et Latinos; Afranius Umbros; Egnatius Samnium; Lucaniamque Telesinus.* "Egnatius was an eminent general of the enemy, whom Livy, Epit., lib. lxxv., calls *nobilissimum ducem*, and whom it is not likely that Florus would have omitted to mention." *Duker.*

sounded through tribes and cities from every quarter of Italy, Popedius, the leader and author of the war, hurrying about from one place to another. Neither the devastation spread by Hannibal, nor that by Pyrrhus, was so great as the present. Ocriculum and Grumentum, Fesulæ and Carseoli, Reate, Nuceria, and Picentia, were laid waste with slaughter, fire, and sword. The forces of Rutilius, the forces of Cæpio, were alike defeated. Julius Cæsar himself, having lost his army, and being brought back to Rome covered with blood, passed through the city a wretched corpse. But the great good fortune of the Roman people, always more remarkable in adversity than prosperity, rose again in all its might. Their generals, respectively, defeated the people whom they attacked; Cato dispersed the Etrurians, Gabinius the Marsians, Carbo the Lucanians, Sylla the Samnites; and Pompeius Strabo, laying waste the country about Asculum with fire and sword, did not cease from destroying, till, by the overthrow of the place, he had made atonement to the manes of so many armies and consuls, and to the gods of so many devastated cities.

CHAP. XIX. THE WAR AGAINST THE SLAVES.

Though, in the preceding war, we fought with our allies, (which was bad enough,) yet we contended with free men, and men of good birth: but who can with patience hear of a war against slaves on the part of a people at the head of all nations? The first war with slaves occurred in the infancy of Rome, in the heart of the city, when Herdonius Sabinus was their leader, and when, while the state was distracted with the seditions of the tribunes, the Capitol was besieged and wrested by the consul from the servile multitude. But this was an insurrection rather than a war. At a subsequent period, when the forces of the empire were engaged in different parts of the world, who would believe that Sicily was much more cruelly devastated by a war with slaves than in that with the Carthaginians? This country, fruitful in corn, and, in a manner, a suburban province, was covered with large estates of many Roman citizens; and the numerous slave-houses, and fettered tillers of the ground, supplied force enough for a war. A certain Syrian, by name Eunus, (the greatness of our defeats from him makes

us remember it,) counterfeiting a fanatical inspiration, and tossing his hair in honour of the Syrian goddess, excited the slaves, by command of heaven as it were, to claim their liberty and take up arms. And that he might prove this to be done by supernatural direction, he concealed a nut in his mouth, which he had filled with brimstone and fire, and, breathing gently, sent forth flame together with his words. This prodigy at first attracted two thousand of such as came in his way; but in a short time, by breaking open the slave-houses, he collected a force of above sixty thousand; and, being adorned with ensigns of royalty, that nothing might be wanting to his audacity, he laid waste, with lamentable desolation, fortresses, towns, and villages. The camps even of prætors (the utmost disgrace of war) were taken by him; nor will I shrink from giving their names; they were the camps of Manilius, Lentulus, Piso, and Hypsæus. Thus those, who ought to have been dragged home[1] by slave-takers, pursued prætorian generals routed in battle. At last vengeance was taken on them by our general Perperna; for having conquered them, and at last besieged them in Enna, and reduced them with famine as with a pestilence, he threw the remainder of the marauders into chains, and then crucified them. But over such enemies he was content with an ovation, that he might not sully the dignity of a triumph with the name of slaves.

Scarcely had the island recovered itself, when it passed from the hands of a Syrian slave to those of a Cilician. Athenio, a shepherd, having killed his master, formed his slaves, whom he had released from the slave-house, into a regular troop. Then, equipped with a purple robe and a silver sceptre, and with a crown on his head like a king, he drew together no less an army than the fanatic his predecessor, and laying waste, with even greater fury, (as if taking vengeance for his fate,) villages, fortresses, and towns, he vented his rage upon the masters, but still more violently on the slaves, whom he treated as renegades. By him, too, some armies of prætors were overthrown, and the camps of Servilius and Lucullus taken. But Aquilius, following the example of Perperna, reduced the enemy to ex-

[1] Ch. XIX. To have been dragged home] *Retrahi.* Many editions have *distrahi.*

tremities by cutting off his supplies, and easily destroyed by famine forces which were well defended by arms. They would have surrendered, had they not, from dread of punishment, preferred a voluntary death. Not even on their leader could chastisement be inflicted, though he fell alive into our hands, for while the people were disputing who should secure him, the prey was torn to pieces between the contending parties.

CHAP. XX. THE WAR AGAINST SPARTACUS.

We may, however, support the dishonour of a war with slaves, for though they are, by their circumstances, subjected to all kinds of treatment, they are yet, as it were, a second class of men, and may be admitted to the enjoyment of liberty with ourselves. But the war raised by the efforts of Spartacus I know not by what name to call, for the soldiers in it were slaves, and the commanders gladiators; the former being persons of the meanest condition, and the latter men of the worst character, and adding to the calamity of their profession by its contemptibleness. Spartacus, Crixus, and Œnomaus, breaking out of the fencing school of Lentulus, escaped from Capua, with not more than thirty of the same occupation, and, having called the slaves to their standard, and collected a force of more than ten thousand men, were not content with merely having escaped, but were eager to take vengeance on their masters. The first theatre for action that attracted them was Mount Vesuvius. Here, being besieged by Clodius Glaber, they slid down a passage in the hollow part of the mountain, by means of ropes made of vine-branches, and penetrated to the very bottom of it; when, issuing forth by an outlet apparently impracticable, they captured, by a sudden attack, the camp of the Roman general, who expected no molestation. They afterwards took other camps, and spread themselves to Cora, and through the whole of Campania. Not content with plundering the country seats and villages, they ravaged, with terrible devastation, Nola and Nuceria, Thurii and Metapontum. Being joined by new forces day after day, and forming themselves into a regular army, they made themselves, out of osiers and beasts' hides, a rude kind of shields, and out of the iron from the slave-houses forged swords and other weapons. And

that nothing proper might be wanting to the complement of the army, they procured cavalry by breaking in the herds of horses that came in their way, and conferred upon their leader the ensigns and fasces that they took from the prætors. Nor did he, who of a mercenary Thracian had become a Roman soldier, of a soldier a deserter and robber, and afterwards, from consideration of his strength, a gladiator, refuse to receive them. He afterwards, indeed, celebrated the funerals of his own officers, who died in battle, with the obsequies of Roman generals, and obliged the prisoners to fight with arms at their funeral piles, just as if he could atone for all past dishonour by becoming, from a gladiator, an exhibitor of shows of gladiators. Engaging next with the armies of the consuls, he cut to pieces that of Lentulus, near the Apennines, and destroyed the camp of Caius Cassius at Mutina. Elated by which successes, he deliberated (which is sufficient disgrace for us) about assailing the city of Rome. At length an effort was made against this swordsman with the whole force of the empire, and Licinius Crassus avenged the honour of Rome, by whom the enemies (I am ashamed to call them so) being routed and put to flight, betook themselves to the furthest parts of Italy. Here, being shut up in a corner in Bruttium, and attempting to escape into Sicily, but having no ships, and having in vain tried, on the swift current of the strait, to sail on rafts made of hurdles and casks tied together with twigs, they at last sallied forth, and died a death worthy of men. As was fitting under a gladiator captain, they fought without sparing themselves[1]. Spartacus himself, fighting with the utmost bravery in the front of the battle, fell as became their general.

CHAP. XXI. THE CIVIL WAR OF MARIUS AND SYLLA.

This only was wanting to complete the misfortunes of the Romans, that they should raise an unnatural war among themselves, and that, in the midst of the city and forum, citizens should fight with citizens, like gladiators in an amphitheatre. I should bear the calamity, however, with

[1] Ch. XX. Without sparing themselves] *Sine missione.* "That is, even to death. *Missio* was leave to withdraw from the battle, which was sometimes granted to conquered gladiators; but when it was determined that they should fight till one of them was killed, the struggle was said to be *sine missione.*" Freinshemius.

greater patience, if plebeian leaders or contemptible nobles had been at the head of such atrocity; but even Marius and Sylla[1], (O indignity! such men, such generals!) the grace and glory of their age, lent their eminent characters to this worst of evils. It was carried on, if I may use the expression, under three constellations[2], the first movement being light and moderate, an affray rather than a war, for the violence prevailed only between the leaders themselves; in the next rising, the victory spread with greater cruelty and bloodshed, through the very bowels of the whole senate; the third conflict exceeded not merely animosity between citizens, but that between enemies, the fury of the war being supported by the strength of all Italy, and rancour raging till none remained to be killed.

The origin and cause of the war was Marius's insatiable ambition of honours, in endeavouring to procure for himself the province decreed to Sylla by a law of Sulpicius[3]. Sylla, provoked at this injustice, immediately led back his legions, and, putting off the war with Mithridates, poured two bodies of troops into the city by the Esquiline and Colline gates. Here Sulpicius and Albinovanus designedly throwing their troops in his way, and sticks, stones, and other weapons, being discharged on him on all sides from the walls, he himself also threw weapons in return, and forced a passage even by fire, and triumphantly occupied the citadel on the Capitoline hill as a captured fortress, a place which had escaped being taken by the Carthaginians and the Gauls. Having then, by a decree of the senate, pronounced his opponents enemies to the state, he proceeded to the utmost severities, by forms of law, upon the tribune who was present[4], and others of the adverse faction. Flight like that of slave saved Marius, or rather Fortune preserved him for another war.

In the consulship of Cornelius Cinna and Cnæus Octavius, the fire, which had been but imperfectly suppressed, burst

[1] Ch. XXI. But even Marius and Sylla] *Quum vero—Marius et Sylla.* All the commentators see that this passage stands in need of some correction. Freinshemius conjectures *jam verò*. Lipsius and Madame Dacier, with less felicity, *tum verò*.

[2] Under three constellations] *Tribus—sideribus.* See note on ii., 8.

[3] A law of Sulpicius] *Sulpiciâ lege.* Sulpicius was a tribune of the people who had procured a law to be passed for this purpose.

[4] The tribune who was present] Sulpicius, apparently.

forth afresh, being excited, indeed, by a disagreement between the consuls themselves, on a proposal being made to the people for recalling such as the senate had declared enemies. The assembly met armed with swords, but the party that preferred peace and quiet prevailing, Cinna was driven from his country, and fled to join Marius. Marius then returned from Africa, the greater for his misfortunes; for the report of his imprisonment, chains, flight, and exile, had surrounded his dignity with a certain awe. At the name of so great a man people flocked together from all parts; slaves, (a disgraceful proceeding,) and persons condemned to the prisons, were armed in his cause; and the unhappy general easily found an army. Claiming by force, therefore, a restoration to his country from which he had by force been expelled, he might seem to have acted with justice, had he not stained his cause by cruelty. But as he returned at enmity with gods and men[1], at the very first irruption of his fury, Ostia, the ward and foster-child of the city, was pillaged with miserable havoc; and his army next entered Rome in four bodies, Cinna, Marius, Carbo, and Sertorius, dividing the troops amongst them. Here, when the whole force of Octavius had been driven from the Janiculum, and a signal had been immediately after given for the slaughter of the leading men, somewhat more of cruelty was shown than would have been practised in a town of the Carthaginians or the Cimbri. The head of the consul Octavius was exposed upon the Rostra; that of Antonius, who had held the consulship, was displayed on Marius's dining-table; the Cæsars[2] were killed by Fimbria in the midst of their own household-gods; the two Crassi, father and son, each in the sight of the other; the hooks of the executioners dragged Bæbius and Numitorius through the middle of the forum; Catulus released himself from the insults of his enemies by swallowing fire; Merula, the priest of Jupiter, sprinkled the face of Jupiter himself with blood from his veins; Ancharius was stabbed in the sight of Marius himself, because, forsooth, he did not stretch out that

[1] At enmity with gods and men] *Dis hominibusque infestus.* Desperate; conscious that both gods and men were already enraged with him, and not caring how much further he provoked them.

[2] The Cæsars] Caius and Lucius, two brothers.

fatal hand[1] when he saluted him. Such and so many deaths of senators did the seventh consulship of Marius produce, between the calends and ides of the month of January. What would have happened if he had completed the year of his consulship?

In the consulate of Scipio and Norbanus the third tempest of civil rage thundered forth with its whole fury, eight legions, and five hundred cohorts, being ranged in arms on the one side, and on the other Sylla returning from Asia with his victorious army. And since Marius had been so cruel to the party of Sylla, how much further cruelty was necessary that Sylla might be avenged on Marius? The first conflict took place at Capua, near the river Vulturnus, where the army of Norbanus was instantly put to flight, and the forces of Scipio, immediately afterwards, surprised, while hopes of peace were held out to them. The younger Marius and Carbo, being then made consuls, as if despairing of ultimate victory, but purposing not to fall unavenged, sacrificed to their own manes, as it were, beforehand, with the blood of the senate; and the senate-house being beset, its members were led forth, as prisoners from a gaol, to be put to death. What slaughters were committed in the Forum, in the Circus, in the open temples! Quintus Mucius Scævola, one of the pontifices, embracing the Vestal altars, was almost buried in the same fire with them. Lamponius and Telesinus, leaders of the Samnites, wasted Campania and Etruria more cruelly than Pyrrhus and Hannibal had done, and revenged themselves under pretence of supporting their party. But at Sacriportus, and the Colline gate, all the forces of Marius were defeated. At the former place Marius, at the latter Telesinus, was conquered. The end of the war, however, was not the end of the massacres; for swords were drawn even in peace, and vengeance was taken even on such as had voluntarily surrendered. It was a less atrocity that Sylla cut to pieces more than seventy thousand men at Sacriportus and the Colline gate, for it was then war; but it was a greater that he ordered four thousand unarmed citizens to

[1] He did not *stretch out that fatal hand, &c.*] *Quia fatalem illam scilicet manum non porrexerat salutanti.* Ancharius approached to salute Marius, but Marius did not hold out his hand to him; the followers of Marius, therefore, despatched him, according to directions which they had previously received.

be butchered in the Villa Publica[1]. Were there so many killed in peace, and no more? Who, indeed, can reckon those whom every one that would, killed in the city? until Fufidius admonishing Sylla that "some ought to be left alive, that there might be people for them to rule," that great proscription-list was put forth, and two thousand were selected, out of the equestrian and senatorial orders, to be sentenced to die. This was an edict of a new kind. It grieves me to state, after these proceedings, that the deaths of Carbo, Soranus the prætor, and Venuleius, were subjects of sport; that Bæbius was severed limb from limb, not by the sword, but by the hands of men, like wild beasts[2]; and that Marius, the brother of the general, was kept alive awhile at the sepulchre of Catulus, his eyes being put out, and his hands and legs being cut off one after another, that he might die as it were piecemeal.

When the punishments of individuals were nearly over, the first municipal towns of Italy were put up to sale, Spoletium, Interamnium, Præneste, and Florence. As to Sulmo, an ancient city in alliance and friendship with us, Sylla (a heinous act) ordered it, though not taken by siege, to be destroyed; just as enemies condemned[3] by the law of arms, and malefactors sentenced to death, are ordered to be led to execution.

CHAP. XXII. THE WAR WITH SERTORIUS.

What was the war with Sertorius but a consequence of Sylla's proscription? Whether I should call it a war with foreign enemies, or a civil war, I do not know, as it was one which Lusitanians and Celtiberians carried on under the conduct of a Roman. Sertorius, a man of great but unsuc-

[1] Villa Publica] See the psuedo-Sallust's Second Epistle to Cæsar, c. 5.

[2] Like wild beasts] *Ritu ferarum.* As beasts would be torn.

[3] Enemies condemned, *&c.*] The concluding sentence of this chapter is nearly unintelligible. It stands thus in Duker's edition: *Nam Sulmonem, vetus oppidum, socium atque amicum (facinus indignum!) nondum expugnatum, ut obsides jure belli, et modo morte damnati duci jubentur: sic damnatam civitatem jussit Sulla deleri.* For *obsides* Gronovius proposed to Græv̆ius to read *hostes*, which succeeding critics have approved. *Modo* no one has attempted to explain, except Wopkens, (Lect. Tullian, 5, transcribed by Duker,) who says that it means *nullâ quæstione adhibitâ, cæco impetu*, or, as we should say, "off-hand." I have given to the passage, in the translation, the sense in which I must suppose that Florus intended it; omitting the word *damnatam.*

cessful ability, becoming an exile and fugitive from that fatal proscription, disturbed sea and land in consequence of his ill-treatment; and, trying his fortune, at one time in Africa, and at another in the Balearic isles, and being driven over the Ocean[1], went as far as the Fortunate Islands, and at length armed Spain. A brave man easily unites himself with brave men; nor did the valour of the Spanish soldiery ever appear greater than under a Roman general. Nor was he indeed content with Spain, but extended his views to Mithridates and the people of Pontus, and assisted that king with a fleet. And what would have happened if they had formed a junction? The Roman state could not withstand so powerful an enemy as Sertorius by means of one general only. To Metellus was joined Cnæus Pompey: and these two wasted his forces for a long time, though always with doubtful success; nor was he at last subdued in the field, until he was betrayed by the villany and treachery of those about him. Having pursued his forces through almost all Spain, they were long in reducing them, the contests being always such that victory was dubious. The first battles were fought under the command of the lieutenant-generals; Domitius and Thorius[2] making a commencement on one side, and the brothers Herculeii on the other. Soon afterwards, the two latter being overthrown at Segovia, and the former at the river Anas, the generals themselves tried their strength in the field, and at Lauron and Sucro suffered equal loss on both sides. Part of our army then devoting itself to the devastation of the country, and part to the destruction of the cities, unhappy Spain suffered for the disagreement between the Roman generals[3], till Sertorius, being cut off by the treachery of his people, and Perperna being defeated and given up, the cities themselves submitted to the power of the Romans, as Osca, Ter[illegible]nes, Tutia, Valentia, Auxima, and, after having endured the extremity of famine, Calagurris. Spain was thus restored

[1] Ch[illegible]. XXII. Being driven over the Ocean] *Missusque in Oceanum. Missus*, as the c[illegible]ritics observe, can hardly be right. Lipsius conjectures *victus*, Perizonius *fusus*.

[2] D[illegible]omitius and Thorius] Lieutenant-generals of Metellus; the brothers Herculeii, on the side of Sertorius, are mentioned by Frontin., i., 5, 8, Livy, Epit., xc., Eutrop., vi., 1, and other authors.

[3] Roman generals] Sertorius and his opponents. Sertorius was by birth a Sabine.

to peace. The victorious generals would have the war accounted rather a foreign than a civil one, that they might have the honour of a triumph.

CHAP. XXIII. THE CIVIL WAR UNDER LEPIDUS.

In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus, and Quintus Catulus, a civil war that was kindled was suppressed almost before it began; but how violent was it[1]! It was a spark of the great civil contention that had spread abroad its fires from the very funeral pile of Sylla. For Lepidus, in his presumption, being eager for a change in the state of affairs, prepared to annul the acts of that eminent man, and not indeed unjustly, if he could have done so without much injury to the commonwealth. But he would not; for since Sylla, as dictator, had proscribed his enemies by the right of war, if Lepidus recalled those of them that survived, for what other end were they recalled than for a war? And since Sylla had assigned the estates of the condemned citizens, though seized unjustly, yet by form of law, a demand for their restitution would no doubt disturb the city that was now tranquillised. It was expedient, therefore, for the sick and wounded republic to continue quiet upon any terms, lest its wounds should be torn open by the dressing.

Lepidus, then, having alarmed the state, as with the blast of a trumpet, by his turbulent harangues, set out for Etruria, and thence brought arms and an army against Rome. P Lutatius Catulus and Cnæus Pompey, the captains and r leaders under Sylla's tyranny, had previously occupied Milvian bridge, and the Janiculan hill, with another ar Being repulsed by these generals in the first encounter, afterwards declared an enemy by the senate, he fled without loss, to Etruria, and thence retired to Sardinia, v ne died of disease and sorrow of mind. The conque which was scarcely ever the case in the civil wars, were co with re-establishing peace.

[redacted]

[1] Ch. XXIII. But how violent was it?] In all the editions the passag *Sed quantum latèque fax illius motûs ab ipso Syllæ rogo exarsit! latèque* is mere nonsense, as all the commentators allow, except Perizonius, would make it equivalent to *quantum et quàm latè*, but, as Duker remarks, he should have shown that other writers so express themselves. N. Heinsius conjectures *quantum quàmque latè;* Duker, *quàm latè;* Is. Vossius, *quàm longè latèque.* I have not attempted any close adherence to the text. Madame Dacier was inclined to expunge both *quantum* and *latèque.*

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I. THE INSURRECTION OF CATILINE.

It was in the first place expensive indulgence, and, in the next, the want of means occasioned by it, with a fair opportunity at the same time, (for the Roman forces were then abroad in the remotest parts of the world,) that led Catiline to form the atrocious design of subjugating his country. With what accomplices (direful to relate!) did he undertake to murder the senate, to assassinate the consuls, to destroy the city by fire[1], to plunder the treasury, to subvert the entire government, and to commit such outrages as not even Hannibal seems to have contemplated! He was himself a patrician; but this was only a small consideration; there were joined with him the Curii, the Porcii, the Syllæ, the Cethegi, the Antronii, the Varguntеii, the Longini, (what illustrious families, what ornaments of the senate!) and Lentulus also, who was then prætor. All these he had as supporters in his horrid attempt. As a pledge to unite them in the plot, human blood[2] was introduced, which, being carried round in bowls, they drank among them; an act of the utmost enormity, had not that been more enormous for which they drank it. Then would have been an end of this glorious empire, if the conspiracy had not happened in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, of whom one discovered the plot by vigilance, and the other suppressed it by arms.

The revelation of the atrocious project was made by Fulvia, a common harlot, but unwilling to be guilty of treason against her country. The consul Cicero, accordingly, having convoked the senate, made a speech against the accused, who was then present in the house; but nothing further was effected by it, than that the enemy made off, openly and expressly declaring[3] that he would extinguish the flame raised

[1] Ch. I. To destroy the city by fire] *Distringere incendiis urbem.* So *ad distringendam libertatem*, Sen. Benef., vi., 34, where Lipsius would read *destringendam.*

[2] Human blood] See Sall., Cat., c. 22.

[3] Openly and expressly declaring] *Seque palam professo incendium, &c.* The passage is evidently corrupt. Madame Dacier would strike out *professo*; Grævius would eject *palam*, and read *ex professo*, adverbially. Gronovius would

against him by a general ruin. He then set out to an army which had been prepared by Manlius in Etruria, intending to advance under arms against the city. Lentulus, meanwhile, promising himself the kingdom portended to his family by the Sibylline verses, disposed throughout the city, against a day appointed by Catiline, men, combustibles, and weapons. And not confined to plotting among the people of the city, the rage for the conspiracy, having excited the deputies of the Allobroges, who happened then to be at Rome, to give their voice in favour of war, would have spread beyond the Alps, had not a letter of Lentulus been intercepted through the information of Vulturcius. Hands were immediately laid on the barbarian deputies, by order of Cicero; and the prætor was openly convicted in the senate. When a consultation was held about their punishment, Cæsar gave his opinion that they should be spared for the sake of their rank, Cato that they should suffer the penalty due to their crime. Cato's advice being generally adopted, the traitors were strangled in prison.

But though a portion of the conspirators were thus cut off, Catiline did not desist from his enterprise. Marching, however, with an army from Etruria against his country, he was defeated by a force of Antonius that encountered him on the way. How desperate the engagement was, the result manifested; for not a man of the rebel troops survived. Whatever place each had occupied in the battle, that very spot, when life was extinct, he covered with his corpse. Catiline was found, far in advance of his men, among the dead bodies of the enemy; a most glorious death, had he thus fallen for his country.

CHAP. II. THE WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY.

Almost the whole world being now subdued, the Roman empire was grown too great to be overthrown by any foreign power. Fortune, in consequence, envying the sovereign people of the earth, armed it to its own destruction. The outrages of Marius and Cinna had already made a sort of

read *seque palam professus, &c.*, which Vossius, Rupertus, and apparently Duker, approve, and which seems to be the only reasonable way of correcting the passage.

prelude within the city, as if by way of trial. The storm of Sylla had thundered even further, but still within the bounds of Italy. The fury of Cæsar and Pompey, as with a general deluge or conflagration, overran the city, Italy, other countries and nations, and finally the whole empire wherever it extended; so that it cannot properly be called a *civil* war, or war *with allies;* neither can it be termed a foreign war; but it was rather *a war consisting of all these, or even something more than a war.* If we look at the leaders in it, the whole of the senators were on one side or the other; if we consider the armies, there were on one side eleven legions, and on the other eighteen, the entire flower and strength of the manhood of Italy; if we contemplate the auxiliary forces of the allies, there were on one side levies of Gauls and Germans, on the other Deiotarus, Ariobarzanes, Tarcondimotus[1], Cotys, and all the force of Thrace, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Macedonia, Greece, Ætolia, and all the East; if we regard the duration of the war, it was four years, a time short in proportion to the havoc made in it; if we attend to the space and ground on which it was conducted, it arose within Italy, whence it spread into Gaul and Spain, and, returning from the west, settled with its whole force on Epirus and Thessaly; hence it suddenly passed into Egypt, then turned towards Asia, next fell upon Africa, and at last wheeled back into Spain, where it at length found its termination. But the animosities of parties did not end with the war, nor subsided till the hatred of those who had been defeated satiated itself with the murder of the conqueror in the midst of the city and the senate.

The cause of this calamity was the same with that of all others, excessive good fortune. For in the consulship of Quintus Metellus and Lucius Afranius, when the majesty of Rome predominated throughout the world, and Rome herself was celebrating, in the theatres of Pompey, her recent victories and triumphs over Pontus and Armenia, the overgrown power of Pompey, as is usual in similar cases, excited among the idle citizens a feeling of envy towards him. Metellus, discontented at the diminution of his triumph over Crete[2],

[1] Ch. II. Tarcondimotus] A prince of Cilicia; Cotys, a king of Thrace.

[2] At the diminution of his triumph over Crete] *Ob imminutum Cretæ triumphum.* "Not complaining without reason, for the greatest ornament of his triumph, the captive leaders, had been kept back by Pompey." Vell. Pat., ii., 40. Dion. Cass., lib. xxxvi.

Cato, ever an enemy to those in power, calumniated Pompey, and raised a clamour against his acts. Resentment at such conduct drove Pompey to harsh measures, and impelled him to provide some support for his authority. Crassus happened at that time to be distinguished for family, wealth, and honour, but was desirous to have his power still greater. Caius Cæsar had become eminent by his eloquence and spirit, and by his promotion to the consulate. Yet Pompey rose above them both. Cæsar, therefore, being eager to acquire distinction, Crassus to increase what he had got, and Pompey to add to his, and all being equally covetous of power, they readily formed a compact to seize the government. Striving, accordingly, with their common forces, each for his own advancement, Cæsar took the province of Gaul, Crassus that of Asia, Pompey, that of Spain; they had three vast armies[1], and thus the empire of the world was now held by these three leading personages. Their government extended through ten years. At the expiration of this period, (for they had previously been kept in restraint by dread of one another,) a rivalry broke forth between Cæsar and Pompey, consequent on the death of Crassus among the Parthians, and that of Julia, who, being married to Pompey, maintained a good understanding between the son-in-law and father-in-law by means of this matrimonial bond. But now the power of Cæsar was an object of jealousy to Pompey, and the eminence of Pompey was offensive to Cæsar. The one could not bear an equal nor the other a superior. Sad to relate, they struggled for mastery, as if the resources of so great an empire would not suffice for two. Accordingly, in the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus, their first bond of union being broken, the senate, that is, Pompey, began to think of a successor to Cæsar in the consulate; nor did Cæsar refuse to comply with their wishes, if regard were but had to him at the following election. But the consulship, which ten tribunes of the people, with Pompey's approbation, had recently decreed him in his absence, was now, as Pompey remained neutral, refused him. It was insisted "that he should come and sue for it according to ancient usage." He, on the

[1] Three vast armies] *Tres maximos exercitus.* These words are without a verb in the original. "Some verb," says Grævius, "such as *habuere*, must have been lost out of the text; or the three words must have been an interpolation."

other hand, demanded what had been decreed him, and declared, that unless they adhered to their word, he would not part with his army. A decree was accordingly passed against him as an enemy.

Cæsar, provoked at these proceedings, resolved to secure the rewards of arms by means of arms. The first scene of action, in this civil war, was Italy, of which Pompey had occupied the strongholds with light garrisons. But they were all overpowered by the sudden advance of Cæsar. The first signal for battle sounded from Ariminum, when Libo was expelled from Etruria, Thermus from Umbria, and Domitius from Corfinium. The war would have been finished without bloodshed, if Cæsar could have surprised Pompey at Brundusium; and he would have surprised him, had he not escaped by night through the barricade of the besieged harbour. Dishonourable to relate! he that was recently at the head of the senate, the arbiter of peace and war, fled across the sea, over which he had once triumphed, in a single vessel that was shattered and almost dismantled. Nor was Pompey driven from Italy sooner than the senate was forced from the city, which Cæsar having entered, when it was almost evacuated from fear of him, created himself consul. The sacred treasury, too, as the tribunes were slow in unlocking it, he ordered to be broken open, seizing the revenue and property of the Roman people before he seized their empire.

Pompey being driven off and put to flight, Cæsar thought it better to regulate the provinces before proceeding to pursue him. Sicily and Sardinia, to be assured of corn, he secured by means of his lieutenant-generals. In Gaul there were no remains of hostility; for he himself had established peace in it. But Marseilles, when he wished to pass through it in his way to the Spanish armies of Pompey, ventured to shut her gates against him. The unhappy city, desirous of peace, fell into a war through fear of war. But, as it was fortified with walls, he left it to be reduced for him in his absence. The men of this Greek city, in opposition to the effeminacy of its character[1], ventured to break through the

[1] In opposition to the effeminacy of its character] *Non pro mollitie nominis.* "Not in accordance with report, which represented all the Greeks, not excepting those of Marseilles at that period, as unwarlike and spiritless; for that the people of that city had then degenerated from their former reputation for valour, is shown by Bos on Cic., Ep. Att., x., 12." *Duker.*

enemy's lines, to set fire to their machines, and engage them with their vessels. But Brutus, to whom the conduct of the siege had been intrusted, defeated them by land and sea, and utterly subdued them. At length, when they surrendered, everything was taken from them, except, what they valued above everything, their liberty.

In Spain, a doubtful, varied, and bloody contest awaited Cæsar with Petreius and Afranius, the generals of Pompey, whom, when they were lying encamped at Ilerda, near the river Sicoris, he attempted to besiege, and to cut them off from the town. In the mean time, by an overflow of the river in the spring, he himself was prevented from getting provisions. Thus his camp was assailed by famine, and the besieger was himself in a manner besieged. But when the river subsided, it left the plains free for devastation and contest. Cæsar then pressed fiercely upon the enemy, and, having overtaken them as they were retreating to Celtiberia, forced them with a mole and line of circumvallation, and consequent privation of water, to capitulate.

Hither Spain was thus secured; nor did Farther Spain long resist. For what could one legion do, after five had been defeated? Varro, therefore, readily submitting, Cadiz, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Ocean, and everything else, acknowledged the superior fortune of Cæsar. Fortune, however, in Illyricum and Africa, made some attempt against him in his absence, as if on purpose that his successes might be made more striking by something unfavourable. For when Dolabella and Antony, who were ordered to secure the entrance to the Adriatic, had pitched their camps, the former on the Illyrian, the latter on the Curictan shore[1], at a time when Pompey was master of a vast extent of sea, Octavius Libo, Pompey's lieutenant-general, suddenly surrounded both of them with a large force from the fleet. Famine forced Antony to surrender. Some flat boats sent to his assistance by Basilus, such as want of ships had obliged them to make, were caught, as it were, in a net, by means of ropes stretched under the water, through a new contrivance of the Cilicians

[1] Curictan shore] *Curictico litore.* "From Curicta, a town at the entrance of the Adriatic, called by Ptolemy Κούρικτα." *Salmasius.* The copies vary greatly; some have *Corcyræo*; others *Cretico.*

in Pompey's service. Two of them, however, the tide brought off; but one, which bore some men of Opitergium, struck upon the shallows, and underwent a fate deserving to be remembered by posterity. A party of something less than a thousand men[1] sustained, for a whole day, the weapons of an army that entirely surrounded them; and, when their valour had no way of escape, they agreed, in order to avoid a surrender, and at the instigation of the tribune Vulteius, to kill one another.

In Africa the valour of Curio was equalled by his ill-fortune; for, being sent to secure that province, and elated with the conquest and rout of Varus, he was unable to make a stand against the sudden arrival of king Juba and the Mauretanian cavalry. After he was defeated, he might have fled; but shame prompted him to die with the army which was lost by his rashness.

But fortune now summoning the pair of combatants, destined to contend for the empire of the world, Pompey fixed on Epirus for the seat of warfare, nor was Cæsar slow to meet him; for, having settled everything in his rear, he set sail, though the middle of winter obstructed his passage by unfavourable weather, to pursue the war; and, having pitched his camp at Oricum, and finding that part of his forces, which had been left with Antony for want of ships, made some delay at Brundusuim, he grew so impatient, that, to get them over, he attempted to sail alone in a spy-boat at midnight, though the sea was tempestuously agitated by the wind. A saying of his to the master of the boat, who was alarmed at the greatness of the danger, is well remembered; "What dost thou fear? Thou carriest Cæsar."

When the forces of Cæsar and Pompey were assembled from every quarter, and their camps were pitched at no great distance, the plans conceived by the generals were widely different. Cæsar, naturally daring, and eager to bring the affair to a conclusion, displayed his troops, and challenged and harassed the enemy, sometimes by besieging their camp, which he had inclosed with a wall of sixteen miles in circuit; (but what hurt could a siege do to those who, from the sea being open, had abundance of supplies?) sometimes by fruitless attacks on Dyrrachuim, (a place which even its situation

[1] A thousand men] Not in one boat; thought it would seem to be so from the text.

rendered impregnable,) and, at the same time, by constant engagements with their parties as they sallied out, (at which time the extraordinary valour of Scæva the centurion was displayed, into whose shield a hundred and twenty weapons penetrated[1],) as well as by plundering such cities as had joined Pompey, among which he wasted Oricum, and Gomphi, and other strongholds of Thessaly. To counteract these attempts, Pompey contrived delays, and declined to fight, in order that he might wear out the enemy, who were hemmed in on all sides, with want of provisions, and that the ardour of his impetuous opponent might be exhausted. But the prudent plan of the general did not long avail him; the soldiers found fault with the inaction in which they were kept, the allies with the protraction of the war, and the nobility with the general's love of power. Thus the fates hurrying him on, Thessaly was chosen as the theatre for battle, and the destiny of the city, the empire, and the whole of mankind, was committed to the plains of Philippi. Never did fortune behold so many of the forces, or so much of the dignity, of the Roman people collected in one place. More than three hundred thousand men were assembled in the two armies, besides the auxiliary troops of kings and nations. Nor were there ever more manifest signs of some approaching destruction; the escape of victims, swarms of bees settling on the standards, and darkness in the daytime; while the general himself, in a dream by night, heard a clapping of hands in his own theatre at Rome, which rung in his ears like the beating of breasts in sorrow; and he appeared in the morning (an unlucky omen!) clad in black in the centre of the army.

As to the army of Cæsar, it was never possessed of greater spirit and alacrity. It was on his side that the trumpets first sounded, and the darts were first discharged. The javelin of Crastinus, too, was noticed as that of the beginner of the battle; who, being soon after found among the dead bodies of the enemy, with a sword thrust into his mouth, proved by the strangeness of the wound the eagerness and rage with which he fought. Nor was the issue of the contest

[1] A hundred and twenty weapons penetrated] *Centum atque viginti tela sedêre.* Some copies have *centum atque quadraginta.* In Cæsar, B.C. iii., 53, it is stated that the number of holes in the shield was a hundred and thirty.

less wonderful. For though Pompey had so much larger a number of horse, that he seemed capable of easily hemming in Cæsar, he was himself hemmed in. When they had fought a long time without advantage on either side, and Pompey's cavalry had galloped forward at his command from one of the wings, the German cohorts on the other side, at a given signal, suddenly met the horse in their course with so furious a charge, that the cavalry seemed to be but infantry, and the infantry to advance with the force of cavalry. On the overthrow of the retreating horse followed the destruction of the light-armed foot. Consternation then spreading wider and wider, and the troops of Pompey throwing each other into confusion, the slaughter of the rest was effected as with one hand[1], nor did anything contribute to the overthrow of the army so much as its magnitude. Cæsar exerted himself greatly in the battle, acting a middle part, as it were, between a commander and a soldier. Some sayings of his, too, which fell from him as he rode about, were caught up; one of which was cruel, but judicious and conducive to the victory, "Soldiers, strike at the face;" another, uttered when he was in pursuit, was intended only for effect, "Spare your countrymen."

Happy had Pompey been, though in misfortune, had the same fate that overwhelmed his army fallen upon himself. He survived his honour, to flee on horseback, with more disgrace, through Thessalian Tempe; to reach Lesbos in one small vessel; to be driven from Syedræ[2], and to meditate, upon a desert rock of Cilicia, an escape to Parthia, Africa, or Egypt; and, finally, to die on the shore of Pelusium, in sight of his wife and children, at the word of a most contemptible prince, at the instigation of eunuchs, and, that nothing might be wanting to his calamities, by the sword of Septimius, a deserter from his own army.

With the death of Pompey who would not have supposed that the war had been concluded? But the ashes of the

[1] As with one hand] *Quasi unâ manu.* "That is, very easily, without effort; no great force being necessary to effect it." *Rupertus.*

[2] Driven from Syedræ] *Pulsus Syedris.* "Syedra is mentioned by Ptolemy among the maritime towns of Cilicia; Stephanus calls it a city of Isauria, which is often confounded with Cilicia." *Salmasius.* Before Salmasius the reading was *pulsis* (or *pulsus*) *Hedris*, which puzzled all the editors.

fire of Thessaly burst forth into flame again with much more violence and heat than before. In Egypt, indeed, a war arose against Cæsar without the influence of Roman faction. Ptolemy, king of Alexandria, having committed the crowning atrocity of the civil war, and assured himself of the friendship of Cæsar by means of Pompey's head, but Fortune, at the same time, demanding vengeance for the manes of so great a man, an opportunity for her purpose was not long wanting. Cleopatra, the king's sister, falling at the feet of Cæsar, intreated that a part of the kingdom might be restored to her. The damsel[1] had beauty, and its attractions were heightened by the circumstance that, being such as she was, she seemed to have suffered injustice; while Cæsar had a dislike for the king[2] her brother, who had sacrificed Pompey to the fortune of party, and not from regard to Cæsar, and who would doubtless have treated Cæsar himself in a similar manner, had his interest required it. Cæsar, desiring that Cleopatra should be reinstated in power, was immediately beset in the palace by the same persons that had assassinated Pompey; but with wonderful bravery, though only with a small body of troops, he withstood the efforts of a numerous army. In the first place, by setting fire to the neighbouring houses and dockyards, he kept at a distance the darts of his eager enemies, and then suddenly made his escape to the island of Pharos. Being driven from thence into the sea, he swam off, with wonderful good fortune, to his fleet that lay at hand, leaving his military cloak in the water, whether by chance, or with a view to its receiving, instead of himself, the shower of darts and stones hurled by the enemy. At length being taken up by the men of his fleet, and attacking the enemy on all sides at once, he made atonement to the manes of his son-in-law by a conquest of that perfidious nation. Theodotus the king's guardian, the author of the whole war, and Pothinus and Ganymede, monsters that were not even men, after fleeing in various directions over sea and land, were cut off by death. The body of the king himself was found buried in

[1] Damsel] *Puella.*

[2] Dislike for the king, *&c.*] *Odium ipsius regis, &c.* There seems to be something wanting in the text here, as Freinshemius and Duker observe.

the mud of the river, distinguished by a golden coat of mail.

In Asia, too, there arose a new commotion from Pontus, Fortune apparently, and as it were purposely, taking this opportunity to terminate the kingdom of Mithridates, that as the father was conquered by Pompey, the son might be conquered by Cæsar. King Pharnaces, presuming more on our dissensions than on his own valour, poured into Cappadocia with an army ready for action. But Cæsar, engaging him, overthrew him in one battle, and that, as I may say, not an entire one, falling upon him like lightning, which, in one and the same moment, comes, strikes, and is gone[1]. Nor was it a vain boast on the part of Cæsar, "that the enemy was conquered before he was seen."

Such were the occurrences with foreign enemies. But in Africa he had a fiercer contest with his own countrymen than at Pharsalia. A tide of civil fury had driven the relics of the shipwrecked party to this country; relics, indeed we should hardly call them, but rather a complete warlike force. The strength of the party had rather been separated than defeated. The very calamity of the general had strengthened the obligation[2] of their military oath; nor did the succeeding leaders show any degeneracy; for the names of Cato and Scipio had a sufficiently effective sound in the room of that of Pompey. To the force on that side was added Juba, king of Mauritania, as if that Cæsar might carry his conquests the further. There was therefore no difference in the fields of Pharsalia and Thapsus, except that the efforts of the Cæsarians were greater and more vigorous, as being indignant that the war should have

[1] Comes, strikes, and is gone] *Venit, percussit, abscessit.* He uses the preterperfects for the sake of greater effect, as Pearce imagined that Longinus used the aorists in sect. i., ὕψος δὲ—*τά τε πράγματα δίκην σκηπτοῦ πάντα διεφόρησε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐνθὺς ἀθρόαν ἐνεδείξατο δύναμιν*, which passage Smith, believing in Pearce, translated, "The sublime—with the rapid force of lightning, has borne down all before it, and shown at one stroke the compacted might of genius." Both should have known better. Minellius aptly compares Vell. Pat., ii., 7: *Ego vix crediderim tam maturè tantam urbem floruisse, concidisse, resurrexisse.* See Sall., Jug., c. 106, *cœnatos esse.*

[2] Had strengthened the obligation, *&c.*] By exciting them to avenge his death.

grown up after the death of Pompey. The trumpeters (what had never happened before) sounded a charge of themselves, before the general gave an order for it. The overthrow began with Juba, whose elephants, new to war, and lately brought from the woods, were startled at the sudden noise, and his army immediately took to flight. Nor were the leaders too brave[1] to flee, though the deaths of them all were not inglorious. Scipio got off in a ship, but, as the enemy overtook him, he thrust his sword into his bowels, and when some one asked *where he was*, he returned this answer, "The general is well." Juba, having betaken himself to his palace, and having banqueted sumptuously on the following day with Petreius the companion of his flight, offered himself, at table, in the midst of their cups, to be killed by his hand. Petreius slew both Juba and himself, and the half-consumed meats, and funeral dishes[2], were mixed with the blood of a king and a Roman. Cato was not at the battle, but, having pitched his camp on the Bagrada, guarded Utica, as a second barrier of Africa[3]. Hearing, however, of the defeat of his party, he did not hesitate to die, but even cheerfully, as became a wise man, hastened his own death. Dismissing his son and attendants with an embrace, and reading in the night, by the light of a lamp, that book of Plato which treats of the immortality of the soul, he afterwards rested a while, but, about the first watch, having drawn his sword, he pierced his breast, which he had uncovered with his hand, more than once. After this the surgeons would needs trouble him with plasters, which he endured till they were gone, and then opened the gashes afresh, when a vast quantity of blood issuing forth made his dying hands sink on the wounds.

But as if there had hitherto been no fighting, war, and the party of Pompey, arose again; and Spain exceeded

[1] Nor were the leaders too brave, &c.] *Et duces fortius quàm ut fugerent, &c.* Thus stands the passage in Duker's edition, and almost all others, though Salmasius long ago substituted *nec*, and Freinshemius, Madame Dacier, Perizonius, and Duker himself, admitted that the sense demanded the alteration.

[2] Funeral dishes] *Parentalia fercula.* Because Petreius and Juba slew themselves over them.

[3] As a second barrier of Africa] *Velut altera Africæ claustra.* Thapsus having been the other.

Africa in the struggle as much as Africa had exceeded Thessaly. What now attracted great regard to the party, was, that the two generals were brothers, and that two Pompeys had appeared instead of one. Never, therefore, were there fiercer encounters, or with such dubious success. First of all, Varus and Didius, the lieutenant-generals, engaged at the very mouth of the Ocean[1]. But their vessels had a harder contest with the sea, than with one another. For the Ocean, as if it would punish the discord of fellow-citizens, destroyed both fleets by shipwreck. What an awful scene was it, when waves, storms, men, ships, and arms, mingled in contention at the same time! Consider, too, the frightful nature of the situation itself; the shores of Spain, on the one side, and of Mauretania on the other, closing as it were together; the internal and external seas[2], and the pillars of Hercules overhanging them, while all around was agitated with a battle and a tempest.

Soon after, they applied themselves, in various quarters, to the sieges of cities, which, between the leaders on one side and the other, paid a severe penalty for their alliance with Rome. Of the battles, the last was fought at Munda. Here the contest was not attended with Cæsar's previous success, but was long doubtful and threatening, so that Fortune seemed evidently hesitating how to act. Cæsar, too, before the battle, was more low-spirited than ordinary, whether from meditating on the instability of human things, from feeling a mistrust of his long-continued prosperity, or from dreading Pompey's fate after having attained Pompey's station. But in the course of the battle there occurred an incident, such as no man ever remembered to have heard of before; for when the two armies, equal in fortune, had been wholly engaged in mutual slaughter, there happened suddenly, in the greatest heat of the combat, a deep silence, as if by common consent, on both sides. This was an expression of general feeling[3]. At last came the dire misfortune,

[1] At the very mouth of the Ocean] *In ipso ostio Oceani.* Near the straits of Gibraltar. "Not far from Crantia, as Dion., lib. xliii., has it, or Carteia, as Hirtius de Bell. Hispan., c. 32." *Freinshemius.*

[2] The internal and external seas] *Mare et intestinum et externum.* The Mediterranean sea, within the strait of Gibraltar, and the Ocean without it.

[3] This was an expression of general feeling] *Hic omnium sensus erat.* "These

strange to the eyes of Cæsar, that after fourteen years of service, his tried body of veterans gave ground. They did not indeed flee, but they seemed to resist rather from being ashamed to retreat than from real courage. Springing off his horse, therefore, he rushed like a madman to the front of the battle, where he stayed and encouraged those that were shrinking, and made his influence felt through the whole body with eye, hand, and voice. Yet, in the confusion, he is said to have meditated death, and to have shown plainly by his looks that he was inclined to hasten his end, had not five battalions of the enemy, which then marched across the field, and which had been sent by Labienus to defend the camp that was in danger, caused an appearance of flight. This the crafty general either believed, or took advantage of the movement to make it appear; and, advancing on the enemy as if they were fleeing, he both raised the courage of his own men, and damped that of his opponents. The party of Cæsar, thinking themselves conquerors, pressed forward with greater spirit; that of Pompey, supposing some on their side to be fleeing, commenced a general flight. How great the slaughter of the enemy was, and how great the rage and fury of the conquerors, may be estimated from the following circumstance. The fugitives from the battle having taken refuge in Munda, and Cæsar giving orders that they should immediately be besieged, a rampart was formed of dead bodies heaped one on another, which were held together by being stuck through with lances and javelins; a spectacle that would have been horrible even among barbarians.

When Pompey's sons had lost all hope of victory, Cæsonius, having overtaken Cnæus, who had fled from the field of battle, and was making his way, with a wound in his leg, to some desert and solitary place, slew him in the town of Lauron, still fighting, and proving that his spirit was not utterly broken. Fortune, meanwhile, hid Sextus in Celtiberia, and reserved him for other wars after Cæsar's time.

Cæsar returned triumphant to his native city. The Rhine, the Rhone, and the subjugated Ocean formed of gold, repre-

words are a contemptible gloss." *Freinshemius.* "I think otherwise; Florus means that all the soldiers, by this silence, testified what they felt, namely, that they wished an end to be put to civil contention." *Grævius.* "If this was Florus's meaning, he ought to have expressed it more plainly, by adding or prefixing something to the words." *Duker.*

sented his first triumph, for Gaul. The second was for Egypt; when the Nile, Arsinoe, and the Pharos burning like fire, were displayed[1]. The third was for Pharnaces and Pontus. The fourth was displayed for Juba and the Moors, and twice-conquered Spain. But Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda, were nowhere to be seen; yet how much greater were those actions for which he had no triumph[2]!

There was now, at last, an end of hostilities. The peace that followed was free from bloodshed, and atonement was made for the war by clemency. No one was put to death by Cæsar's order except Afranius, (it was enough that he had pardoned him once,) and Faustus Sylla, (he had learned to be afraid of sons-in-law[3],) and the daughter of Pompey with her children by Sylla; in which proceeding regard was had to posterity[4]. His countrymen, therefore, being not ungrateful, all kinds of honours were conferred on him as the

[1] Arsinoe—displayed] *In ferculis—Arsinoe.* Madame Dacier thinks that by Arsinoe Florus means the picture of a city of that name; Duker supposes that he intends the portrait of Arsinoe, the sister of Cleopatra, but observes that he must have erred from not knowing that *Arsinoe herself was led in the triumph* with other captives, as is told by Dion Cassius, lib. xliii. *Ferculum* was a sort of frame or stage on which things were carried in triumphal processions.

[2] For which he had no triumph] He did not triumph on account of those battles, says Freinshemius, because in them he had conquered, not foreigners, but his own countrymen. See iii., 22, *fin.* "Yet that the representations of the contests at Pharsalus and Thapsus, as well as the portraits of the brave men who fell in them, Scipio, Cato, and Petreius, *were* carried in triumph, is stated by Appian, Bell. Civ., lib. ii.; * * * * that he triumphed, *a fifth time*, for his victory over the Pompeys at Munda, is testified both by Dion Cassius, l. xliii., and by Plutarch in his life of Cæsar." *Duker.*

[3] And Faustus Sylla, (he had learned to be afraid of sons-in-law,) *&c.*] *Et Faustum Sullam: didicerat generos timere: filiamque Pompeii cum patruelibus ex Sullâ.* Under the term sons-in-law Florus comprehends Pompey and Faustus Sylla. Cæsar had learned from Pompey to dread *a son-in-law*, and he now dreaded Faustus Sylla, who, as Florus appears to think, was his *grandson-in-law*, by having married Pompey's daughter. But on this point Florus, as Grævius remarks, is in error, for Julia, Cæsar's daughter, died childless; and Faustus Sylla's marriage with a daughter of Pompey by another wife did not at all connect him with Cæsar. To the word *patruelibus* no critic has professed to give a satisfactory sense; it admits, indeed, of no explanation, for *patruelis* is a "cousin-german," and to whom can we suppose that Florus called the children of Faustus Sylla "cousin-germans?" I have therefore, instead of it, adopted *parvulis*, the conjecture of Perizonius, approved both by Grævius and Duker.

[4] Regard was had to posterity] *Posteris cavebatur.* Lest, if any offspring of

sole governor of the state; as statues in the temples, a radiant crown to wear in the theatre, a raised seat in the senate-house, a cupola on his own house, and a month in the heavens. He was, besides, called Father of his country, and Perpetual Dictator; and at last, whether with his own consent is doubtful, the ensigns of royalty were offered him on the Rostra by the consul Antony.

But all these honours were but as decorations laid on a victim doomed to die. The envy of others overcame the clemency of the ruler, and his very power of conferring benefits was insupportable to the free. Nor was long delay granted him, before Brutus and Cassius, and others of the nobility, conspired to put him to death. How great is the power of fate! The knowledge of the conspiracy had spread widely; an account of it, on the very day fixed for its execution, had been presented to Cæsar himself; nor was he able, when he sacrificed, to find one in a hundred victims propitious. Yet he ventured into the senate-house, meditating an expedition against the Parthians. Here, as he was sitting in his curule chair, the senate fell upon him, and he was struck to the ground with three-and-twenty wounds. Thus he, who had deluged the world with the blood of his countrymen, deluged the senate-house at last with his own.

CHAP. III. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

The Roman people, when Cæsar and Pompey were killed, thought that they had returned to their state of pristine freedom; and they would have returned to it, had neither Pompey left children, nor Cæsar an heir; or, what was worse, had not Antony, once the sharer and afterwards the rival of Cæsar's power, survived to be the incendiary and disturber of the succeeding age. For as Sextus Pompey sought to recover what was his father's, consternation was spread over the whole sea; as Octavius tried to revenge his father's death[1], Thessaly was again to be disquieted; and as Antony,

Sylla should be left, it might be the means of raising a new war. But Hirtius, De Bell. Afric., c. 95, gives a quite different account of the matter, saying that Cæsar "granted the daughter of Pompey, and her children by Faustus Sylla, their lives and all their property."

[1] Ch. III. His father's death] The death of Julius Cæsar, his father by adoption.

a man of fickle disposition, either showed displeasure, that Octavius should succeed Cæsar, or, from love of Cleopatra, was ready to degenerate into a king[1], the Romans could not otherwise find safety but by taking refuge in a state of servitude. Yet, in the midst of their great distractions, it was a source of congratulation to them that the sovereign power fell into the hands of Augustus Cæsar, rather than those of any other man; for he, by his wisdom and prudence, reduced to order the body of the empire, which was distracted in every part, and which, doubtless, would never have coalesced and harmonised again, had it not been regulated by the direction of one president, as by one soul and mind.

In the consulship of Mark Antony and Publius Dolabella, when Fortune was proceeding to transfer the empire to the Cæsars, there arose various and manifold convulsions in the state; and, as it happens in the annual revolution of the heavens, that the constellations by their motions occasion thunder, and make known their change of place by change of weather, so, in the change of condition in the Roman government, that is, of the whole human race, the body of the empire was shaken throughout, and distracted with all kinds of perils, and civil wars both by land and sea.

CHAP. IV. THE CONFLICT AT MUTINA.

The first occasion of civil commotion was Cæsar's will, whose second heir[2], Antony, enraged that Octavius was preferred before him, raised a desperate war to set aside the adoption of the spirited young man. Seeing that he was but a tender youth, under eighteen years of age, and therefore a fit and proper subject, as he thought, for any ill-usage, while he himself was of high dignity from his long service with Cæsar, he proceeded to dismember his inheritance by clandestine acts of injustice, to attack him personally with opprobrious language, and to hinder, by all imaginable artifices, his

[1] Was ready to degenerate into a king] *Desciscit in regem.* "An elegant expression, and agreeable to the feelings of the old Romans, to whom the name of king was detestable." *Freinshemius.*

[2] Ch. IV. Second heir] *Secundus hæres.* "Camers says that he has nowhere else read this, but I remember to have read it in Dion. Cass., lib. xliv. The second heir is he who takes the place of the first, should the first die before the death of the testator." *Vinetus.*

co-optation[1] into the Julian family. At last, to crush the young man entirely, he openly took up arms against him, and, having got an army in Cisalpine Gaul, besieged Decimus Brutus, who opposed his movements, in Mutina; but Octavius Cæsar, recommended to public favour by his age and injuries, and by the greatness of the name which he had assumed, recalled the veterans to arms, and, though but a private person, engaged (who would believe it?) with a consul. He relieved Brutus from the siege at Mutina, and drove Antony from his camp. On that occasion, too, he behaved gallantly in action; for, wounded and covered with blood, he carried back an eagle, which had been committed to him by a dying standard-bearer, upon his shoulder into the camp.

CHAP. V. THE SIEGE OF PERUSIA.

The distribution of lands among the soldiers occasioned another war; lands which Cæsar assigned the veterans in his army as the reward of their service. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, girt with a sword in the field like a man, stimulated Antony's mind, which otherwise was always sufficiently ill-disposed, to action. By rousing the husbandmen, therefore, who had been driven from their lands, he produced another war. Cæsar now attacked him as one adjudged an enemy, not by private opinion, but by the suffrages of the whole senate, shut him up within the walls of Perusia, and, by means of a wretched famine, that had recourse to every expedient, forced him at last to a surrender.

CHAP. VI. THE TRIUMVIRATE.

When Antony, even alone, was a hindrance to the public quiet, and a trouble to the state, Lepidus was joined with him, as one fire to another. What could Cæsar then do[2] against two armies? He was necessitated to join in a most cruel league with their leaders. The views of all the three were different. The desire of wealth, of which there was a fair prospect from a disturbance of the state, animated

[1] Co-optation] *Cooptationem.* A formal reception into a family, in consequence of adoption by a member of it.

[2] Ch. VI. What could Cæsar then do, *&c.*] The word *Cæsar* is wanting in the text, but Grævius shows the necessity of adopting it.

Lepidus; the hope of taking vengeance on those who had declared him an enemy, instigated Antony; the death of his father unavenged, while Cassius and Brutus lived offensive to his manes, actuated Cæsar. With a view to a confederacy for these objects, a peace was made among the three generals. At Confluentes[1], between Perusia and Bononia, they joined hands, and the armies saluted each other. After no good precedent[2], a Triumvirate was established; and the state being subjugated by force of arms, the proscription, first introduced by Sylla, was revived. Its fury embraced no fewer than a hundred and forty senators. The deaths of many, who fled into all parts of the world, were shocking, cruel, and mournful; such, indeed, as no one can sufficiently lament. Antony proscribed Lucius Cæsar, his own uncle; Lepidus, Lucius Paulus, his own brother. It was now a common practice to expose the heads of such as had been killed, on the Rostra at Rome; but, though such was the case, the city could not refrain from tears, when the head of Cicero, severed from his body, was seen on that very Rostra which he had made his own; nor was there a less concourse to see him there than there had formerly been to hear him. These atrocities proceeded from the lists of Antony and Lepidus. Cæsar was content with proscribing the assassins of his father; the deaths of whom, had they been less numerous, might have been thought just.

CHAP. VII. THE WAR RAISED BY CASSIUS AND BRUTUS.

Brutus and Cassius seemed to have cast Cæsar, like another king Tarquin, from the sovereignty; but the liberty, which by his assassination they had hoped to restore, they entirely lost. After the murder was committed, they fled from the senate-house to the Capitol, being afraid, and not without reason, of Cæsar's veterans, who did not want inclination to avenge his death, but had no leader. As it appeared, however, that desolation threatened the commonwealth, vengeance was not then thought proper[3] to be pursued.

[1] Confluentes] At the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine, now *Coblentz*.

[2] After no good precedent] *Nullo bono more.* "In allusion to the preceding triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus." *Duker.*

[3] Ch. VII. Vengeance was not then thought proper, *&c.*] *Displicuit ultio.* After

But, to escape the eye of the public grief, Brutus and Cassius withdrew into Syria and Macedonia, the very province assigned them by the Cæsar whom they had slain. Vengeance for Cæsar was thus delayed rather than smothered. The government being regulated, therefore, rather as it was possible than as it was requisite, by the Triumviri, and Lepidus being left to guard the city, Cæsar, accompanied by Antony, prepared for a war against Cassius and Brutus, who, having collected a vast force, had taken post on the same ground that had been fatal to Cnæus Pompey. But evident omens of destined calamity were observed on this occasion. Birds, accustomed to feed on dead bodies, flew around the camp as if it were already their own. An Ethiopian meeting the troops, as they were proceeding to the field of battle, was too plainly a dismal sign. Some black phantom, too, appeared to Brutus in the night, when he was meditating, after his custom, with a lamp by his side, and, being asked what it was, replied, "Thy evil Genius." Thus it spoke, and vanished from his eyes while he was wondering at its appearance.

In Cæsar's camp the birds and victims gave predictions with equal significance, but all for the better. Nothing, however, was more remarkable, than that Cæsar's physician was admonished in a dream, that "Cæsar should quit his camp, which was destined to be taken," as afterwards happened. For when the battle had commenced, and both sides had fought for some time with equal spirit, (though the leaders were not present, one of whom sickness, and the other fear and indolence[1], had detained from the field, yet the invincible fortune, both of the avenger and the avenged, supported the party, the danger being at first equally threatening to either side, as indeed the event of the conflict showed,) the camp of Cæsar was taken on the one side, and

these words follow *cum consulis abolitione decretâ*, of which, according to the unanimous voice of the commentators, no sense can be made, and which I have consequently omitted.

[1] Fear and indolence] *Metus et ignavia.* That Antony was thus kept from the field, seems to be a gratuitous assertion on the part of Florus. Plutarch merely observes that "some said Antony was absent from the battle, and did not arrive in the field till his men were in pursuit of the enemy." Vit. Ant., c. 28. See also Vit. Brut., c. 61. No other authority is adduced on the subject.

that of Cassius on the other. But how much more powerful is fortune than conduct, and how true is that which Brutus said when he was dying, that "Virtue existed not in reality, but merely in name[1]!" A mistake settled the victory in this battle. Cassius, at a time when one of his wings was giving way, observing his cavalry, after having surprised Cæsar's camp, coming back at full speed, imagined that they were fleeing, and withdrew to a neighbouring hill, where the dust and confusion, with the approach of night, obstructing his view of the action, and a scout, whom he sent for the purpose, being slow in bringing intelligence, he concluded that his party was utterly defeated, and caused one of his followers to strike off his head.

Brutus, having lost his very soul in Cassius, and being resolved to adhere strictly to their compact, (for they had agreed that both should survive the battle, or neither[2],) presented his side to one of his attendants, that he might run him through with his sword.

Who cannot but wonder, that these wisest of men did not use their own hands to despatch themselves? But perhaps this was avoided from principle[3], that they might not, in releasing their most pure and pious souls, stain their own hands, but, while they used their own judgment, might allow the crime of the execution to be another's.

CHAP. VIII. THE WAR WITH SEXTUS POMPEY.

Though the assassins of Cæsar were cut off, the house of Pompey was yet left. One of the young men, his sons, had fallen in Spain; but the other had escaped by flight, and, having collected the relics of the unhappy war, and armed a

[1] Virtue existed—merely in name] This saying of Brutus is wholly inapplicable here. Florus first uses *virtus* in a military sense, (for *conduct* or *ability*,) and then confounds with it *virtus* in a moral sense.

[2] Both should survive the battle, or neither] *Ita enim par superesse bello convenerat.* Of these words, from which the critics extract no satisfactory sense, I have borrowed Clarke's translation. Freinshemius seems to offer the best emendation: *Ita enim* super isto *bello convenerat.* "Quid sibi velit hic *par*," says Salmasius, "non video."

[3] From principle] *Ex persuasione.* "The word *persuasio* is also applied to the sentiments and principles of the philosophers by Quintilian, xii.. 2." *Duker.* The sentiment at the conclusion of this chapter is, as Salmasius says, sufficiently turgid.

body of slaves, kept possession of Sicily and Sardinia. He had now also covered the sea with a fleet. But how different was he from his father! The one had suppressed the Cilician pirates; the other carried pirates in his own vessels. This youth was entirely overpowered, in the Strait of Messina, with a vastly superior force[1]; and, had he attempted nothing afterwards, would have carried with him to the grave the reputation of a great commander. But it is the mark of a great genius to hope always. After his defeat he fled, and sailed to Asia, where he was destined to fall into the hands and fetters of enemies, and, what is most intolerable to the brave, to die by the sentence of his foes under the axe of the executioner. There never was a more wretched flight since that of Xerxes. For he who, a short time before, was master of three hundred and fifty ships, fled with only six or seven, putting out the light of his own vessel, casting his rings into the sea[2], and looking anxiously behind him, yet not afraid that he should perish[3].

CHAP. IX. THE PARTHIAN WAR, UNDER VENTIDIUS.

Although Cæsar, by defeating Cassius and Brutus, had disabled their party, and, by cutting off Pompey, had extirpated its very name, yet he could not succeed in establishing peace as long as that rock, knot, and obstacle[4] to the public tranquillity, Antony, remained alive. He himself, indeed, by reason of his vices, was not wanting to his own destruction; but by indulging, from ambition and luxury, in every

[1] Ch. VIII. With a vastly superior force.] *Tantâ mole.* The *tantâ* is evidently corrupt. Tollius conjectures *tandem totâ mole.*

[2] Casting his rings into the sea] *Annulis in mare abjectis.* What rings are meant, is a point of dispute. Madame Dacier and Duker think that they are the rings Sextus Pompey wore on his fingers, and which he threw away that he might not be known by them. Rupertus supposes that they were the *fetters* worn by the rowers who were the slaves of Pompey, (fetters being called rings by Martial, Epig., ii., 29, xi., 38,) and which were thrown away that they might make less noise; a supposition much less probable than the other.

[3] Not afraid that he should perish] *Non timens ne periret.* "Here I accept the interpretation of Rupertus, who says that Sextus Pompey had hopes of safety from Antony." *Duker.*

[4] Ch. IX. Knot and obstacle] *Nodus et mora.* "In imitation of Virgil, Æn., x., 428: *Pugnæ nodumque moramque.*" Freinshemius.

irregular course, he first freed our enemies, then his own countrymen, and lastly the age in which he lived, from the dread of him.

The Parthians, on the overthrow of Crassus, had assumed greater courage, and had heard with joy of the civil discords among the Romans. As soon, therefore, as an opportunity showed itself, they did not hesitate to rise in arms, especially as Labienus earnestly incited them, who, having been sent thither by Brutus and Cassius, such is the madness of civil discord, had solicited the enemies of Rome to assist them. The Parthians, under the conduct of Pacorus, a youth of the royal family, expelled the garrisons of Antony. Saxa, Antony's lieutenant-general, owed it to his sword that he did not fall into their hands. At length, Syria being taken from us, the evil extended itself more widely, as the enemy, under pretence of aiding others, were conquering for themselves, and would have continued to conquer, had not Ventidius, also a lieutenant-general of Antony, overthrown, with incredible good fortune, not only the forces of Labienus, but Pacorus himself, and all the Parthian cavalry, along the whole plain between the Orontes and Euphrates. The slain amounted to more than twenty thousand[1]. Nor was this effected without stratagem on the part of the general, who, pretending fear, suffered the enemy to come so close on our camp, that, by depriving them of room for discharging their arrows, he rendered them useless. The prince fell fighting with great bravery; and his head being carried about through the cities which had revolted, Syria was soon recovered without further war. Thus by the slaughter of Pacorus we made compensation for the overthrow of Crassus.

CHAP. X. THE WAR OF ANTONY WITH THE PARTHIANS.

After the Parthians and Romans had made trial of one another, and Crassus and Pacorus had given proof of their mutual strength, their former friendship was renewed with expressions of equal regard on either side, and a treaty with

[1] More than twenty thousand] *Viginti amplius millium fuit.* "The author is obscure," as Duker remarks, "from excess of brevity," for he leaves it uncertain whether the slaughter was of the cavalry or of the whole army. I have followed the interpretation of Faber.

the king was concluded by Antony himself. But such was the excessive vanity of the man, that being desirous, from a love of distinction, to have Araxes and Euphrates read under his statues, he suddenly quitted Syria, and made an inroad on those very Parthians, and that without any cause or reason, or even pretended proclamation of war, as if it were among a general's accomplishments to surprise people by stealth. The Parthians, who, besides having confidence in their arms, are crafty and subtle, pretended to be alarmed, and to retreat across the plains. Antony, as if already victorious, instantly pursued, when suddenly a body of the enemy, not very numerous, rushed suddenly forth, like a storm of rain, upon the Romans, who, as it was evening, were tired with the day's march. Discharging their arrows from all sides, they overwhelmed two legions. But this was nothing in comparison with the destruction that would have met them on the following day, had not the mercy of the gods interposed. One of the Romans who had survived the overthrow of Crassus, rode up to the camp in a Parthian dress, and having saluted the soldiers in Latin, and thus gained credit with them, told them of the danger which threatened them: saying, that "the king would soon come up with all his forces; that they ought therefore to retreat, and take shelter in the mountains; and that possibly, even if they did so, enemies would not be wanting." In consequence, a smaller number of enemies overtook them than had been intended. Overtake them, however, they did; and the rest of the army would have been destroyed, had not the soldiers, while the arrows were falling on them like hail, fortunately sunk down, as if they had been taught, upon their knees, holding up their shields above their heads, and making it appear as if they were killed. The Parthians then refrained from shooting. When the Romans afterwards rose up, the proceeding appeared so like a miracle, that one of the barbarians exclaimed, "Go, and fare ye well, Romans; fame deservedly speaks of you as the conquerors of nations, since you have escaped death from the arrows of the Parthians." After this, there was no less endured from want of water, than at the hands of the enemy. The country, in the first place, was deadly from its drought; the river, too, with its

brackish and bitter water[1], was more deadly to some; and besides, even good water was pernicious to many, being drunk greedily when they were in a weak condition. Subsequently the heat of Armenia, the snows of Cappadocia, and the sudden change in climate from one to the other, was as destructive as a pestilence. Scarce the third part, therefore, of sixteen legions being left, and his silver being everywhere cut up with hatchets[2], the excellent general, begging death, from time to time, at the hands of a gladiator of his, escaped at last into Syria, where, by some unaccountable perversion of mind, he grew considerably more presuming than before, as if he had conquered because he had escaped.

CHAP. XI. THE WAR WITH ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

The madness of Antony, which could not be allayed by ambition, was at last terminated by luxury and licentiousness. After his expedition against the Parthians, while he was disgusted with war and lived at ease, he fell in love with Cleopatra, and, as if his affairs were quite prosperous, enjoyed himself in the queen's embraces.

This Egyptian woman demanded of the drunken general, as the price of her favours, nothing less than the Roman empire. This Antony promised her; as though the Romans had been easier to conquer than the Parthians. He therefore aspired to sovereignty, and not indeed covertly, but forgetting his country, name, toga, and fasces, and degenerating wholly, in thought, feeling, and dress, into a monster[3]. In his hand there was a golden sceptre; a scymitar by his side; his robe was of purple, clasped with enormous jewels;

[1] Ch. X. With its brackish and bitter water] *Salinacidis*, sc. *aquis*, according to Salmasius, whom Grævius and Duker follow. A word compounded of *salinus* (for *salsus*) and *acidus*. Others write the word *salmacidus*, as in Plin. H. N., xxxi., 3, 22; but Salmasius's method appears the better.

[2] And his silver being everywhere cut up with hatchets] *Quum argentum ejus passim dolabris concideretur*. This was done, according to Plutarch, by Antony's own soldiers, during a riot. "Those who were known to be possessed of gold or silver were slain and plundered, and the money conveyed in the baggage was carried off. Last of all his [Antony's] own baggage was seized, and the richest bowls and tables were cut asunder and divided among the pillagers." Life of Antony, c. 64. Langhorne's Translation.

[3] Ch. XI. Into a monster] *In illud monstrum*. That is, into that *monster of a king*, such as he is afterwards described. See note on *desciscit in regem*, c. 3.

and he wore a diadem, that he might dally with the queen as a king.

At the first report of his new proceedings, Cæsar had crossed the sea from Brundusium to meet the approaching war. Having pitched his camp in Epirus, he beset the island of Leucas, Mount Leucate, and the horns of the Ambracian Gulf, with a powerful fleet. We had more than four hundred vessels, the enemy about two hundred, but their bulk made amends for their inferiority in number; for, having from six banks of oars to nine, and being mounted with towers and high decks, they moved along like castles and cities, while the sea groaned and the winds were fatigued. Yet their magnitude was their destruction. Cæsar's vessels rose from three banks of oars to not more than six, and being therefore ready for all that necessity required, whether for charging, retreating, or wheeling round, they attacked, several at once, each of those heavy vessels, too unwieldy for any kind of contest, as well with missile weapons, as with their beaks, and firebrands hurled into them, and dispersed them at their pleasure. Nor was the greatness of the enemy's force shown by anything so much as by what occurred after the victory. The vast fleet, being shattered in the engagement, spread the spoils of the Arabians and Sabæans, and a thousand other nations of Asia, over the whole face of the deep. The waves, driven onward by the winds, were continually throwing up purple and gold on the shore. The queen, commencing the flight, made off into the open sea with her gilded vessel and sails of purple. Antony immediately followed.

But Cæsar pursued hard on their track. Neither their preparations, therefore, for flight into the Ocean[1], nor the securing of the two horns of Egypt, Parætonium and Pelusium, with garrisons, were of the least profit to them. They were almost caught by Cæsar's own hand. Antony was the first to use his sword against himself. The queen, falling at the feet of Cæsar, tempted his eyes in vain; for her charms were

[1] Preparations—for flight into the Ocean] *Præparata in Oceanum fuga.* Florus alludes to the project of Cleopatra, to draw her vessels over the Isthmus of Suez from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea, and to flee to some more remote country. See Plutarch, Vit. Anton., c. 89.

too weak to overcome the prince's continence. Her suit was not for life, which was offered her, but for a portion of the kingdom. Despairing of obtaining this from Cæsar, and seeing that she was reserved for his triumph, she took advantage of the negligence of her guard, and withdrew herself into a mausoleum, a name which they give to the sepulchres of their kings[1]. Having there put on her best apparel, as she used to be dressed, she placed herself by her dear Antony in a coffin[2] filled with rich perfumes, and, applying serpents to her veins, died a death resembling sleep.

CHAP. XII. WARS WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

This was the termination of the civil wars. Those which followed were with foreign nations, and started up in various parts of the world while the empire was distracted with its own troubles. Peace was new; and the swelling and proud necks of the nations not yet accustomed to the curb of bondage, recoiled from the yoke that had been but recently imposed upon them. The part of the world lying to the north, peopled by the Norici, Illyrians, Pannonians, Dalmatians, Mysians, Thracians, Dacians, Sarmatians, and Germans, was in general the most violent. The Alps and their snows, to which they thought that war could not reach, gave confidence to the Norici; but Cæsar, with the aid of his step-son, Claudius Drusus, subjugated all the people of those regions, the Brenni, Senones, and Vindelici. How savage these nations were[3], their women plainly proved, for, when weapons failed, they threw their very infants, after having dashed them on the ground, in the faces of the soldiers.

The Illyrians lie at the foot of the Alps, and guard their deep valleys, which are a sort of barriers[4] of defence to them,

[1] A name which they give to the sepulchres of their kings] *Sepulchra regum sic vocant.* Salmasius and Freinshemius would eject these words, as a mere intruded gloss.

[2] In a coffin] *In solio.* "*Solium* is here put for the *loculus* (coffin) in which dead bodies were buried; as in Plin. H. N., xxxv., 12; Q. Curt., x., 1, 32." *Freinshemius.* Also Suet. Ner., c. 50: *Solium Porphyretici marmoris.*

[3] Ch. XII. How savage these nations were] *Quæ fuerit callidarum gentium feritas.* The word *callidarum*, with which none of the critics are satisfied, I have omitted. Salmasius conjectures *Alpicarum;* Nic. Heinsius *Validarum.*

[4] A sort of barriers] *Et quædam quasi claustra.* I read *ut* with Gruter.

surrounded by precipitous torrents. Against this people Cæsar himself undertook an expedition, and ordered bridges to be constructed in order to reach them. Here the waters and the enemy[1] throwing his men into some confusion, he snatched a shield from a soldier hesitating to mount a bridge, and was the first to march across; and when the army had followed, and the Illyrians, from their numbers, had broken down the bridge, he, wounded in his hands and legs, and appearing more comely in blood and more majestic in danger[2], did great execution on the enemy's rear.

The Pannonians were defended by two forests, as well as by three rivers, the Drave, the Save, and the Ister. After laying waste the lands of their neighbours, they had withdrawn themselves within the banks of the streams. To reduce them, he despatched Vibius, and they were cut to pieces along both the rivers[3]. The arms of the conquered were not burnt, according to the usage of war, but were gathered up, and thrown into the rivers, that the news of the victory might thus be conveyed to those who still held out.

The Dalmatians live for the most part in woods, whence they boldly sally out to commit robberies. This people Marcius had before, as it were, deprived of a head, by burning their city Delminium. Afterwards Asinius Pollio, he that was the second orator in Rome[4], deprived them of their flocks, arms, and lands. But Augustus committed the final subjugation of them to Vibius, who forced the savages to dig the earth, and collect the gold from its veins, for which this nation, naturally the most covetous of all people, seeks with

[1] Here the waters and the enemy, *&c.*] *Hic se et aquis et hoste turbantibus.* "I cannot see the propriety of the pronoun *se*, and could wish it were absent. * * * But if for *se* were substituted *suos*, there would be no obscurity." *Duker.*

[2] More comely in blood and more majestic in danger] *Speciosior sanguine, et ipso periculo augustior.*

[3] Along both the rivers] *In utrisque fluminibus.* *Three* rivers are mentioned above, *tribus fluviis, Dravo, Savo, Histroque.* But *Histro* is not found in *all* the manuscripts, and Salmasius would therefore read *fluviis Dravo Savoque*, omitting *tribus.* Perizonius conjectures *satis acribus fluviis, Dravo Savoque.*

[4] He that was the second orator in Rome] *Hic secundus orator.* "I know not what these words mean, unless it be that Pollio was second to Cicero. I would rather read *facundus*; * * * but, to say the truth, I am inclined to think the words a mere gloss, which somebody had written in the margin of his copy, as his own designation of Pollio." *Freinshemius.* Vinetus, Isaac Vossius, Madame Dacier, Tollius, and Duker, are of the same opinion.

care and industry, so that they appear to hoard it for their own purposes.

To describe how cruel and inhuman the Mysians are, and how much the most barbarous of all barbarians, would be a horrid task. One of their leaders, calling for silence in front of the army, exclaimed, "Who are you?" The answer returned was, "The Romans, lords of all nations." "So you may be," they retorted, "if you conquer us." Marcus Crassus took their words for an omen. They, having straightway offered up a horse before their lines, made a vow that "they would sacrifice, and eat, the bowels of the Roman generals that they should kill." I could suppose that the gods heard them, for they could not endure even the sound of our trumpets. Domitius, a centurion, a man of stolidity sufficiently barbarous, yet effective against men like himself, struck the savages with no small terror, by mounting a pan of coals upon his helmet, and shedding from his head, which appeared on fire, a flame excited by the motion of his body.

Before these the people of Thrace[1] had revolted. These barbarians had been accustomed to the military standards, discipline, and arms of the Romans. But being subdued by Piso, they showed their violent spirit even in captivity, attempting to bite their chains, and thus punishing their own fierceness.

The Dacians live among the mountains. But, whenever the Danube became passable by being frozen, they were accustomed, at the command of Cotiso their king, to make descents, and lay waste the neighbouring country. This people, so difficult of approach, Cæsar Augustus determined to drive back. Having despatched Lentulus for this purpose, he repulsed them beyond the further bank, and built garrisons on this side of the river. The Dacians were not, therefore, conquered, but repelled, and left for a future opportunity.

The Sarmatians occupy wide plains, in which they ride about; and it was thought sufficient to prevent them, by the exertions of the same Lentulus, from crossing the Danube. They have nothing on the face of their territory but snows and a few woods, and such savages are they, that they know not what peace is.

[1] The people of Thrace] *Thracum maximè populus.* I have omitted *maximè*, as unintelligible. Madame Dacier and Grævius would read *maximus.*

I wish he had not thought it of so much importance to conquer Germany. The dishonour with which it was lost was greater than the glory with which it was gained. But because he knew that Cæsar, his father, had twice made bridges over the Rhine to prosecute the war against the country, he was desirous, in honour of him, to make it a province, and it would have been made so effectually, if the barbarians could have endured our vices as well as our government. Drusus[1], being sent into the country, first subdued the Usipetes, and then overran the districts of the Tenctheri and Catti. Of the remarkable spoils of the Marcomanni he raised a high mound, by way of a trophy. Next he attacked, at the same time, the three powerful tribes of the Cherusci, Suevi, and Sicambri, who had commenced the war by burning twenty of our centurions, regarding this proceeding as a bond of union, and entertaining such confident hopes of victory, that they divided the spoil by agreement beforehand. The Cherusci chose the horses, the Suevi the gold and silver, and the Sicambri the captives. But all happened contrary to their expectations; for Drusus, proving conqueror, divided their horses, cattle, gold chains, and themselves, as spoil, and sold them. For the defence of the provinces, too, he fixed garrisons, and bodies of guards, along the Meuse, the Elbe, and the Weser. On the banks of the Rhine he raised more than fifty fortresses. He built bridges at Bonn and Gesoriacum[2], and secured them with ships. He opened a way through the Hercynian forest, which, till that time, had been unpenetrated and unattempted. At length such peace was made throughout Germany, that the inhabitants seemed changed, the ground different from what it was, and the air milder and softer than it was wont to be. And when that brave young man died there, the senate gave him a surname from the province, (an honour which they had never bestowed on any other general,) not from flattery, but in testimony of his merit.

But it is more difficult to retain[3] provinces than to acquire

[1] Drusus] Step-son of Augustus; the same that is mentioned by Horace, Od., iv., 4.

[2] Gesoriacum] Afterwards called Bononia, whence its modern name *Boulogne*.

[3] More difficult to retain, *&c.*] He has the same remark, ii., 17.

them. They are obtained by force, but secured by justice. Our exultation was accordingly but short. The Germans had been defeated rather than subdued. Under the rule of Drusus they respected our manners rather than our arms. But when Drusus was dead, they began to detest the licentiousness and pride, no less than the cruelty, of Quintilius Varus. He ventured to call an assembly, and administered justice in his camp, as if he could restrain the violence of barbarians by the rods of a lictor and voice of a crier. But the Germans, who had long regretted that their swords were covered with rust, and their horses idle, proceeded, as soon as they saw the toga, and felt laws more cruel than arms, to go to war under the conduct of Arminius, while Varus, meantime, was so well assured of peace, that he was not the least alarmed, even by a previous notice, and subsequent discovery of the plot, made by Segestes, one of the enemy's chieftains. Having, therefore, risen upon him unawares, and fearing nothing of the kind, while he, with a strange want of precaution, was actually summoning them to his tribunal, they assailed him on every side, seized his camp, and cut off three legions. Varus met his overthrow with the same fortune and spirit with which Paulus met the day of Cannæ. Never was slaughter more bloody than that which was made of the Romans among the marshes and woods; never were insults more intolerable than those of the barbarians, especially such as they inflicted on the pleaders of causes. Of some they tore out the eyes, of others they cut off the hands. Of one the mouth was sewed up, after his tongue had been cut out, which one of the savages holding in his hand, cried, "At last, viper, cease to hiss." The body of the consul himself, which the affection of the soldiers had buried, was dug out of the ground. To this day the barbarians keep possession of the standards and two eagles[1]; the third, the standard-bearer, before it fell into the hands of the enemy, wrenched off, and keeping it hid within the folds of his belt, concealed

[1] To this day—two eagles] *Aquilas duas adhuc barbari possident.* Freinshemius observes that these were recovered before the time of Florus; one by Stertinius, as is stated in Tacit. Ann., i., 60; and the other by Gabinius, as is told by Dion Cassius, lib. lx. "Lipsius, on Tacit. Ann., ii., 25, expresses a suspicion that Florus copied his account from some Roman historian who wrote before the recovery of the eagles." *Duker.*

himself in the blood-stained marsh. In consequence of this massacre, it happened that the empire, which had not stopped on the shore of the Ocean, found its course checked on the banks of the Rhine.

Such were the occurrences in the north. In the south there were rather disturbances than wars. Augustus quelled the Musulanians and Getulians, who border on the Syrtes, by the agency of Cossus, who had thence the surname of Getulicus. But his successes extended further. He assigned the Marmaridæ and Garamantes to Curinius to subdue, who might have returned with the surname of Marmaricus, had he not been too modest in setting a value on his victory.

There was more trouble with the Armenians in the east, whither Augustus sent one of the Cæsars his grandsons[1]. Both of them were short-lived, but only one of them died without glory. Lucius was carried off by disease at Marseilles, Caius in Syria by a wound, whilst he was engaged in recovering Armenia, which had revolted to the Parthians. Pompey, after the defeat of king Tigranes, had accustomed the Armenians to such a degree of bondage as to receive rulers from us. The exercise of this right, after having been interrupted, was, by Caius Drusus, recovered in a slight struggle, which, however, was not without bloodshed. Domnes, whom the king had made governor of Artaxata, pretending that he would betray the place, struck Drusus as he was intent on perusing a scroll, which the assassin had just presented to him as containing an account of the treasures. He was hurt[2], but recovered of the wound for a time. But Domnes, pursued on all sides by the incensed army, made some atonement to Cæsar while he still survived, not only by his sword, but a burning pyre, on which, when wounded, he cast himself.

In the west, almost all Spain was subdued, except that part which the Hither Ocean[3] washes, and which lies close upon the rocks at the extremity of the Pyrenees. Here two

[1] His grandsons] Sons of his daughter Julia and Marcus Agrippa.

[2] Hurt] *Strictus.* *Stringere*, used in this way, is generally *leviter vulnerare.*

[3] Hither Ocean] *Citerior Oceanus.* What Florus meant by Citerior Oceanus, neither Ryckius, nor Madame Dacier, nor Duker, can settle. The Cantabri and Astures were situate near the end of the Pyrenees furthest from Rome, on the Atlantic Ocean.

very powerful nations, the Cantabrians and Asturians, lay exempt from the dominion of the Romans. The spirit of the Cantabrians was the more mischievous, more haughty, and more obstinate in raising war; for not content with defending their liberty, they also attempted to domineer over their neighbours, and harassed, with frequent inroads, the Vaccæi, the Curgonii, and the Autrigonæ.

Against this people, therefore, as they were said to be pursuing violent measures, an expedition was not committed by Augustus to another, but undertaken by himself. He advanced to Segisama, where he pitched his camp, and then, dividing his army, he inclosed by degrees[1] the whole of Campania, and caught the savage people, like wild beasts, as with a circle of nets. Nor were they spared on the side of the Ocean, where their rear was vigorously assailed by a fleet. His first battle against the Cantabrians was under the walls of Vellica[2]. Hence they fled to the lofty mountain Vinnius, which they thought the waters of the Ocean would ascend sooner than the arms of the Romans. In the third place, the town of Aracillum made violent resistance; but it was at last taken. At the siege of the mountain Medullus, (which he had surrounded with a trench of fifteen miles in length,) when the Romans pressed forward on every side, and the barbarians saw themselves reduced to extremity, they eagerly hastened their own deaths at a banquet, with fire, sword, and a kind of poison, which is there commonly extracted from yew-trees; and thus the greater part escaped the captivity which threatened them. Of this success, obtained by his lieutenant-generals Antistius, Furnius, and Agrippa, Cæsar received the news while wintering on the sea-coast at Tarraco. He himself, arriving at the place, brought some of the inhabitants down from the mountains, bound others by taking hostages of them, and sold others, by right of war, for slaves. The

[1] By degrees] *In diem.* "From day to day." Perizonius, Freinshemius, and Grævius, would read *indidem*; but this, as Duker observes, is superfluous, when *inde* precedes.

[2] Of Vellica] All the editions have *Belgicæ*; but there is no place of this name known in Spain. *Vellicæ* is the conjecture of Stadius, approved by Gruter, Grævius, and Perizonius.

achievement appeared to the senate worthy of the laurel and triumphal chariot, but Cæsar was now so great that he could despise triumphs.

The Asturians, at the same time, had come down in a vast body from their mountains; nor had they undertaken an enterprise rashly, like barbarians, but, having pitched their camp at the river Astura, and divided their forces into three parts, they prepared to attack three camps of the Romans at once. With such brave enemies, coming upon us so suddenly and in such order, there would have been a doubtful and desperate combat, (and would that I could think the loss on both sides would have been equal!) had not the Trigæcini betrayed them. Carisius, forewarned by the latter people, and coming up with his army, frustrated the enemy's designs, though not even thus without bloodshed. Lancia, a strong city, received the survivors of the routed army. Here there was so fierce an encounter, that firebrands were called for to burn the city after it was taken, when the general with difficulty prevailed with the troops to spare it, "that it might be a monument of the Roman victory as it stood, rather than burnt."

This was the termination of the campaigns of Augustus, as well as of rebellion in Spain. The fidelity of the Spaniards towards us was afterwards unshaken, and peace remained uninterrupted; a consequence resulting as well from their own disposition, which was now more inclined to tranquillity, as from the management of Cæsar, who, dreading their confidence in the mountains where they sheltered themselves, ordered them to occupy and inhabit the part in which his camp had been, and which was level ground. This regulation was noticed as one of great prudence. The country round about contains gold, and yields vermilion, chrysocolla, and other pigments[1]. He accordingly ordered the soil to be worked. Thus the Asturians became

[1] Chrysocolla, and other pigments] *Chrysocollæ, et aliorum colorum.* Chrysocolla is generally considered to be the same with borax. Good, in his notes on Lucretius, vi., 1077, says that it is "a mineral sand, found on the shores of the Red Sea, of an elegant green colour, denominated by the nations of modern times *tincar* or *tincal*." See Pliny, H. N., xxxiii., 5. Borax is also said to be found in great quantities in Thibet.

acquainted with their treasures hid in the earth, by searching for them for others.

All nations in the west and south being subdued, and all to the north between the Rhine and Danube, as well as all to the east between the Cyrus and Euphrates, the other countries also, which had not fallen under the authority of Rome, yet grew sensible of her grandeur, and reverenced a people who had conquered so many nations. The Scythians and Sarmatians sent ambassadors to us, desiring our friendship. The Seres, too, and the Indians who live under the very sun, coming with jewels and pearls, and bringing also elephants among their presents, thought they proved their respect to Augustus by nothing so much as the length of their journey, which they had taken four years to complete. The complexion of the men[1] showed that they came from another climate. The Parthians, also, as if they repented of their victory, brought back, of their own accord, the standards which they had taken on the overthrow of Crassus.

Thus there was everywhere, throughout the whole world, uniform and uninterrupted[2] peace or agreement[3]; and Cæsar Augustus, in the seven hundredth year from the foundation of the city, ventured to shut the temple of double-faced Janus, which had been shut but twice before, in the reign of Numa, and when Carthage was first conquered. Afterwards, applying his thoughts to secure tranquillity, he kept in order, by many strict and severe laws, an age which was prone to every vice, and plunging fast into luxury.

[1] The complexion of the men, &c.] *Et tamen ipse hominum color, &c.* The *tamen*, as Madame Dacier remarks, is worse than useless, giving a ridiculous meaning to the sentence. It is wanting in one of Ryckius's manuscripts, and in some editions. I have omitted it.

[2] Uniform and uninterrupted] *Cuncta atque continua. Cuncta* is read in all manuscripts and editions, but is, as Grævius observes, unintelligible. I have preferred *una*, the conjecture of Gronovius. Lipsius had previously suggested *juncta.*

[3] Peace or agreement] *Pax—aut pactio.* All people were quiet, as having either, from being conquered, accepted terms of peace, or consenting to abstain, at least for the present, from hostilities. The latter class, as Duker observes, were those of whom Florus speaks a little above; nations who, though not actually subdued by the Romans, were sensible of their superiority, and respected their power.

For these great achievements, he was styled *Perpetual Dictator*, and *Father of his Country*. It was debated, too, in the senate, whether, as he had established the empire, he should not also be called *Romulus;* but the name of Augustus was thought more sacred and venerable, in order that, while he still lived on earth, he might in name and title be ranked among the gods.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

REMAINS OF HIS COMPENDIUM OF THE HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

Cities founded by the Greeks on their return from Troy; acts of Orestes; arrival of Tyrrhenus in Italy, I. Return of the Heraclidæ; death of Codrus; founding of Megara, Gades, and Utica, II. Of the Achæans, Pelasgi, Thessalians, and the settlement of Corinth, III. Chalcis, Magnesia, Cumæ, Naples, and many other cities, founded, IV. Age and character of Homer, V. Of the Assyrian empire, Lycurgus, and the origin of Carthage, VI. Of Hesiod, and the building of Capua and Nola, VII. The Olympic games; the founding of Rome, VIII. The second Macedonian war, IX. Of Antiochus the Great, and Æmilius Paulus, X. Pseudo-Philippus; Metellus Macedonicus, XI. Destruction of Corinth and Carthage, XII. Death of Cato; characters of Mummius and Scipio Africanus, XIII. Establishment of Roman colonies, XIV., XV. Considerations why many eminent men, in the several arts, arise at the same time, XVI., XVII. Commencement of similar observations on cities, XVIII.

I. * * * * [Epeus,] being parted[1] by a storm from Nestor his commander, built Metapontum[2]. Teucer, not being received at home by his father Telamon, for his pusillanimity in not avenging the injustice shown to his brother[3], sailed to Cyprus, where he built Salamis, a city named after his own birthplace. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, took possession of Epirus, and Phidippus[4] of Ephyra in Thes-

[1] I. [Epeus,] being parted, &c.] The name is wanting in the text at the commencement of this fragment. But it appears from Justin, xx., 2, as well as from Aristotle, De Mirabilibus, that it was Epeus, the builder of the Trojan horse, (*doli fabricator Epeus*, Virg. Æn., ii., 264,) who founded Metapontum.

[2] Metapontum] On the coast of Lucania, in the south of Italy.

[3] His brother] Ajax, who was refused the arms of Achilles.

[4] Phidippus] An inferior leader in the Trojan war, from the isles of Calydnæ, on the coast of Caria. Hom. Il., ii., 678.

protia. As to Agamemnon, the king of kings, he was driven by a tempest on the island of Crete, where he founded three cities, Mycenæ, Tegea, and Pergamus, of which two had names from his own country, and the third from the recollection of his recent victory. Soon after, being entrapped by the treachery of his cousin[1] Ægisthus, who bore a hereditary hatred towards him, and by the malice of his wife, he was murdered. Ægisthus held the throne for seven years; when Orestes, in concert with his sister Electra, a woman of masculine courage, and sharer in all his designs, slew both Ægisthus and his own mother. That his deed was approved by the gods, was apparent from the length of his life and the prosperity of his reign; for he lived ninety years and reigned seventy. He also revenged himself on Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, with similar spirit; for Pyrrhus having supplanted him by marrying Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, who had been betrothed to Orestes, Orestes slew him at Delphi.

During this period, the brothers Lydus and Tyrrhenus, who reigned in Lydia, were compelled, by the unproductiveness of their corn-fields, to cast lots which of the two, taking half of the people with him, should quit their country. The lot fell upon Tyrrhenus[2], who, sailing into Italy, gave, from his own name, an illustrious and enduring appellation to the country, the inhabitants, and the adjacent sea. After the death of Orestes, his sons, Penthilus and Tisamenus, reigned three years.

II. At this time, about eighty years after Troy was taken, and a hundred and twenty after the translation of Hercules to the gods, the family of Pelops, which, after expelling the Heraclidæ, had held, during the whole of this period, the sovereignty of the Peloponnesus, was in turn expelled by them. The leaders in recovering the dominion were Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, of whom Hercules was great-grandfather.

About the same period, Athens ceased to be ruled by kings, its last monarch being Codrus, the son of Melanthus,

[1] His cousin] *Patruelis.* He was son of Thyestes, brother of Atreus, Agamemnon's father.

[2] Tyrrhenus] He gave name, it is said, to Tyrrhenia, Tuscia, or Etruria, in Italy. The story of his departure from Lydia is taken from Herod., i., 94.

a man deserving of particular notice; for when the Spartans were severely pressing the Athenians in war, and Apollo had given an oracle that that side would be victorious whose leader should be killed by the enemy, Codrus, having laid aside his royal apparel, put on the attire of a shepherd, and went into the midst of the enemy's camp, where, intentionally provoking a quarrel, he was slain without being known[1]. From his death, eternal glory accrued to Codrus, and victory to the Athenians. Who can help admiring a man that sought for death with the same stratagems with which, by those of meaner spirit, life is wont to be sought? His son Medon was the first archon at Athens; from whom his descendants were called by the Athenians Medontidæ; and these, as well as the following archons, down to the time of Charops, held their office during life. The Peloponnesians, on retiring from the Athenian territory, founded Megara, a city equally distant from Corinth and Athens.

At this time, also, a fleet of the Tyrians, then very powerful at sea, founded the city of Gades, on the remotest coast of Spain, at the extremity of one part of the world, and on an island surrounded by the Ocean, divided from the continent only by a very narrow strait. By the same people, also, a few years afterwards, Utica, in Africa, was built. The children of Orestes, being expelled by the Heraclidæ, and harassed by various misfortunes, as well as by hardships at sea, found a settlement, in the fifteenth year after their expulsion, opposite the island of Lesbos.

III. During this period Greece was shaken by violent commotions. The Achæans, driven from Laconia, settled in those tracts which they now occupy. The Pelasgi removed to Athens; and a young man of warlike spirit, by name Thessalus, and by birth a Thesprotian, took forcible possession, with the aid of a numerous body of his countrymen, of that region which is now, from his name, called Thessaly, but which was before termed the country of the Myrmidons. Hence there is reason to wonder at those authors, who, in their accounts of the Trojan period, speak of that country by the name of Thessaly; a fault which not only other writers com-

[1] II. Without being known] *Imprudenter*. "He was slain by the enemy, not being aware that he was the king." *Lipsius*.

mit, but writers of tragedy more frequently than any; though in them, least of all, is such licence to be excused, for they express nothing in their own character of poets, but narrate everything under the persons of those who lived at the time. But if any one shall maintain that they were called Thessalians from Thessalus, the son of Hercules[1], he will have to give a reason why the people did not assume this name till the time of the latter Thessalus. A little before this, Aletes, sixth in descent from Hercules, and son of Hippotes, rebuilt[2] Corinth on the Isthmus, which was previously called Ephyre, and which forms the principal barrier of the Peloponnesus. Nor is there any reason for us to wonder that it was called Corinth by Homer; for, in his character of poet, he calls both this city, and some of the Ionian colonies, built long after the taking of Troy, by the same names which they bore in his own times.

IV. The Athenians settled colonies at Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa; the Lacedæmonians established another at Magnesia in Asia. Not long afterwards, the people of Chalcis, who were sprung, as I have just said, from the Athenians, founded Cumæ in Italy, under the leadership of Hippocles and Megasthenes. The course of their fleet was directed, as some say, by the flight of a dove that preceded it, or, as others state, by the sound of brazen instruments during the night, such as is commonly made at the rites of Ceres. Some natives of this city, a long time after, built Neapolis; and the exemplary fidelity of both these cities to the Romans, renders them eminently worthy of their high reputation, and of the delightful situations which they enjoy. But the institutions of their original country have been more diligently preserved by the Neapolitans; for the neighbourhood of the Osci altered the manners of the people of Cumæ. The present extent of the walls of these cities shows the greatness of their power in former days.

At a subsequent period, a vast number of Grecian youth, seeking, from a redundance of population, for new settlements, poured into Asia. The Ionians, sailing from Athens under the conduct of Ion, took possession of the finest part

[1] III. Thessalus, the son of Hercules] Father of Phidippus above mentioned. Homer, *loc. cit.*

[2] Rebuilt] *Condidit.* "Ex integro restituit." *Vossius.*

of the sea-coast, now called Ionia, and built the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa. They also seized on many of the islands in the Ægean and Icarian seas, as Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Paros, Delos, and others of less note. Soon after, the Æolians also, setting out from Greece, and wandering about for a long time, found at length settlements not less valuable, and founded some famous cities, as Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, and Mitylene, with others in the island of Lesbos.

V. It was at this time that the illustrious genius of Homer shone forth; a genius great beyond example; for by the grandeur of his subjects, and the splendour of his verse, he has gained an exclusive right[1] to the name of poet. What is most remarkable with respect to him, is, that neither was there any one before him whom he could imitate, nor has any one since been found who could imitate him. Nor can we point to any other author, except Homer and Antilochus, who arrived at the highest excellence in the kind of writing of which he was the inventor. He lived longer after the Trojan war, which he took for his subject, than some suppose; for he flourished about nine hundred and fifty years ago, and was born within a thousand. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that he frequently uses the expression οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι, *such as men now are;* for by this the difference in mankind, as well as in ages, is signified. Whoever believes that he was born blind, must be himself deprived of all his senses.

VI. In the subsequent period, about eight hundred and seventy years ago, the empire of Asia was transferred from the Assyrians, who had held it a thousand and seventy years, to the Medes. For Arbaces, a Mede, dethroned and put to death their monarch Sardanapalus, a man immersed in luxurious gratifications, and courting extravagant pleasures to his own destruction; and who was the thirty-third in succession from Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of Babylon, a succession so regular that the son had in every instance inherited the throne of his father.

In this age, too, Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, a man of royal birth, was the author of a most severe and just body

[1] V. An exclusive right, &c.] *Solus appellari poeta meruit.* 'Non summus modo; splendidum judicium." *Krause.*

of laws, and of a system of education most suitable[1] to the character of his countrymen; and Sparta, as long as she adhered to it, was eminently prosperous.

During the same period, sixty-five years before the foundation of Rome, the city of Carthage was built by Elissa of Tyre, whom some suppose to be the same as Dido. About the same time, Caranus, a man of regal extraction, being the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, took his departure from Argos, and seized on the kingdom of Macedonia. The great Alexander, being the seventeenth in succession from Caranus, might justly boast of his lineages, as being on his mother's side from Achilles, and on his father's from Hercules[2].

VII. Coeval with these events, and separated by about a hundred and twenty years from Homer, lived Hesiod, a man of exquisite taste, remarkable for the gentle sweetness of his numbers, and a great lover of ease and retirement. As he was nearest in time to his illustrious predecessor, he was also nearest in the reputation of his writings. He avoided resembling Homer in one respect, for he has mentioned both his country and his parents; but the former in the bitterest terms of reproach, on account of a fine which it had imposed upon him.

While I am treating of foreign matters, a point in our own history occurs to me, which has given rise to many mistakes, and about which there is the greatest discrepancy in the opinions of writers. Some authors say that, during this period, about eight hundred and thirty years ago, Capua and Nola were founded by the Tuscans; and to their opinion I readily assent. But how greatly does Marcus Cato differ from them, who states that "Capua was first founded by the Tuscans, and Nola some time afterwards; but that Capua had stood, before it was taken by the Romans, about two hundred and sixty years." If this be the case, and as only two hundred and forty years have elapsed since the taking of

[1] VI. System of education most suitable] *Disciplinæ convenientissimæ* [*vir*]. I have omitted *vir*, which, as Ruhnken says, "nullo pacto tolerari potest." Heinsius would alter it to *virtuti*; Ruhnken to *viribus*; and some other critics, as Krause signifies, have proposed *viris*.

[2] At the end of this chapter is inserted, in all the editions, a passage from *Æmilius* (or rather, as Krause thinks, *Manilius*) *Sura*. Some person, in old times, seems to have written it in the margin of his manuscript, whence it crept into the text. I have omitted it.

Capua, it can be but five hundred years since it was built. For my own part, speaking with deference to the accuracy of Cato, I can scarcely believe that so great a city rose, flourished, fell, and sprung up again, in so short a space of time.

VIII. The Olympic games, the most celebrated of all spectacles of entertainment, and best adapted for invigorating the mind and the body, had their commencement soon afterwards, the founder of them being Iphitus of Elis, who instituted these contests, as well as a market, eight hundred and four years before you, Marcus Vinicius, entered upon your consulship. By some, however, Atreus is said to have commenced this solemnity, when he exhibited, in this same place, funeral games in honour of his father Pelops, about twelve hundred and fifty years ago, on which occasion Hercules was victor in every kind of contest.

It was at this time that the archons at Athens ceased to be elected for life, Alcmæon being the last that was so appointed, and were chosen only for ten years; an arrangement which lasted for seventy years, when the administration was committed to annual magistrates. Of those who held office for ten years, the first was Charops, and the last Eryxias; of those who retained it but one year, the first was Creon.

In the sixth Olympiad, twenty-two years from the commencement of the first, Romulus, the son of Mars, having avenged the wrong done to his grandfather, founded the city of Rome on the Palatine hill, on the day of the feast of Pales[1]; from which time, to that of your consulate, is a period of seven hundred and eighty-three years. This event took place four hundred and thirty-seven years after the taking of Troy. The work was effected by Romulus, with the assistance of the Latin legions of his grandfather; for I can readily believe those who give this account, since, without such assistance, and with merely a defenceless band of shepherds, he could hardly have established a new city, while the Vejentines, the other Etruscans, and the Sabines, were so close upon him, how much soever he strengthened it by opening an asylum between the two groves. He had a

[1] VIII. Feast of Pales] April 21st.

hundred chosen men, called Fathers, as a public council. Such origin had the term Patricians[1]. The seizure of the Sabine virgins * * * * * * *
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IX. * * * proved a more powerful enemy[2] than the Romans had apprehended; for he maintained a struggle, during two years, with such variation of fortune, that he had generally the advantage, and drew a great part of Greece into alliance with him. Even the Rhodians, who had previously been most faithful to the Romans, began, with wavering allegiance, to watch the turns of fortune, and appeared rather inclined to the side of the king. Eumenes, too, in this war, was undecided in his views, and acted consistently neither with his brother's[3] proceedings at first, nor with his own general conduct. At length the senate and people of Rome elected to the consulship Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who had previously triumphed both as prætor and consul; a man deserving of the highest honour which merit can be conceived to attain. He was the son of that Paulus who commenced with such reluctance the battle of Cannæ, so fatal to the Commonwealth, and who met death in it with so much fortitude. He routed Perses, in a great battle, near a city named Pydna in Macedonia, and drove him from his camp; and at last, after destroying his troops, forced him to flee from his dominions. The king, after quitting Macedonia, took refuge in the island of Samothrace, and committed himself, as a suppliant, to the sanctuary of the temple. Cnæus Octavius, the prætor, who had the command of the fleet, followed him thither, and prevailed on him, rather by persuasion than by force, to trust himself to the honour of the Romans. Æmilius Paulus, in consequence, led this most eminent and celebrated prince in triumph.

In this year, too, were two other famous triumphs; that

[1] Patricians] *Patricii*, from *patres*. Comp. Flor., i., 1.

[2] IX. Proved a more powerful enemy] Here is a great *hiatus*, all the history of Rome being lost from the foundation of the city to the year U.C. 582. The commencement of the chapter stands thus: . . . . *quàm timuerat hostis, expetit.* Lipsius, for *expetit*, would substitute *extitit*, and thinks that the author had written something to this effect: *Populo Romano gravior, quàm timuerat, hostis extitit*, nempe *Perses*. See Florus, ii., 12.

[3] His brother's] Attalus.

of Octavius, the naval commander, and that of Anicius, who drove before his chariot Gentius the king of the Illyrians. How constantly envy attends eminent fortune, and how closely it pursues the highest characters, may be understood from the following circumstance, that while no one objected to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, there were some who endeavoured to hinder that of Paulus, though it far exceeded the others, as well in the greatness of Perses as a monarch, as in the magnificent display of war-trophies, and the quantity of money carried in it; as it brought into the treasury two hundred thousand sestertia[1], being beyond comparison more splendid than any triumph that preceded it.

X. During the same time, while Antiochus Epiphanes, who built the Temple of Jupiter at Athens, and who was then king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy the young king of Egypt, in Alexandria, Marcus Popilius Lænas was sent as ambassador to him, to require him to desist from the siege. Popilius delivered his message, and the king replying that *he would consider of the matter*, he drew a circle round him with a rod upon the sand, desiring him to give a decisive answer before he passed that boundary. Roman firmness overcame the king's hesitation, and the consul was obeyed.

Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who obtained the great victory over Perses, had four sons; of whom he had allowed the two eldest to be adopted, one by Publius Scipio, the son of Africanus, who retained nothing of his father's greatness but the splendour of his name and the force of his eloquence, and the other by Fabius Maximus; the two younger, at the time when he gained the victory, he had still at home, as being yet under age. Previously to the day of his triumph, when, according to ancient usage, he was making a statement of his services to an assembly without the city, he intreated the immortal gods, that if any of them looked enviously on his actions and fortune, they would vent their displeasure on himself rather than on the Commonwealth. This expression, as if uttered by an oracle, robbed him of a great part of his offspring; for of the two sons whom he had in his house, he lost one a few days before his triumph, and the other in fewer days after it.

[1] Two hundred thousand sestertia] 1,776,041*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

About this time occurred the censorship of Fulvius Flaccus and Posthumius Albinus, which was exercised with great severity; for Cnæus Fulvius, the brother of Fulvius the censor, and partner with him in property[1], was expelled from the senate by those very censors.

XI. Subsequently to the conquest and capture of Perses, who died four years afterwards in private custody[2] at Alba, a man who, from his false representations concerning his birth, was called Pseudo-Philippus, (for he said that his name was Philip, and that he was of the royal blood, though he was, in reality, of the meanest extraction,) seized the government of Macedonia by force of arms, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. But he soon paid the penalty of his rashness; for the prætor Quintus Metellus, who, from his merit in war, had received the surname of Macedonicus, gained a noble victory over both the impostor and his nation, and subdued at the same time, in a great battle, the Achæans[3] who had recommenced hostilities. This is the Metellus Macedonicus who erected the porticos round the two temples without an inscription, now encircled by the porticos of Octavia, and who brought from Macedonia the group of equestrian statues that face the front of the temples, and form at present the chief ornament of the place. Of this group the following origin is related. Alexander the Great, it is said, desired Lysippus, an eminent artist in such performances, to make statues of such horsemen of his own troop as had fallen at the river Granicus, representing their likenesses in the figures, and placing one of Alexander himself among them. It was this Metellus, too, who first built at Rome a temple of marble[4], among the edifices just mentioned, and who was consequently the introducer of what is to be called either magnificence or luxury. It would be difficult

[1] X. Partner with him in property] *Consors.* "*Consortes* are properly coheirs, inheriting a property in common, which they suffer to remain, at least for a time, undivided." *Burman.*

[2] XI. Private custody] *Liberâ custodiâ.* See Sall., Cat., c. 47.

[3] The Achæans] *Achæos.* That is, the Greeks. The Romans called Greece, as their province, Achaia. See Florus, ii., 7.

[4] A temple of marble] *Ædem ex marmore.* Burman would take *ædem* for *ædes*, understanding a private house for Metellus himself; but this, as Krause says, is not only *invitâ Latinitate*, but *invitâ historiâ*; for marble was not used in the erection of private houses till a much later period.

to find, indeed, a man of any nation, age, or rank, whose felicity can be compared with that of Metellus; for besides his splendid triumphs, his distinguished honours, his acknowledged pre-eminence in the state, his long extent of life, and his zealous yet harmless contests with opponents for the good of his country, he was the father of four sons, whom he saw arrive at manhood, and whom he left surviving, and in enjoyment of the highest honours. These four sons supported his bier before the Rostra, one of them having been consul and censor, another consul, the third being consul at the time, and the fourth a candidate for the honour, which he afterwards obtained. Such an end may rather be called a happy retirement from life, than death.

XII. The whole of Achaia, of which a great part had been reduced by the conduct and arms of Metellus, was now, as we have said, strongly inclined to hostilities, being instigated chiefly by the Corinthians, who were guilty even of great insults to the Romans; and to conduct the war against them the consul Mummius was chosen. About the same time, too, rather because the Romans wished to believe whatever was said against the Carthaginians, than because anything was said against them worthy of belief, the senate resolved on the destruction of Carthage. Accordingly Publius Scipio Æmilianus, a man who emulated alike the virtues of his grandfather Publius Africanus and his father Lucius Paulus; who, in every qualification for war or peace, was the most eminent of his age as well in natural ability as in acquired knowledge; who, through the whole of his life, neither did, nor said, nor thought anything but what was praiseworthy; and who, as I have observed, had been adopted by Scipio the son of Africanus, was elected consul, though at the time he was only candidate for an ædileship. He had been previously honoured in Spain with a mural, and in Africa with an obsidional crown; in Spain, also, in consequence of a challenge, he had, though but of moderate bodily strength, slain an antagonist of extraordinary stature; and he now pressed on the war against Carthage, which had been conducted for two years by the preceding consuls, with additional vigour. This city, which, rather from jealousy of its power than from any recent offence, was an object of hatred to Rome, he utterly destroyed, and made it as much a monu-

ment of his own military prowess as it had previously been of his grandfather's clemency.

Carthage was demolished a hundred and seventy-seven years ago, in the consulship of Cnæus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius, after having stood six hundred and seventy-two years. Such was the end of Carthage, the rival of the empire of Rome, with which our forefathers commenced war in the consulate of Claudius and Fulvius, two hundred and ninety-six years before you, Marcus Vinicius, entered upon your consulship. Thus for a hundred and twenty years there subsisted between these two nations either war, or preparations for war, or unsettled peace. Nor did Rome, though the whole world were subdued, trust that she should be safe while there was left even the name of Carthage unremoved. So apt is hatred, arising from contentions, to continue longer than the fear of danger, and not to be laid aside even when the opposite party is vanquished; nor does the object of enmity cease to be detested until it has ceased to exist.

XIII. Three years before Carthage was demolished, Marcus Cato, who had been a constant advocate for its destruction, died, in the consulship of Lucius Censorinus and Marcus Manlius. In the very year in which Carthage fell, Lucius Mummius utterly destroyed Corinth, nine hundred and fifty-two years after it had been built by Aletes the son of Hippotes. Each of the generals was honoured with a name from the people whom he conquered, the one being styled Africanus, the other Achaicus. No *new man*[1], before Mummius, had ever assumed a surname derived from military merit. Of these two commanders, the dispositions, as well as the pursuits, were entirely different. Scipio was so elegant a cultivator and admirer of liberal studies, and of every kind of learning, that he had constantly with him, at home and in the field, two men of eminent talents, Polybius and Panætius; for no man balanced the fatigues of business with the enjoyments of leisure more judiciously than Scipio, as he was constantly studying the arts either of war or of peace, and constantly exercising either his body in toil or his mind in learning. Mummius, on the contrary, was so extremely

[1] XIII. *New man*] See Sall., Cat., c. 23.

ignorant, that when, on the taking of Corinth, he was hiring persons to carry pictures and statues, finished by the hands of the greatest masters, into Italy, he ordered notice to be given to the contractors, that, *if they lost any of them, they must find new ones.* Yet I think you, Vinicius, must be of opinion, that it would have been more for the advantage of our countrymen that their minds should have remained still ignorant of Corinthian elegancies, than that their knowledge of them should have reached its present height; and that the ancient ignorance would have been more conducive to the public honour than our modern skill.

XIV. As a view of any historical subject, when contracted into one continuous narrative, is retained more easily in the eye and the memory than when left dispersed in different periods, I have determined to introduce between the former and latter part of this volume, a summary of particulars on a not unimportant subject, and to specify, in this part of my work, what colonies, since the capture of Rome by the Gauls, have been established by order of the senate, and at what times; for of the military settlements the occasions and founders are sufficiently known from their names. With this detail I shall unite, I think without impropriety, an account of the enlargement of the state, and the extension of the Roman name, by the communication of its privileges.

Seven years after the Gauls took the city, the colony of Sutrium was settled; the year after, that of Setia; and, after an interval of nine years, that of Nepe. Two-and-thirty years afterwards, the Aricians received the civic franchise. Three hundred and sixty-two years ago, in the consulship of Spurius Posthumius and Veturius Calvinus, the freedom of the city, but without the right of voting, was given to the Campanians and part of the Samnites; and the same year a colony was settled at Cales. Three years afterwards, the people of Fundi and Formiæ were admitted as citizens, in the very year that Alexandria was founded. In the following consulship, when Spurius Posthumius and Philo Publilius were censors, the civic franchise was granted to Acerra. Three years afterwards the colony of Terracina was settled; four years afterwards, that of Luceria; in four years more, that of Suessa Aurunca, and two years later, those of Saticula and Inter-

amna. Then followed ten years in which nothing of the kind occurred; at the end of which time were established the colonies of Sora and Alba, and two years afterwards that of Carseoli. In the consulate of Quintus Fabius for the fifth time, and that of Decius Mus for the fourth time, the year in which Pyrrhus began to reign, colonies were sent to Sinuessa and Minturnæ, and four years afterwards to Venusia. After an interval of two years, in the consulate of Marcus Curius and Rufinus Cornelius, the rights of citizenship, but without that of voting, were given to the Sabines; an event which took place about three hundred and twenty years ago. About three hundred years ago, in the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, colonies were sent to Cosa and Pæstum, and five years afterwards, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius Cæcus, to Ariminum and Beneventum; and the right of voting was then granted to the Sabines. At the commencement of the first Punic war, Firmum and Castrum were occupied with colonies, and the following year Æsernia; in seventeen years afterwards Æsulum and Alsium; two years later, Fregenæ; in the next year, when Torquatus and Sempronius were consuls, Brundusium; three years after, in the year when the games of Flora commenced, Spoletium. Two years later, Valentia was colonised, and, about the time of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Cremona and Placentia.

XV. Neither while Hannibal remained in Italy, nor for several years immediately succeeding his departure, had the Romans any opportunities of founding colonies; for, while the war lasted, they were obliged to press soldiers, instead of discharging them, and, when it was ended, their strength required to be recruited rather than dispersed. However, in the consulship of Manlius Volso and Fabius Nobilior, about two hundred and seventeen years ago, the colony of Bononia was settled, and five years afterwards, those of Pisaurum and Potentia; in three years more, Aquileia and Gravisca; four years later, Luca. During the same period, though some express a doubt of it, colonies were sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum. One hundred and eighty-seven years ago, a colony was sent to Auximum in the Picenian territory; this took place three years before Cassius the censor began to build the

theatre looking from the Lupercal[1] towards Mount Palatine, when the great austerity of manners, and the consul Scipio, prevented him[2] from completing it; an occurrence which I number among the most honourable testimonies to the public character in those days. In the consulship of Cassius Longinus and Sextius Calvinus, (who defeated the Salyes[3] at the springs which were from him named *Aquæ Sextiæ*,) about one hundred and fifty-seven years ago, the colony of Fabrateria was settled, and the year after those of Scylacium, Minervium, Tarentum, and Neptunia, as well as Carthage in Africa[4], which was, as I have said, the first colony planted beyond the bounds of Italy. Concerning Dertona there is no certainty; but Narbo Martius in Gaul was settled in the consulship of Porcius and Marcius, about a hundred and fifty-three years ago. Twenty-three years after was founded Eporedia among the Bagienni[5], when Marius was consul, for the sixth time, with Valerius Flaccus. Any colony settled since that time, except the military colonies, I am unable to recollect.

XVI. Though this little portion of my work has exceeded the limits intended, and though I am sensible that in so hasty a composition, which, like a wheel or rapid torrent[6], allows me nowhere to make a stand, I ought rather to omit some things that may seem necessary than to introduce any that are superfluous, I yet cannot refrain from noticing a point on which I have often reflected, and on which I could never arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. For who can sufficiently wonder, that the most eminent geniuses in every art

[1] XV. From the Lupercal] *A Lupercali.* "The Lupercal was a grotto sacred to Pan, near the Palatine mount." *Krause.*

[2] When the great austerity of manners—prevented him, *&c.*] There are various readings of this passage, but all producing much the same sense. Krause reads, *Cui* (Cassio) *id demoliendo—restitêre;* that is, "the austerity of manners, and Scipio the consul, opposed Cassius by pulling it (the theatre) down."

[3] Salyes] A people of Gallia Narbonensis.

[4] Carthage in Africa] A colony was established on the site of the old city by the Gracchi, and called *Colonia Carthago.*

[5] Bagienni] Otherwise called Vagienni, a people of Liguria, near the source of the Po.

[6] XVI. Torrent] *Gurgitis.* The words *ac verticis*, which follow this, and which Ruhnken and Krause think a mere gloss, I have omitted.

have agreed in one common character, and have fallen within one period of time; and that, as different kinds of animals, shut up in a fold or other inclosure, continue each distinct from those around it, and form themselves into separate bodies, so minds, capable of any great achievements, have formed distinct assemblages about the same time and with similar effect? One age, and that not extending through many years, gave lustre to tragedy by the works of those great authors, men animated by a divine spirit, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. One age produced the Ancient Comedy, under Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis. As for the New Comedy, Menander, with Philemon and Diphilus, his equals in age rather than ability, not only invented it within a few years, but left works in it beyond imitation. The distinguished philosophers, too, deriving their knowledge from the lips of Socrates, in how short a time did they all, whom I have a little before enumerated[1], flourish after the death of Plato and Aristotle! And in oratory what splendour was there before Isocrates, or after the death of his hearers and their immediate disciples? So crowded were they into a short space of time, that all who were worthy of being remembered must have been known to each other.

XVII. Nor has this peculiarity occurred more among the Greeks than among the Romans. Roman tragedy, unless we go back to the rudest and most barbarous efforts, which deserve no praise but as attempts at invention, subsists wholly in the writings of Accius and his contemporaries. The agreeable sportiveness of Latin humour displayed itself, about the same time, in Cæcilius, Terence, and Afranius[2]. As for the historians, a period of less than eighty years (even if we include Livy in the age of the earlier writers) produced them all, with the exception of Cato and some old and obscure annalists. Nor did the assemblage of poets extend further in time, either upwards or downwards. With respect to oratory,

[1] Whom I have a little before enumerated] *Quos paulo ante enumeravimus.* In some part of the book which is now lost.

[2] XVII. Cæcilius, Terence, and Afranius] Why does he omit Plautus? "I must suppose either that the name of Plautus has dropped out of the text, or, what seems more probable, that Paterculus entertained the same opinion of Plautus as Horace expresses, De Arte Poeticâ, 270, and therefore intentionally omitted him." *Krause.*

forensic pleading, and the perfect beauty of prose eloquence, they burst forth complete (to say nothing of Cato, and to speak with due respect for Publius Crassus, Scipio, Lælius, the Gracchi, Fannius, and Servius Galba) under Cicero, who was the coryphæus in his art; as of all other orators we receive pleasure from few, and admire none, except such as lived in his time, or immediately succeeded it[1]. That the same has been the case with regard to grammarians, statuaries, painters, and sculptors[2], whoever investigates the records of ages will easily convince himself, and will see that the most eminent performances in every art are confined within very narrow limits of time.

Of this concurrence of similar geniuses in the same period, of their corresponding devotion to like pursuits, and their equality of progress, I often inquire for the causes, but find none that I can regard as satisfactory. Some, however, I discover that are probable; among which are the following. Emulation nourishes genius; and at one time envy, at another admiration, kindles a spirit of imitation. Any art, too, which is pursued with extreme zeal, will soon reach the height of excellence; and to stand still on the summit is difficult; as, in the natural course of things, what cannot advance, recedes. And as we are at first excited with ardour to overtake those whom we think our superiors, so, when we once despair of surpassing or equalling them, our zeal flags with our hope, ceases to pursue what it cannot attain, and, relinquishing that object as already pre-occupied, turns to something new. Declining any pursuit in which we cannot arrive at eminence, we endeavour to find one that will allow scope for our exertions; and the consequence is, that such changes, if frequent and unsteady, prove the greatest obstacle to perfection.

[1] Except such as lived in his time, or immediately succeeded it] *Neminem—nisi aut ab illo visum, aut qui illum viderit.* This is translated according to the interpretation of Krause. Those who were *visi ab illo* were his contemporaries, (some of them, perhaps, a little his seniors,) with whom he lived, as it were, face to face; those *qui illum viderunt* were the men of the succeeding generation, who were just old enough to have had a sight of him. Thus Ovid says of Virgil, *Virgilium tantum vidi.*

[2] Statuaries—sculptors] *Plastis—scalptoribus. Plastes*, one that makes figures of any soft matter, as clay; *scalptor*, or *sculptor*, one who works with harder material, as stone or wood.

XVIII. Our wonder may well be transferred from ages to cities. One city in Attica was distinguished in eloquence for a greater number of years, and for more achievements in it, than all the rest of Greece; so that, though the natives of that country were dispersed through its different states, we might suppose its genius to have been confined entirely within the walls of Athens. Nor do I more wonder that this should have been the case, than that not a single orator of Argos, Thebes, or Lacedæmon, was thought worthy of notice during his life, or of remembrance after his death. In such studies, these, as well as many other cities, were wholly unproductive, except that the single muse of Pindar conferred some degree of lustre on Thebes. Alcman[1] the Lacedæmonians falsely claim. * * * *

[1] XVIII. Alcman] He was a native of Lydia, and brought to Lacedæmon when very young, as a slave.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

DECLENSION of Roman virtue after the destruction of Carthage; wars with Viriathus and Numantia, I. Acts and death of Tiberius Gracchus, II., III. Aristonicus defeated; Numantia overthrown; character and death of Publius Scipio, IV. Acts of Aulus Brutus in Spain, V. Proceedings and death of Caius Gracchus, VI. Cruelty of Opimius, VII. Narbo Martius founded. Cato condemned for extortion; triumphs of the Metelli and Minutius, VIII. Eminent Roman orators and writers, IX. Severity of the censors; family of the Domitii, X. The Jugurthine war; the acts of Marius, XI., XII. Ill-fortune and death of Drusus, XIII., XIV. The colony of Carthage; the Italian war, XV., XVI. The civic franchise granted to the Italians; character of Sylla, XVII. War with Mithridates commenced; acts of Sulpicius, XVIII. Civil war between Marius and Sylla, XIX. The consul Pompeius murdered by the soldiers; proceedings of Cinna, XX. Cinna succeeds in recalling Marius, XXI. Marius's proscription, XXII. Marius's death; success of Sylla against Mithridates, XXIII. Deaths of Fimbria, Lucilius, and Cinna, XXIV. Further proceedings of Sylla, XXV., XXVI. Fate of Pontius Telesinus, and of the younger Marius, XXVII. Sylla's dictatorship and proscription, XXVIII. Character of Pompey, afterwards called the Great, XXIX. Death of Sertorius; triumphs of Metellus and Pompey; war with Spartacus, XXX. Pompey suppresses the pirates, XXXI., XXXII. Pompey receives the command of the Mithridatic war; acts of Lucullus, XXXIII. Conquest of Crete; conspiracy of Catiline, XXXIV. Character of Cato; deaths of Catiline and the other conspirators, XXXV. Augustus Cæsar born; learned men of that age, XXXVI. Tigranes surrenders to Pompey, XXXVII. Names of Roman provinces, and by whom conquered, XXXVIII., XXXIX. Pompey conquers Mithridates, and triumphs, XL. Descent, character, and actions of Julius Cæsar, XLI.—XLIII. First Triumvirate; consulship of Cæsar, XLIV. Of Clodius, Cicero, and Cato, XLV. Cæsar's acts in Gaul; Crassus killed in Parthia, XLVI. Further proceedings of Cæsar; Clodius slain by Milo, XLVII. Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, XLVIII.—LII. Death of Pompey, LIII. Cæsar's actions in Egypt, Africa, and Spain, LIV., LV. Cæsar's triumphs and death, LVI., LVII. Proceedings of Brutus and Cicero, LVIII. Opening of Cæsar's will; family and character of Augustus, LIX. Dissensions and war between Cæsar and Antony, LX., LXI. Provinces decreed to Brutus and Cassius by the senate; Cæsar slighted, LXII. Antony joins the army of Lepidus, LXIII. Death of Decimus Brutus; banishment of Cicero, LXIV. The second Triumvirate, LXV. Another proscription; death of Cicero, LXVI. Conduct of the Romans at the time of the proscription, LXVII. Of Cælius and Milo; of the clemency of Cæsar, LXVIII. Of Dolabella, Vatinius, and the Pædian law, LXIX. Proceedings of Brutus and Cassius; they are slain in the battle of Philippi, LXX. Consequences of the battle, LXXI., LXXII. Of Sextus Pompeius,

LXXIII. Of Antony, Cæsar, and Livia, LXXIV., LXXV. Of Caius Velleius and Fulvia; peace between Cæsar and Antony, LXXVI. Peace with Sextus Pompeius, LXXVII. Antony marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister; Labienus overthrown, LXXVIII. War resumed with Sextus Pompeius; Cæsar marries Livia, LXXIX. Degradation of Lepidus, LXXX. Cæsar suppresses a mutiny in the army, LXXXI. Antony invades Parthia, LXXXII. Of Plancus, LXXXIII. Battle of Actium, and what immediately followed it, LXXXIV.—LXXXVI. Death of Antony, LXXXVII. Conspiracy, death, and character of Lepidus, LXXXVIII. Cæsar's triumphs and plans of government, LXXXIX. Reduction of Spain and Dalmatia, XC. Roman ensigns recovered from the Parthians, XCI. Of Sentius Saturninus, XCII. Of Marcellus and Agrippa, XCIII. Expeditions of Tiberius and Drusus; death of Drusus, XCIV.—XCVII. The Thracian war, XCVIII. Tiberius retires to Rhodes, XCIX. Hostilities resumed in Parthia and Germany; excesses of Julia, C. Caius Cæsar in Parthia; his death, CI., CII. Tiberius and Agrippa adopted by Augustus, CIII., CIV. Acts of Tiberius in Germany, CV.—CIX. Insurrection in Dalmatia, CX. Proceedings of Tiberius against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; both are subdued, CXI.—CXV. Of some who were distinguished in this war, CXVI. Loss of the legions in Germany under Varus, CXVII. Of Arminius; death of Varus, CXVIII., CXIX. Tiberius conducts the German war; his triumphs, CXX.—CXXII. Death of Augustus, CXXIII. Tiberius succeeds him, CXXIV. Mutiny in Germany and Illyricum suppressed, CXXV. Government of Tiberius, CXXVI. Of Sejanus, CXXVII., CXXVIII. Observations on Tiberius, CXXIX., CXXX. Prayer for the prosperity of Rome, CXXXI.

I. The former Scipio had opened for the Romans the way to power; the latter[1] opened that to luxury. For when their dread of Carthage was at an end, and their rival in empire was removed, the nation, deserting the cause of virtue, went over, not gradually, but with precipitation, to that of vice; the old rules of conduct were renounced, and new introduced; and the people turned themselves from activity to slumber, from arms to pleasure, from business to idleness. Then it was that Scipio built porticos on the Capitol; that Metellus erected those before mentioned[2]; and that Cnæus Octavius raised that pre-eminently delightful one in the Circus; and private luxury soon followed public magnificence.

There soon succeeded a lamentable and disgraceful war in Spain, conducted by Viriathus, a captain of banditti; which,

[1] I. The former Scipio—the latter] The former was Scipio Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal; the latter Scipio Africanus Minor, who destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and who is mentioned above, i., 15.

[2] Before mentioned] See i., 2.

though it proceeded with various changes of fortune, was oftener adverse than favourable to the Romans. And Viriathus, rather through the treachery than valour of Servilius Cæpio, being killed, a still more violent war with Numantia burst forth. This city never had under arms more than ten thousand of its inhabitants, yet, whether from the obstinacy of their spirit, the inexperience of our generals, or the caprice of fortune, it compelled both Pompeius, a man of great reputation, (the first of the name who held the consulship,) to sign a treaty of peace on most dishonourable terms, and the consul Mancinus Hostilius to make another not less mean and disgraceful. Interest secured Pompey from punishment; but the modesty of Mancinus, by shrinking from no penalty[1], led to his being surrendered by heralds to the enemy, stripped of his robes, and with his hands tied behind his back. But the Numantines, acting like the people of Caudium in former times, refused to receive him, saying that a public violation of faith was not to be expiated by the blood of an individual.

II. This surrender of Mancinus excited violent dissensions in the state. For Tiberius Gracchus, (son of a most illustrious and eminent citizen, and grandson, on his mother's side, of Publius Africanus,) who had been quæstor at the time, and by whose encouragement that treaty had been concluded, was both grievously offended at the annulling of it, and entertained apprehensions for himself of a similar sentence or punishment; from which causes, though in his other conduct a man of the strictest integrity, endowed with the highest abilities, and pure and upright in his intentions, in short, adorned with every virtue of which man when perfected both by nature and cultivation is susceptible, he, on being appointed tribune of the people in the consulate of Publius Mutius Scævola and Lucius Calpurnius, a hundred and sixty-two years ago, deserted the worthy party, and by promising the rights of citizens to all the inhabitants of Italy, and proposing at the same time agrarian laws, threw all things, while all men were eager to secure a footing in the

[1] Shrinking from no penalty, *&c.*] *Non recusando perduxit huc, &c.* The text is here so obscure that Ruhnken says, "Ego nihil hic intelligo," and supposes that some words are lost. On Caudium, see Florus, i., 16.

state[1], into the utmost confusion, and brought the Commonwealth into imminent danger, of which it was for some time doubtful what would be the event. Octavius, one of his colleagues, who stood up in defence of the public good, he compelled to resign his office, and procured the election of himself, his father-in-law Appius, who had been consul, and his brother Gracchus, then very young, as commissioners to distribute lands, and settle colonies.

III. On this, Publius Scipio Nasica, grandson of him who had been pronounced by the senate the best man in the state, son of him who in his censorship had built the porticos to the Capitol, and great grandson of Cnæus Scipio, a man of very illustrious character, uncle of Publius Africanus; this Scipio, I say, though not invested with any military or public office, and though he was cousin to Tiberius Gracchus, yet, preferring his country to family connexion, and considering whatever injured the public as hurtful to each individual, (for which merits he was afterwards, in his absence, created chief pontiff; the first instance of the kind,) wrapped the lappet of his gown round his left arm, and mounted to the upper part of the Capitol; where, standing on the summit of the steps, he called on all that desired the safety of the Commonwealth to follow him. Immediately the chief of the nobility, the senate, the greater and better part of the equestrian body, and such plebeians as were unallured by the pernicious views of the Gracchi, rushed together against Gracchus, who, with some bands of his partisans, was standing in the court, haranguing a concourse of people from almost every part of Italy. Betaking himself to flight, he was struck, as he was running down the descent from the Capitol, with a piece of a broken bench, and thus prematurely closed a life which he might have passed with

[1] II. All men were eager to secure a footing in the state] *Omnibus statum concupiscentibus.* Such is the way in which Krause and Orellius understand this phrase. Lipsius said that there was no sense in it, and conjectured *omnibus* (sc. legibus istis agrariis) *statum concutientibus*, which Gruter and Heinsius approved, and Ruhnken admitted into his text. But *concupiscentibus* seems to have been too hastily condemned by these critics. "Statum habere." says Krause, "est vel civitatem, vel bona certa, agros scilicet, habere, et sic esse aliquid in republicâ." So, he adds, the proscribed are said, c. 72, *nullum statum habere.*

the greatest honour. This was the commencement of civil bloodshed, and of impunity to the sword, in Rome. Henceforward right was oppressed by strength; the more powerful were the more highly esteemed; disputes between citizens, which were formerly settled on amicable terms, were decided by the sword; and wars were undertaken, not for honourable reasons, but from prospects of gain. Nor can this excite our wonder; for examples do not stop where they begin; but, if allowed to spread through a channel ever so narrow, make way for themselves to any extent; and, when men have once deviated from the right path, they are hurried headlong into wrong; and no one thinks that dishonourable to himself which is gainful to another.

IV. During the course of these transactions in Italy, Aristonicus, who, on the death of king Attalus, by whom Asia had been bequeathed to the people of Rome, (as Bithynia was afterwards bequeathed to them by Nicomedes,) pretending to be sprung from the royal family, had seized the government by force of arms, was conquered, and led in triumph by Marcus Perperna, and afterwards put to death by Manius Aquilius, for having, at the commencement of hostilities, killed the proconsul Crassus Mucianus, a man eminent for his knowledge of the law, as he was on his journey out of the country.

After so many defeats experienced at Numantia, Publius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, being elected a second time consul, and sent into Spain, supported in that country the character for conduct and success that he had acquired in Africa, and within a year and three months after his arrival levelled Numantia, after surrounding and shaking it with batteries, to the ground. Nor did any man of any nation, before his time, consecrate his name to perpetual remembrance by a more remarkable destruction of cities; for, by the overthrow of Carthage and Numantia, he freed us from the dread of the one, and from the dishonour that we suffered from the other. It was this Scipio, who, being asked by Carbo, a tribune, what he thought of the killing of Tiberius Gracchus, replied, that if he had any thought of usurping the government, he was justly slain; and, when the whole assembly cried out against him, he exclaimed, "After having so often heard, without fear, the

shouts of armed enemies, how can I be alarmed at the cries of such as you, to whom Italy is but a stepmother[1] ?"

Returning, from a short absence, into the city, in the consulate of Manius Aquilius and Caius Sempronius, a hundred and fifty-eight years ago, after his two consulships and two triumphs, and after having removed two objects of terror to his country, he was found one morning dead in his bed, and marks of strangulation were observed on his neck. Yet concerning the death of so great a man no inquiry was made; and the body of him by whose services Rome had raised her head above the world, was carried to its burial-place with the head veiled[2]. Whether he died a natural death, as most people think, or came to his end, as some have asserted, by treachery, he certainly passed a life of such honour that it is eclipsed by none before his time except that of his grandfather. He died at about fifty-four years of age. If any one questions this, let him look back to Scipio's first consulship, to which he was elected at the age of thirty-six, and doubt no more.

V. Before the destruction of Numantia, the military efforts of Decimus Brutus in Spain had been remarkable; so that, having made his way through all the nations of that country, subdued vast multitudes of men, and a great number of cities, and visited places of which the names had scarcely been heard, he merited the surname of Gallæcus. A few years before him, military obedience, under Quintus Macedonicus, was enforced in that country with such severity that, while he was besieging a city named Contrebia, he ordered five legionary cohorts, which had been repulsed in an attack on a very steep place, to mount it again immediately. Though all the soldiers made their wills in preparation for action, as if going to certain destruction, the obstinate general was not deterred from his purpose, and saw his men return with victory, whom he had sent out in expecta-

[1] IV. To whom Italy is but a stepmother] *Quorum noverca est Italia.* The idle and dissolute crowd that wandered about the city, many of whom were not natives of the country, were not considered or valued by Italy as her children, but regarded by her with the disdain of a stepmother. The origin of the expression, as Wesseling pointed out, is in Plato's Menexenus. Comp. Val. Max., vi., 2, 3.

[2] With the head veiled] *Velato capite.* "Obvoluto capite elatus est, ne livor in ore appareret." Aurel. Vict., 58. This seems to have been customary.

tion of death. So great was the effect of shame blended with fear, and of hope springing from despair. He gained much credit for courage and strictness; but Fabius Æmilianus showed in Spain the most noble example of discipline.

VI. After an interval of ten years, the same rage which had animated Tiberius Gracchus, seized his brother Caius, who, resembling him in all his virtues as well as in his want of judgment, was in abilities and eloquence far his superior; and who, though he might, without the least anxiety of mind, have become the very first man in the state, yet, prompted by a desire either of revenging his brother's death, or of preparing a way for himself to regal power, he entered on a tribuneship of similar character to that of his brother, forming projects, however, much more extensive and influential. He designed to extend the civic franchise to all the Italians, as far almost as the Alps; to divide the lands, and to prohibit every citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres; a restriction which had once been enjoined by the Licinian law. He likewise wished to lay new taxes on imported goods, to fill the provinces with new colonies, to transfer the privilege of being judges[1] from the senators to the knights, and to distribute corn to the populace; in short, he was resolved to leave nothing quiet and undisturbed, nothing in the condition in which he found it. He even procured himself to be re-elected tribune. But the consul Lucius Opimius, who in his prætorship had demolished Fregellæ, attacked him with an armed force, and put him to death, and together with him Fulvius Flaccus, a man who had been consul, and had triumphed, but was equally inclined to noxious measures; and whom Caius Gracchus had nominated a commissioner in the room of his brother Tiberius, and associated with himself to be a sharer in his king-like power. One particular in Opimius's conduct is mentioned deserving of reprobation, namely, that he offered a reward for the head, not merely of Gracchus, but of any turbulent Roman citizen, promising its weight in gold. Flaccus, while he was collecting a party in arms on the Aventine, with intent to make resistance, was killed, together

[1] VI. To transfer the privilege of being judges, *&c.*] See Pseudo-Sallust, first Epistle to Cæsar, c. 3, 8.

with his elder son; Gracchus, attempting to escape, and being nearly overtaken by a party sent by Opimius, held out his neck to Euporus his slave, who slew himself with the same fortitude with which he relieved his master. Pomponius, a Roman knight, showed on that day a singular degree of attachment to Gracchus; for, like Cocles, he withstood his enemies on the bridge, and then run himself through with his sword. The body of Caius Gracchus, with great barbarity on the part of the victors, was thrown into the Tiber, as had previously been the case with that of Tiberius.

VII. Such was the latter part of the lives, and such the deaths, of the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, the grandsons of Publius Scipio Africanus, men who made a bad use of the best talents, and who died while their mother, the daughter of Africanus, was still alive. Had these men fixed their desires on any degree of eminence compatible with civil liberty, (whatever it was that they sought to gain by their turbulent proceedings,) the public would have granted it without an effort on their part. To the severity before mentioned, was added an act of unparalleled barbarity. A youth of uncommon beauty, in the eighteenth year of his age, son of Fulvius Flaccus, but innocent of his father's offences, being sent to negotiate terms of accommodation, was ordered to be put to death by Opimius. A Tuscan soothsayer, his friend, seeing the lad weep as he was dragged to prison, said to him, "Why do you not rather act thus?" And immediately dashing his head against a stone pillar at the prison-door, beat out his brains, and expired.

Examinations of the friends and clients of the Gracchi were soon after held, and with great severity. Hence, when Opimius, who, in other matters was upright and respected, was afterwards condemned on a trial before the people, no commiseration was shown him by his countrymen, through their recollection of his former want of feeling. The same general odium afterwards deservedly crushed, under trials before the people, Rutilius and Popillius, who, being consuls at the time, had acted cruelly towards the friends of Tiberius Gracchus. Amongst affairs of such importance I shall mention one of which the knowledge is of little consequence. This is the Opimius, from whom, when he was consul, the celebrated Opimian wine was named. That there is none of

it at present may be inferred from the distance of time, for between his consulate and yours, Marcus Vinicius, a hundred and fifty-one years have elapsed. The conduct of Opimius met the less approbation, because his object was revenge from personal enmity; and his severity seemed to have been inflicted to satisfy, not public justice, but private hatred.

VIII. [Soon after, in the consulate of Marcius and Porcius, the colony of Narbo Marcius was settled[1].] Let the strictness of judicial proceedings in those times be here recorded. Caius Cato, who had been consul, and who was grandson of Marcus Cato, and son of the sister of Africanus, was convicted of extortion committed in Macedonia, and fined eighteen sestertia[2]; for judges then considered the inclination of the man to dishonesty rather than the magnitude of the offence, and estimated deeds, in general, by intention, regarding rather what had been done than to how great an extent. About the same time, the two Metelli, brothers, triumphed on one day. Another instance of distinction not less honourable, and hitherto unparalleled, was, that two sons of Fulvius Flaccus, him who had taken Capua, were joined together in the consulship. One of them indeed had been adopted, and received into the family of Manlius Acidinus. As to the two Metelli, who were censors together, they were cousins-german, not brothers; the circumstance of two full brothers being united in office fell to the lot of none but the Scipios[3]. At this time the Cimbri and Teutones came across the Rhine, and soon made themselves notorious by the calamities that they brought on us and on themselves. At the same time, there was celebrated a brilliant triumph of Minucius, him who built the porticos now so much admired, over the Scordisci.

IX. During this period flourished those eminent orators Scipio Æmilianus, Lælius, Servius Galba, the two Gracchi, Caius Fannius, Papirius Carbo, and, above all, Lucius Crassus and Marcus Antonius. Nor must we omit Metellus Numidicus, or Scaurus. These, in time as well as genius, were

[1] VIII. The sentence inclosed in brackets is evidently out of place, as Burman and Krause remark.

[2] Eighteen sestertia] About 159*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

[3] The Scipios] The office in which the Scipios were united was the ædileship, as Krause says, who supposes that some words to that effect have been lost out of the text.

followed by Caius Cæsar Strabo and Publius Sulpicius. As to Quintus Mucius, he was more noted for his knowledge of the law than for eloquence. During the same age appeared the bright genius of Afranius in comedy, and those of Pacuvius and Attius in tragedy; geniuses who rise into competition with the spirit of the Greeks. Then were displayed, too, the powers of Ennius[1], who claims for his works an honourable place with theirs; for, though they wrote with more correctness, he seems to have had the greater share of energy. A distinguished name was likewise acquired by Lucilius, who in the Numantine war had served in the cavalry under Publius Africanus. At the same time Jugurtha and Marius, then both young, learned in the same camp under Africanus that skill which they were afterwards to practise in opposite camps. Sisenna the historian was then young, but some years after, at a more advanced age, published his history of the civil wars, and those of Sylla. Cœlius was prior to Sisenna: coeval with him were Rutilius, Claudius Quadrigarius, and Valerius Antias. We must not, however, forget that Pomponius lived in this age, a writer admired for his thoughts, though rudè in language, and chiefly deserving notice for the novelty of what he invented[2].

X. Let us here record a severe act of the censors Cassius Longinus and Cæpio, who, a hundred and fifty-five years ago, summoned before them an augur, Æmilius Lepidus, because he rented a house at six sestertia[3]. At present, if any person lived at so low a rent, he would scarcely be acknowledged as a senator: so soon do people proceed from the reasonable to the unreasonable, from the unreasonable to the vicious, from the vicious to the extravagant. During this period a remarkable victory was gained by Domitius over the Arverni, and another by Fabius over the Allobroges. Fabius, who was grandson of Paulus, acquired from his success the surname of Allobrogicus. Here we may observe a peculiar kind of happiness attending the Domitian family, which was

[1] IX. Of Ennius] The name of Ennius has been supplied in the texts of Ruhnken and Krause from a conjecture of Heinsius.

[2] What he invented] He was an eminent writer of the *Fabulæ Atellanæ*, but not the inventor of that kind of composition. But perhaps he was the first that gave them any regularity of form.

[3] X. Six sestertia] About 53*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

highly distinguished, though confined to a small number. Before the present Cnæus Domitius, a youth of most remarkable goodness of disposition, there were seven of that family, the only sons of their respective parents, who all arrived at the consulship and priesthood, and almost all at the honours of a triumph.

XI. The Jugurthine war was then conducted by Quintus Metellus, a commander inferior to no one of the age. Under him acted, as lieutenant-general, Caius Marius, whom we mentioned above, a man of mean birth, coarse and rough in his manners, but of strict temperance[1], who, in proportion as he was excellent in war, was fatal to peace. He was immoderately eager for glory, his ambition was insatiable, his passions ungovernable, so that he was never at rest. By disseminating, through farmers of the revenue, and others who traded in Africa, insinuations against Metellus, as being dilatory in his operations, and purposely protracting the war to the third year, as well as invectives against the natural pride of the nobles, and their ambition to continue in posts of power, he succeeded, after obtaining leave of absence to come to Rome, in procuring his election to the consulship, and getting the management of the war, now nearly terminated by Metellus, who had twice routed Jugurtha in the field, intrusted to himself. Nevertheless, the triumph of Metellus was exceedingly magnificent, and the surname of Numidicus, which he had well earned by his merits in the field, was conferred upon him. As we previously noticed the splendid fortune of the Domitian family, we may here mention that of the Cæcilian, for within about twelve years of this time there were above twelve Metelli either consuls or censors, or who enjoyed triumphs. Hence it would appear that the fortune of families, like that of cities and empires, flourishes, fades, and decays.

XII. Caius Marius, at this early time, had Lucius Sylla connected with him in quality of quæstor, as if from some precaution of the fates[2], and having sent him ambassador to

[1] XI. Of strict temperance] *Vitâ sanctus.* This is, as Krause observes, evidently the sense. So Crassus, in c. 46, is said to be *sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus.* Marius is called by Sallust, Jug., c. 63, *lubidinis atque divitiarum victor.*

[2] XII. From some precaution of the fates] *Ut præcaventibus fatis.* As if the

king Bocchus, received, through his means, king Jugurtha as a prisoner; an event which took place a hundred and thirty-eight years ago. Being elected consul a second time, and returning to Rome, he led Jugurtha in triumph on the first of January, the day on which his second consulship commenced. As the overwhelming force of the German tribes, the Cimbri and Teutones mentioned above, had vanquished and put to flight in Gaul the consuls Cæpio and Manlius, as well as Carbo and Silanus previously, and had dispersed their armies, and killed Aurelius Scaurus the consul, as well as other leaders of great reputation, the Roman people deemed that no commander was better qualified than Marius to repel such formidable enemies. Thenceforward consulships multiplied on him. His third was spent in preparations for the war, and in the same year Cnæus Domitius, a tribune of the people, got a law passed, that the people should appoint priests, who were formerly elected by the sacerdotal body. In his fourth he engaged the Teutones, at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, beyond the Alps, and in two successive days slew a hundred and fifty thousand of them, and utterly reduced their nation. In his fifth, he himself, and the proconsul Quintus Lutatius Catulus, met the Cimbri on what are called the Raudian plains, on this side of the Alps, and put an end to the war by a most successful battle, killing or taking above a hundred thousand men. By these victories Marius seems to have deserved that his country should not regret his birth; and to have made amends by his services for the evils that he brought upon it. The sixth was conferred on him as a reward for his merits. Yet must not this consulship be defrauded of its due share of praise, for, during the course of it, the consul repressed, with an armed force, the excesses of Servilius, Glaucia, and Saturninus Apuleius, who, maintaining themselves in office, were inflicting deep wounds on the constitution, and dispersing the assemblies of the people with violence and bloodshed; and he at last put those pestilent disturbers to death in the Curia Hostilia[1].

XIII. At the end of a few succeeding years, Marcus

fates, by uniting them together at this time, had been anxious to prevent the discord that afterwards raged between them. *Krause.*

[1] Curiæ were houses of assembly for the wards (*curiæ*) of the city.

Livius Drusus entered on the office of tribune; a man of the noblest birth, the greatest eloquence, and the strictest purity of life; but who, in all his undertakings, was more distinguished by ability and good intention than by success. He formed a design of restoring to the senate its ancient dignity, and of transferring from the knights to that body the right of being judges; because when the knights, by the Sempronian laws, were invested with that authority, they had treated with cruel severity many of the most illustrious and most innocent citizens; and in particular had brought to trial for extortion Publius Rutilius, a man distinguished for virtue not only above his own, but above any age, and, to the exceeding great grief of the public, had condemned him to pay a penalty. But in those very efforts which he made in favour of the senate, he found the senate itself opposed to him. For they did not perceive that whatever he brought forward in favour of the plebeians was intended to allure and attract the multitude, in order that, being gratified in smaller matters, they might consent to others of greater importance. Such, indeed, was the fate of Drusus, that the senate favoured the injurious proceedings of his colleagues more than his own excellent designs, rejecting with scorn the honour offered by him, while they submitted patiently to the wrong done them by the others; looking, in short, with envy on his very exalted reputation, and with indulgence on the mean characters of his opponents.

XIV. When such well-intended plans were badly received, the purpose of Drusus was changed, and he resolved to extend the civic franchise to all Italy. As he was taking measures for this purpose, on coming home one day from the forum, surrounded by the immense disorderly crowd that constantly attended him, he was stabbed in the court-yard of his own house with a knife, which was left sticking in his side, and within a few hours expired. While he was drawing almost his last breath, he uttered an expression, as he looked on the crowd standing round and lamenting over him, very consonant to his inward feelings. "My relations and friends," said he, "will the Commonwealth ever again have a citizen like me?" Thus ended the life of this illustrious man. One incident which marks the goodness of his disposition must not be omitted. When he was building a

house on the Palatine Mount, on the spot where that stands which formerly was Cicero's, afterwards Censorinus's, and now belongs to Statilius Sisenna, and the architect offered to construct it in such a manner, that it would be proof against all overlookers, no one being able even to cast a glance into it, "Rather," replied he, "if you have such skill, construct my house in such a manner, that whatever I do may be seen by all."

XV. [Among the most pernicious measures introduced by the laws of Gracchus, I reckon the planting of colonies out of Italy. Such a proceeding our ancestors had so carefully avoided, (because they saw Carthage so much more powerful than its mother city Tyre; Marseilles than Phocæa; Syracuse than Corinth; Cyzicus and Byzantium than Miletus,) that they even called home Roman citizens from the provinces to be registered by the censors in Italy. The first colony planted beyond the limits of Italy was Carthage[1].] The death of Drusus hastened the breaking out of the Italian war, which had been gathering to a head during a considerable time before; for in the consulate of Lucius Cæsar and Publius Rutilius, a hundred and twenty years from the present, all Italy took arms against the Romans. This unfortunate insurrection had its origin among the people of Asculum, (who killed Servius a prætor, and Fonteius a lieutenant-general,) and from them it soon spread to the Marsians, and diffused itself through every quarter of the country. As the subsequent sufferings of those people were very severe, so were their demands extremely just; for they claimed the privileges of a country, whose power they supported by their arms; every year, and for every war, they furnished a double number of men, both horse and foot, and yet were not admitted to the privileges of the state, which, by their services, had arrived at that very eminence from which it looked down with disdain on men of the same nation and blood, as aliens and foreigners. This war carried off above three hundred thousand of the flower of Italy. The Roman generals most distinguished in it were, Cnæus Pompey, father of Cnæus Pompey the Great; Caius Marius before

XV. The words inclosed in brackets are entirely out of place, like those at the beginning of c. 8.

mentioned; Lucius Sylla, who was prætor in the preceding year; and Quintus Metellus, son of Numidicus, who deservedly obtained the surname of Pius: for when his father was banished by Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, because he alone refused to swear obedience to his laws, the son, by his dutiful exertions, and with the sanction of the senate, and the approbation of the Roman people, procured his recal. So that Numidicus was not more honoured by his triumphs and distinctions than by the cause of his exile, the exile itself, and his return from it.

XVI. The most remarkable leaders of the Italians were Silo Popædius, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, Caius Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius Egnatius, and Papius Mutilus. Nor shall I, through mistaken modesty, withhold any part of the praise due to my own family, while I relate only the truth; for much honour ought to be paid to the memory of Minatius Magius of Æculanum, my ancestor in the fourth degree. He was grandson of Decius Magius, (a man of high distinction and trust among the Campanians,) and displayed in this war such a faithful attachment to the Romans, that, with a legion which he himself had raised among the Hirpinians, he, in conjunction with Titus Didius, took Herculaneum, and with Lucius Sylla besieged Pompeii, and gained possession of Compsa. His virtues have been celebrated by several writers, but by Hortensius, in his Annals, more fully and clearly than by any other. The Roman people amply recompensed his fidelity, by voting him a citizen with peculiar distinction, and electing his two sons prætors, at a time when only six were elected. So variable and alarming was the fortune of the Italian war, that in the course of two successive years two Roman consuls, first Rutilius and afterwards Porcius Cato, were slain by the enemy, and the armies of the Roman people discomfited in several places, so that a general assumption of the military dress[1] took place, and was long continued. The enemy chose for their seat of government the city of Corfinium, which

[1] XVI. Assumption of the military dress] *Ad saga iretur.* "Livy, Epit. lxxii., says, with reference to these times, *saga populus sumpsit.* This military garment, the *sagum*, the Romans assumed, by a decree of the senate, in the most alarming wars, and retained it till better fortune appeared, when they returned to the *toga*. Compare Liv., Epit. lxxiv.; Cic., Phil., xiv., 1." *Krause.*

they named Italicum. The strength of the Romans was afterwards recruited, though slowly, by admitting into citizenship such as either had not taken arms, or had laid them down early, while the exertions of Pompey, Sylla, and Marius, revived the energy of the government when it was debilitated and ready to sink.

XVII. An end being now nearly put, except where the remains of hostility continued at Nola, to the Italian war, (the result of which was that the Romans, themselves exhausted, consented to grant the privilege of citizenship to certain states that were vanquished and reduced, rather than to the whole when flourishing in unimpaired strength,) Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Cornelius Sylla entered upon their consulship. Sylla was a man, who, before he had subdued his competitors, could not be sufficiently commended, nor afterwards too severely censured. He was of a noble family, being the sixth in descent from Cornelius Rufinus, one of the most celebrated leaders in the war with Pyrrhus; but as the lustre of the family had been for some time obscured, he conducted himself, through a great part of his life, in such a manner, that he seemed to have no thought of standing for the consulship. However, after his prætorship, having acquired great reputation in the Italian war, (such as he had before gained when lieutenant-general under Marius in Gaul, where he defeated some of the enemy's most eminent commanders,) he assumed courage from success, and becoming a candidate for the consulship, was elected by the almost universal suffrage of his countrymen. When he attained this honour, he was in the forty-ninth year of his age.

XVIII. About this time Mithridates king of Pontus, a prince who must neither be passed without notice, nor be slightly mentioned; a man most active in war, pre-eminent in courage, distinguished sometimes by success and always by spirit; in council a general, in action a soldier, and in hatred to the Romans another Hannibal, took forcible possession of Asia, and put to death all the Roman citizens that were in it, whom, by sending letters to the different states, filled with promises of great rewards, he procured to be slain on the same day and hour. At this crisis no people equalled the Rhodians, either in resolute exertions against

Mithridates, or in firm attachment to the Romans; and a lustre was thrown on their fidelity by the perfidy of the Mitylenæans, who gave up in chains to Mithridates, Manius Aquillius and several others; and yet to these very Mitylenæans liberty was afterwards granted by Pompey, merely to gratify Theophanes[1]. Mithridates, now becoming formidable, seemed to threaten even Italy, when the province of Asia fell to the lot of Sylla. After leaving Rome, he stayed some time in the neighbourhood of Nola; (for that city, as if repenting of the fidelity to us, which it had sacredly maintained during the Punic war, continued in arms with persevering obstinacy, and was then besieged by a Roman army;) during which interval, Publius Sulpicius, a tribune of the people, an eloquent and active man, distinguished for wealth, interest, the number of his friends, and the vigour of his understanding and character, (who, though he had formerly, with the best apparent intentions, obtained from the people the highest office in the state, yet afterwards, as if he repented of his virtues, and as if his good resolutions were profitless, grew suddenly vicious and violent, and attached himself to Marius, who, at the end of his seventieth year, was still coveting every command and every province,) this man, I say, now proposed a law to the people, by which Sylla's commission was annulled, and the conduct of the Mithridatic war decreed to Marius; to which he added other laws of pernicious and fatal tendency, such as could not be endured in a free state. He even, by means of some emissaries of his faction, put to death a son of the consul Quintus Pompeius, who was also son-in-law of Sylla.

XIX. On this, Sylla, having collected a body of troops, and returned to the city, took possession of it by force of arms, and expelled twelve promoters of these new and pernicious measures, among whom were Marius, his son, and Publius Sulpicius; at the same time procuring a law to be passed declaring them exiles. As for Sulpicius, some horsemen overtaking him in the Laurentine marshes, put him to death; and his head, being elevated and displayed on the

[1] XVIII. Theophanes] A native of Mitylene, and friend of Pompey, of whose acts he wrote a history.

Rostrum, was an omen, as it were, of the approaching proscription. Marius, after his sixth consulship and his seventieth year, being found naked, and covered with mud, with only his eyes and nose above the surface, among the reeds at the margin of the lake of Marica, where he had concealed himself to escape the pursuit of Sylla's horsemen, was taken out, and, with a cord about his neck, dragged to the prison of Minturnæ, by order of one of the two colonial magistrates. A public servant, by nation a German, who happened to have been taken prisoner by Marius in the Cimbrian war, was sent with a sword to despatch him; but no sooner did he recognise Marius, than, with a loud outcry, showing how much he was shocked at the fall of so great a man, he threw away the weapon, and hurried out of the prison. His countrymen, thus taught by a barbarian[1] to commiserate the man who was recently at their head, supplied him with clothes and provision for a voyage, and put him on board a ship. Having overtaken his son near the island of Ænaria, he steered his course to Africa, where, in a hut among the ruins of Carthage, he lived in a state of indigence. Here, while Marius viewed Carthage, and Carthage contemplated him, they might afford consolation to each other.

XX. In this year the hands of the soldiers were first stained with the blood of a Roman consul. Quintus Pompeius, Sylla's colleague, was slain by the troops of Cnæus Pompey the proconsul, in a mutiny which their leader had himself excited. * * * *

Cinna showed no more moderation than Marius and Sulpicius; for although the citizenship of Rome had been granted to Italy, on the understanding that the new members should be included in eight new tribes, (lest otherwise their power and numbers might detract from the dignity of the original citizens, and the receivers of the kindness be more powerful than their benefactors,) he now promised that he would distribute them through all the tribes. With this object in view, he had drawn together into the city a vast multitude from all parts of Italy. But he was driven out of

[1] XIX. By a barbarian] *Ab hoste.* "A barbaro." *Krause. Hostis*, as opposed to *civis.*

Rome by the power of his colleague and of the nobles; and, while he was on his way to Campania, the consulship was taken from him by a vote of the senate, and Lucius Cornelius Merula, flamen of Jupiter, was appointed in his place; an illegal proceeding, better suited to the demerits of the man, than for a precedent. Cinna, after first bribing the tribunes and centurions, and then gaining over the soldiers by promises of largesses, was received as leader by the army at Nola, and when all the troops had sworn obedience to him, he, retaining the ensigns of consul, turned their arms against his country; depending chiefly, however, on the vast number of the new citizens, of whom he had enlisted above three hundred cohorts, and filled up the complement of thirty legions. His party stood in need of men of character and influence; and, to add to these, he recalled from exile Caius Marius, his son, and the others who had been banished with them.

XXI. While Cinna was making war on his country, Cnæus Pompeius, father of Pompey the Great, (who had done eminent service to the state in the Marsian war, especially in the Picenian territory, and had taken Asculum, near which city, while the troops were dispersed in various other parts, seventy-five Roman citizens, in one day, maintained a conflict with more than sixty thousand Italians,) had become, from being disappointed of another consulship, so equivocal in his conduct, and so apparently undecided for either party, that he seemed to do nothing but with a view to his own advantage, and to be watching for opportunities of turning himself and his army to one side or the other, wherever the greater prospect of power for himself should appear. But at last he came to a collision with Cinna, in a long and fierce battle, of which, begun and ended as it was under the very walls and view of the city of Rome, it can hardly be expressed how grievous was the result both to the combatants and the spectators[1]. Soon after, while a pestilence was ravaging both armies, as if they were not sufficiently exhausted by the sword, Cnæus Pompeius died; but the joy felt at his death was in a great measure counterbalanced by sorrow for the loss of so many citizens, cut off by the

[1] XXI. To—the spectators] From the loss of their relatives.

sword or by sickness. The Roman people vented on his corpse the resentment which they owed to him when alive. Whether there were two or three families of the Pompeii, Quintus Pompeius was the first consul of that name, with Cnæus Servilius, about a hundred and sixty-seven years ago. Cinna and Marius, after several encounters, not without considerable bloodshed on both sides, made themselves masters of the city; but Cinna entered it first, and proposed a law for the recal of Marius.

XXII. Soon after, Caius Marius made his entry into the city, an entry fatal to his countrymen. Nothing could have surpassed his victorious irruption in cruelty, had not that of Sylla speedily followed. Nor was the licentious barbarity of the sword inflicted only on the middling ranks; but men of the highest stations, and most eminent characters, were destroyed under various kinds of sufferings; among these the consul Octavius, a man of the mildest disposition, was slain by order of Cinna. Merula, who, on the approach of Cinna, had resigned the consulship, having opened his veins, and sprinkled his blood on the altars, implored the same gods, whom, as priest of Jupiter, he had often intreated to preserve the Commonwealth, to pour curses on Cinna and his party, and then resigned a life, which had greatly served the state. Marcus Antonius, a man as eminent in civil dignity as in eloquence, was, by order of Marius and Cinna, stabbed by the swords of the soldiers; whom he long caused to hesitate by the power of his eloquence. Quintus Catulus, celebrated for his other merits, as well as for the fame acquired in the Cimbrian war, which was common to him and Marius, when search was made for him by executioners, shut himself up in a place lately plastered with mortar[1], had fire brought in to raise a strong smell, and then, by inhaling the noxious vapour, and holding in his breath, he found a death agreeable to the wishes, though not to the intentions of his enemies. Everything was falling headlong into ruin, but no person was yet found who dared to make a donation of the property of a Roman citizen, or to ask for it. Afterwards this additional evil was introduced, that avarice supplied

[1] XXII. With mortar] *Calce arenâque.* With lime and sand. Florus, iii., 21, says that Catulus died *ignis haustu*, by swallowing fire.

motives for cruelty; magnitude of guilt was estimated by magnitude of wealth; whoever was rich, was criminal, and became a reward, as it were, for his own destruction[1]; nor was anything considered dishonourable that was gainful.

XXIII. Cinna now entered on his second consulship, and Marius on his seventh, to the utter disgrace of the former six. In the early part of it he fell sick and died, leaving a character for having been implacable in war toward his enemies, and in peace toward his countrymen, and utterly impatient of quiet. In his room was elected Valerius Flaccus, the author of a most dishonourable law, by which he obliged all creditors to accept a fourth part of what was due to them; for which proceeding deserved punishment overtook him within two years after. While Cinna tyrannised in Italy, the greater part of the nobility fled into Achaia to Sylla, and thence afterwards into Asia. Sylla meanwhile engaged the generals of Mithridates, near Athens, in Boeotia, and Macedonia, with such success that he recovered Athens, and, after expending a vast deal of labour in reducing the numerous fortifications of the Piræeus, slew above two hundred thousand of the enemy, and took at least as many prisoners. If any person imputes the guilt of rebellion to the Athenians, at the time when their city was besieged by Sylla, he is certainly ignorant both of the truth and of history. For so invariable was the fidelity of the Athenians to the Romans, that at all times, and in every transaction, whatever was performed with perfect good faith, the Romans used to say was done with "Attic faith." But that people, overpowered by the force of Mithridates, were in a most miserable condition, held in possession by their enemies, besieged by their friends, and, while their inclinations were outside the walls, compelled by necessity to keep their persons within. Sylla, then passing over to Asia, found Mithridates submissive, and ready to agree to any terms whatever. He obliged him, after paying a fine in money, and delivering up half of his ships, to withdraw from Asia and all the other provinces of which he had taken possession by force of arms; he recovered the prisoners, punished the

[1] A reward—for his own destruction] *Sui—periculi merces.* "His property being divided among those who procured his death." *Ruhnken.*

deserters and other traitors, and ordered the king to confine himself within his father's territory, that is, Pontus.

XXIV. Caius Flavius Fimbria (who, being general of the cavalry before Sylla came into Asia, had put to death Valerius Flaccus, a man that had been consul, and, having assumed the command of the army, and been saluted with the title of Imperator, had got the better of Mithridates in a vigorous engagement) slew himself on Sylla's arrival. He was a young man, who executed with bravery what he planned with utter disregard of honesty. In the same year Publius Lænas, a tribune of the people, threw from the Tarpeian rock Sextus Lucilius, who had been tribune the year before; and as his colleagues, whom he had fixed a day to bring to trial, fled in alarm to Sylla, he procured a sentence of banishment[1] against them.

Sylla, having now arranged affairs beyond sea, and having, as chief of all the Romans, received ambassadors from the Parthians, (some of whom, being magi, foretold from marks on his body that his life and memory would be glorious,) sailed home to Italy, landing at Brundusium not more than thirty thousand men to oppose two hundred thousand of his enemies. I can scarcely consider any part of Sylla's conduct more honourable than this; that while the party of Marius and Cinna held Italy in subjection, during three years, and while he never dissembled his intention of turning his arms against them, he yet did not relinquish the affairs which he had in hand, judging it right to humble an enemy, before he took vengeance on a countryman; nor was it till fear from abroad was removed, and till he had subdued foreign foes, that he proceeded to suppress opposition at home. Before the arrival of Lucius Sylla, however, Cinna was slain in a mutiny of his troops. Such a man deserved to die rather by the sentence of a conqueror, than by the rage of the soldiery. But he was a character, of whom it may truly be said, that he dared what no good man would dare, and accomplished what could be effected by none but the bravest; that he was precipitate in forming his designs, but executed

[1] XXIV. Procured a sentence of banishment] *Aquâ ignique iis interdixit.* See Florus, iii., 16.

them like a man. Carbo, electing no colleague in his room, continued sole consul for all the rest of the year.

XXV. It might be supposed that Sylla had come into Italy, not to take vengeance for the war raised against him, but merely to establish peace; so quietly did he lead his army through Calabria and Apulia into Campania, taking the greatest care for the safety of the fruits, lands, inhabitants, and towns; and endeavouring to put an end to the war on just and equitable terms. But peace could never be acceptable to those whose desires were unprincipled and without control. In the mean time Sylla's army increased daily; for all the best and most judicious flocked to his standard. Then, by a happy concurrence of events, he suppressed the consuls Scipio and Norbanus near Capua; Norbanus was conquered in battle; Scipio, deserted by his troops and delivered into Sylla's hands, was dismissed without injury. So different was Sylla as an adversary and a conqueror, that, while he was still gaining a victory, he was merciful to excess[1], but after it was secured, more cruel than any on record. Thus he dismissed the disarmed consul, as we have said, and released, in like manner, Quintus Sertorius, (soon to prove the firebrand of so great a war,) and many others whom he had taken; in order, we might suppose, that a proof might be seen of the existence of two distinct and opposite minds in the same person. After his victory, on the spot where, in his descent from Mount Tifata, he had encountered Caius Norbanus, he gave solemn thanks to Diana, the deity to whom that tract is sacred, and dedicated to the goddess the waters so celebrated for their salubrity and for curing diseases, with all the adjacent land. An inscription on a pillar at the door of her temple, and a brazen tablet within it, preserve to the present day the memory of this grateful religious ceremony.

XXVI. The next consuls were Carbo, a third time, and Caius Marius, son of him who had been seven times consul; the latter was then twenty-six years old, and was a man of his father's spirit, though not of his father's length of life[2].

[1] XXV. Merciful to excess] *Justissimo lenior.* The text is here defective.

[2] XXVI. A man of his father's spirit, though not of his father's length of life] *Vir animi magis quàm ævi paterni.* "*Ævum* is here for *ætas.* Marius did not live as many years as his father, being killed young, as is related in c. 27." *Krause.*

He made many courageous efforts, nor did he, as consul, fall in any way below his name. But being defeated by Sylla in a pitched battle at Sacriportus, he retreated with his troops to Præneste, a place which was well defended by nature, and in which he had placed a strong garrison.

That nothing might be wanting to the public calamities, men rivalled each other in crimes, in a state where the rivalry had always been in virtues; and he thought himself the best man who proved himself the worst. Thus Damasippus, then prætor, during the contest at Sacriportus, murdered in the Curia Hostilia, as abettors of Sylla's party, Domitius, Mucius Scævola, who was chief pontiff, and highly celebrated for his knowledge both of divine and human law, Caius Carbo, who had been prætor, and was brother of the consul, and Antistius, who had been ædile. Let not Calpurnia, daughter of Bestia, and wife of Antistius, lose the renown of a very glorious act. When her husband was put to death, as we have said, she stabbed herself with a sword. What an accession of glory and fame to her family[1]! * *

XXVII. At this time, Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite general, a man of great spirit and activity in the field, and a thorough enemy to all the Roman name, having assembled about forty thousand young men of the greatest bravery, and the most determined obstinacy in continuing the war, maintained, in the consulship of Carbo and Marius, on the first of November, a hundred and eleven years ago, such a struggle with Sylla at the Colline gate, as brought both him and the republic into the utmost peril; nor was the state in more imminent danger when it beheld the camp of Hannibal within three miles of the city, than on that day when Telesinus, hurrying through the ranks of his army, exclaimed that the last day of Rome was come, and exhorted them in a loud voice to pull down and destroy the city, adding, that those wolves, the devourers of Italian liberty, would never cease from ravaging, until the woods, in which they took refuge, were hewn down. At length, after the first hour of the night, the Roman troops took breath, and those of the enemy retired. Next day Telesinus was found mortally wounded, but wearing the look of a conqueror, rather than of a man at

[1] The words at the end of this chapter are so defective, that it is useless to attempt a translation of them.

the point of death. Sylla ordered his head to be cut off, and carried and displayed around the walls of Præneste. Young Caius Marius, then at length seeing his cause desperate, endeavoured to make his way out through subterraneous passages[1], which, constructed with wonderful labour, led to different parts of the adjacent country, but, as soon as he emerged from an opening, he was slain by persons stationed there for the purpose. Some say, that he died by his own hand; others, that as he was struggling with the younger brother of Telesinus, who was shut up with him, and attempting to escape at the same time, they fell by mutual wounds. In whatever manner he died, his memory, even at this day, is not obscured by the grand reputation of his father. What was Sylla's opinion of the youth, is manifest; for it was not till after his death that he assumed the title of Felix, which he would have adopted with the greatest justice, had his victories and his life ended together. The commander of the forces that besieged Marius in Præneste was Lucretius Ofella, who, having been previously a leader on Marius's side, had deserted to Sylla. The happy issue of that day, on which Telesinus and the Samnite army were repulsed, Sylla honoured with an annual celebration of games in the Circus, which are exhibited under the title of "Sylla's Games."

XXVIII. A short time before Sylla's battle at Sacriportus, some officers of his party had defeated the enemy in engagements of great importance; the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus near Fidentia. The miseries of civil war seemed now to be at an end, when they were renewed with additional violence by the cruelty of Sylla; for, being made dictator, (an office which had been discontinued a hundred and twenty years, the last having been in the year subsequent to Hannibal's departure from Italy; whence it is evident that the Roman people did not so much desire the authority of the dictatorship in times of danger, as they dreaded it in those of peace,) he used that power, which former dictators had employed to preserve the state from imminent dangers, with the unrestrained indulgence of wanton barbarity. He first adopted (would that

[1] XXVII. Subterraneous passages] *Cuniculos*. "Made either for the conveyance of water, or for secret ways of exit from the city. See Strabo, v, p. 365." *Krause*.

he had been the last!) the plan of proscription; so that, in a state in which justice is granted to a hissed actor, if assailed with abusive language, a reward was publicly offered for the murder of a Roman citizen; he who procured most deaths, gained most money; the price for killing an enemy was not greater than that for killing a citizen; and each man's property became a prize for depriving him of life[1]. He vented his barbarous rage, not only on those who had borne arms against him, but on many who could not be charged with any guilt. He directed, also, that the goods of the proscribed should be sold; and the children, after being excluded from the property of their fathers, were deprived of the right of suing for places of honour; thus, what was most unreasonable, the sons of senators were obliged to bear the burdens of their station, and at the same time lost their privileges.

XXIX. Not long before Lucius Sylla's arrival in Italy, Cnæus Pompey, son of that Cnæus Pompey whose great exploits in his consulship, during the Marsian war, we have previously mentioned, being then twenty-three years of age, a hundred and thirteen years ago, began to form great projects, depending as well on his own private resources as on his own judgment, and boldly to put them in execution; and in order to support or restore the dignity of his country, assembled a strong army from the Picenian territory, which was wholly filled with his father's clients. To do justice to this man's greatness would require many volumes; but the limits of my work require that he should be characterised in a few words. His mother's name was Lucilia, of a senatorial family; he was remarkable for beauty, not such as adorns the bloom of life, but of such dignity and serenity as was well adapted to his rank and station, and which accompanied him to the last day of his life. He was distinguished for temperance, was eminent for integrity, and had a moderate share of eloquence. He was excessively covetous of power, when conferred on him from regard to his merit, but had no desire to acquire it by irregular means. In war, he was the most skilful of generals; in peace, the most modest of citizens, except when he was jealous of having an equal. He was constant in his friendships, placable when offended, most cordial

[1] XXVIII. A prize for depriving him of life] *Quisque merces mortis suæ.* Comp., c. 22.

in reconciliation, most ready to receive an apology. He never, or very rarely, stretched his power to excess, and was almost exempt from vice, unless it be counted among the greatest vices, that, in a free state, the mistress of the world, though, in right, he saw every citizen his equal, he could not endure to behold any one on a level with him in dignity. From the time of his assuming the manly gown, he was trained to war in the camp of his father, a general of consummate judgment; and he improved a genius naturally good, and capable of attaining all useful knowledge, with such singular skill in military affairs, that while Metellus received higher praise from Sertorius, Pompey was much more dreaded by him.

XXX[1]. * * * * At this time Marcus Perperna, a man who had held the prætorship, one of the proscribed, and who was of high family, but of little honour, assassinated Sertorius at a feast at Osca; and by this execrable deed procured certain victory for the Romans, ruin for his own party, and a most shameful death for himself[2]. Metellus and Pompey triumphed for the conquest of Spain. At the time of this triumph, also, Pompey was still a Roman knight; yet on the day before he entered on his consulship, he rode through the city in his chariot[3]. Must it not be matter of wonder, that this man, elevated to the summit of dignity through so many extraordinary gradations of preferment, should be displeased at the Roman senate and people for favouring Caius Cæsar in his application for a second consulship? So apt are men to think everything pardonable in themselves, and to show no indulgence to others; regulating their dislike of proceedings, not by the merits of the case, but by their own wishes and feelings for particular characters. In this consulate, Pompey re-established the tribunitial power, of which Sylla had left the shadow without the substance.

[1] XXX. Krause thinks that there is a considerable hiatus between these two chapters.

[2] Shameful death for himself] His treachery led to his desertion by his troops, and his defeat and death at the hands of Pompey. See Appian, B. C., i., 115; Plutarch, Sert., c. 27; Pomp., c. 20.

[3] Rode through the city in his chariot] There was a law which forbade any one, who was not of consular or prætorian dignity, to have a triumph. But this was Pompey's second triumph. Hence Velleius says *hoc quoque triumpho*, "in this triumph also." See Plutarch, Pomp., c. 14, 22.

While the war with Sertorius continued in Spain, sixty-four fugitive slaves, headed by Spartacus, made their escape out of a gladiator's school at Capua; and, forcibly supplying themselves with swords in that city, directed their course at first to Mount Vesuvius. Afterwards, increasing daily in numbers, they brought many and grievous disasters on the whole of Italy. At length they became so numerous, that in the last battle which they fought, they opposed forty thousand men to the Roman army. The honour of terminating this war fell to Marcus Crassus, who soon after became a leading man among the Roman people.

XXXI. The character of Cnæus Pompey had attracted the attention of the whole world, and he was regarded as something more than man. In his consulship he had very laudably taken an oath, that, on the expiration of his office, he would not take the government of any province; and this oath he had observed; when, two years after, Aulus Gabinius, a tribune of the people, got a law passed, that, whereas certain pirates kept the world in alarm with their fleets, engaging in regular warfare, and not in mere robberies or secret expeditions, and had even plundered several cities in Italy, Cnæus Pompey should be commissioned to suppress them; and should have authority in all the provinces, equal to that of the proconsuls, to the distance of fifty miles from the sea. By this decree the government of almost the whole world was vested in one man. However, a law of the like kind had been made two years before in the case of Marcus Antonius, when prætor; but as the character of the person concerned renders such a precedent more or less pernicious, so it augments or diminishes men's disapprobation of the proceeding. With regard to Antonius, they acquiesced without displeasure, for people are rarely jealous of the honours of those whose influence they do not fear. On the contrary, they look with dread on extraordinary powers conferred on persons who seem able either to resign or retain them at their own choice, and who have no limit to their acts but their own will. The nobility opposed the measure, but prudence was overcome by party violence.

XXXII. It is proper to mention in this place, a testimony to the high character, and extraordinary modesty, of Quintus Catulus. Arguing against this decree in the assembly, and

having observed that Pompey was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary merit, but that he was already too great for a member of a free state, and that all power ought not to be reposed in one individual, he added, "If anything shall happen to that man, whom will you substitute in his place?" To which the whole assembly answered aloud, "Yourself, Quintus Catulus." On this, being overcome by the general concurrence of opinion, and by such an honourable proof of the public esteem, he withdrew from the assembly. Here it is pleasing to admire the modesty of the man and the justice of the people; his modesty in desisting from pressing his opinion further, and their justice in proving themselves unwilling to defraud him of a due testimony of esteem, though he was opposing and arguing against their inclinations. About the same time, Cotta divided equally between the two orders the privilege of being judges[1], which Caius Gracchus had taken from the senate, and transferred to the knights, and which Sylla had again restored to the senators. Roscius Otho now restored[2] to the knights their places in the theatre. Cnæus Pompey having engaged many officers of great abilities to assist him in the war, and having raised a navy sufficient to command every nook of the sea, very soon, with his invincible hand, freed the world from apprehension, defeated the pirates * * * in various places[3], and, attacking them on the coast of Cilicia, gave them a final overthrow. And in order the sooner to conclude a war so widely spread, he collected the remains of these depredators together, and appointed them fixed residences in towns, and in parts remote from the sea. Some blame this proceeding; but the high character of the man sufficiently justifies it; though, indeed, its reasonableness would have justified it in a man of any character. Enabling them to live without plundering, he of course diverted them from a predatory life.

[1] XXXII. Privilege of being judges] *Judicandi munus.* See the Pseudo-Sallust's First Epistle to Cæsar, c. 7.

[2] Roscius Otho now restored] *Otho Roscius—restituit.* "The same word is twice used, in speaking of this law, by Cicero, pro Murænn., c. 19, so that it is probable, as Puteanus has suggested, that the *equites* had seats separate from the *plebs* before this well-known law was passed." *Ruhnken.*

[3] Defeated the pirates * * * in various places] *Prædonesque per multa * * * a multis locis, &c.* A defective passage. The Bipont editor reads *per multa maria multis, &c*

XXXIII. When the war with Mithridates was drawing to a close, and while Lucius Lucullus, who, on the expiration of his consulship, seven years before, having received Asia as his province, and been appointed to act against Mithridates, had achieved many memorable exploits, having often defeated that monarch in various places, having relieved Cyzicus by a glorious victory, having vanquished Tigranes, the greatest king of the age, in Armenia, and having forborne, rather than been unable, to put the finishing hand to the war, (for though in every other respect highly deserving of praise, and in the field almost invincible, he was a slave to the desire of increasing his wealth,) while Lucullus, I say, was still prosecuting the contest, Manilius, a tribune of the people, a man always venal, and the tool of men in power, proposed a law, "that the war with Mithridates should be conducted by Cnæus Pompey." This law was passed; and a quarrel ensued between the two commanders, attended with violent altercations. Pompey reproached Lucullus with his scandalous love of money, and Lucullus railed at Pompey's inordinate ambition; and neither could be convicted of falsehood in what he laid to the charge of the other. For Pompey, from his first engagement in public business, could never with patience endure an equal, and in cases where he was entitled to the first share of honour, he wished to engross the whole; no man, indeed, being less covetous of everything else, or more so of glory. In his pursuit of employments of honour, he was immoderate; in office, he displayed the utmost moderation. Though he accepted posts of distinction with pleasure, he quitted them without regret, resigning at the will of others what he had sought for his own gratification. Lucullus, in other particulars a very great man, was the first introducer of the luxury which now prevails in buildings, entertainments, and furniture; so that, in allusion to the structures which he raised in the sea, and his conducting the sea into the land by undermining mountains, Pompey the Great used facetiously to call him "Xerxes in a toga."

XXXIV. About this time, the island of Crete was reduced under the dominion of the Roman people by Quintus Metellus. This island, under two leaders, named Panares and Lasthenes, at the head of twenty-four thousand young

men, who were swift and active, patient of warfare and toil, and eminently skilled in archery, had wearied out the Roman armies during the previous three years. Even of the renown acquired here, Pompey did not refrain from seeking a share, but endeavoured to make it appear that a portion of the success was due to himself. However, their own singular merits, and the feeling against Pompey entertained by the most honourable men on the occasion, rendered the triumph of Lucullus and Metellus extremely popular.

Soon after, Marcus Cicero, who was indebted to himself for all his advancement, the noblest of new men[1], honoured in his life and pre-eminent in ability, to whom we are obliged for not being excelled in genius by those[2] whom we conquered in arms, detected, in his character of consul, and with extraordinary courage, firmness, vigilance, and activity, a conspiracy of Sergius Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and other members of the senatorial and equestrian orders. Catiline was compelled, by dread of the extraordinary powers conferred on the consul, to flee from the city. Lentulus, who had been consul, and was then in his second prætorship, Cethegus, and several others of great note, were, by the consul's order, under the authority of the senate, put to death in prison.

XXXV. That day of the senate's meeting, on which these transactions passed, displayed in the brightest colours the merit of Marcus Cato, which on many prior occasions had shone conspicuous, and with peculiar lustre. He was great-grandson of Marcus Cato, the founder of the Porcian family, and was a man who closely resembled virtue itself, and, in every particular of his conduct, seemed more like the gods than mankind; who never acted rightly, that he might appear to do so, but because he could not act otherwise; who never thought anything reasonable, that was not likewise just; and who, exempt from every vice, kept his own fortune always in his own power. After some had advised that Lentulus and the other conspirators should be kept in custody in the municipal towns, he, being then tribune of the people elect, very young, and almost the last that was asked

[1] XXXIV. Noblest of new men] *Novitatis nobilissimæ.* The translation is Baker's.

[2] Excelled in genius by those, *&c.*] Viz., by the Greeks.

his opinion, inveighed against the conspiracy with such energy and ability, that, by the warmth of his discourse, he caused the language of all that recommended lenity to be regarded with suspicion, as if they were connected with the plot; and so forcibly did he represent the dangers impending from the destruction and burning of the city, and from the subversion of the established state of public affairs, so highly, too, did he extol the merits of the consul, that the whole senate went over to his opinion, and decreed that capital punishment should be inflicted on the conspirators; and the greater part of that body, after the conclusion of the debate, escorted him to his house. But Catiline was not less resolute in the prosecution of his schemes, than he had been in forming them; for, fighting with the greatest courage, he resigned in the field of battle the breath which he owed to the executioner.

XXXVI. The birth of the emperor Augustus, ninety-two years from the present time, who was afterwards, by his greatness, to cast a shade over all men of all nations, added no small lustre to the consulship of Cicero. To notice the times at which eminent geniuses flourished during this period, may seem almost superfluous; for who is ignorant that in this age arose, separated by short intervals, Cicero, Hortensius, and, a little before them, * * * Crassus[1], Cotta, and Sulpicius, while, immediately after, appeared Brutus, Calidius, Cælius, Calvus, and Cæsar, who came next to Cicero, besides the disciples, as we may call them, of these, Corvinus, Asinius Pollio, Sallust, the rival of Thucydides, as well as the poets Varro and Lucretius, with Catullus, who was inferior to none in the style of writing which he adopted? To enumerate those that are before our eyes would seem to be but folly; amongst whom, however, the most eminent are Virgil, the prince of poets, Rabirius[2], Livy, who follows hard upon Sallust, Tibullus, and Ovid,

[1] XXXVI. A little before them, * * * Crassus, *&c.*] *Anteaque* * * * *Crassum. Anteaque* is a conjecture of Heinsius for *saneque*, the previous reading. Puteanus thinks that the name of Antonius is wanting in the text.

[2] Rabirius] For *Rabirius*, Markland, Ep. Crit., p. 14, would read *Varius*. Perizonius thinks that *Horatius* should be inserted; and Burman supposes that the name of *Propertius* has dropped out of the text. But Velleius, says Krause, might have reasons for omitting both Horace and Propertius.

each excellent in his peculiar species of composition. But the difficulty of criticising our living authors is proportioned to the great admiration felt for them.

XXXVII. During the time of these transactions in Rome and Italy, Cnæus Pompey was carrying on the war with extraordinary success against Mithridates, who, after the departure of Lucullus, had formed a new army of very great force. But the king being routed and put to flight, and stripped of all his forces, went into Armenia, to his son-in-law Tigranes, the most powerful prince of that age, had not his strength been somewhat reduced by the arms of Lucullus. Pompey, therefore, in pursuit of both, entered Armenia. The son of Tigranes, who was at variance with his father, was the first to meet Pompey, and soon after, the king himself, in a suppliant manner, surrendered his person and his kingdom to his disposal; previously declaring, that there was no man, either of the Roman or of any other nation, to whose honour he would entrust himself, but Cnæus Pompey; that any condition, whether favourable or adverse, which he should appoint, would be tolerable to him; and that it was no disgrace to be conquered by him whom it was impossible to conquer, nor any dishonour to submit to him whom fortune had raised above all men. The king was allowed to retain the honour of sovereignty, but was obliged to pay a vast sum of money; the whole of which, according to Pompey's constant practice, was lodged in the hands of the quæstor, and registered in the public accounts. Syria and the other provinces which he had seized, were taken from him; of which some were restored to the Roman people, and others came for the first time under its dominion, as Syria, which was sentenced to pay tribute. The limits of the king's dominion were fixed as those of Armenia.

XXXVIII. It seems not inconsistent with the plan of this work to recount briefly what states and nations have been reduced, and under whose generalship, into the form of provinces, and made tributary. This statement I shall give, that the whole history of them may more easily be learned at one view, than if each were mentioned separately. The first who transported an army into Sicily was the consul Claudius; and about fifty-two years after, Claudius Marcellus, having taken Syracuse, made it a province. Regulus

first carried hostilities into Africa, about the ninth year of the first Punic war; but it was not till a hundred and five years after, (a hundred and seventy-five from the present time,) that Publius Scipio Æmilianus, on destroying Carthage, reduced Africa to the form of a province. Sardinia submitted to a permanent yoke of government between the first and second Punic wars, through the exertions of the consul Titus Manlius. It is a strong proof of the warlike disposition of the Roman nation, that the shutting of the temple of double-faced Janus gave indication of general peace, only once under the kings, a second time in the consulate of this Titus Manlius, and a third time in the reign of Augustus. The first who led armies into Spain were the two Scipios, Cnæus and Publius, in the beginning of the second Punic war, two hundred and fifty years ago; after that, our possessions there varied, and were often partly lost, but the whole was made tributary by the arms of Augustus. Paulus subdued Macedonia, Mummius Achaia, Fulvius Nobilior Ætolia. Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus, took Asia from Antiochus; but after it had been possessed some time by the royal family of Attalus, through the kindness of the Roman senate and people, Marcus Perperna, having taken Aristonicus prisoner, made it a tributary province. Of conquering Cyprus the honour can be given to no one; for it was in consequence of a decree of the senate, and by the instrumentality of Cato, on the death of its king, which, conscious of guilt, he inflicted on himself, that it became a province. Crete was punished, under the command of Metellus, with the loss of its long-enjoyed liberty, and Syria and Pontus are monuments of the valour of Cnæus Pompey.

XXXIX. In Gaul, which was first entered with an army by Domitius, and Fabius the grandson of Paulus, who got the title of Allobrogicus, we often, with great detriment to ourselves, made acquisitions and lost them. But the most splendid achievement of Caius Cæsar is there conspicuous; for, under his conduct and auspices, it was so reduced, that it tamely pays almost the same tribute as all the rest of the world. By the same commander Numidia was made a province. Isauricus completely subdued Cilicia, and Manlius Vulso Gallogræcia, after the war with Antiochus. Bithynia, as we have said, was left us as an inheritance by

the will of Nicomedes. The divine Augustus, beside Spain and other nations, with the names of which his Forum is adorned, brought into the treasury, by making Egypt tributary, almost as great a revenue as his father did by the reduction of Gaul. Tiberius Cæsar extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians as explicit a confession of subjection as his parent had exacted from the Spaniards, and annexed to our empire, as new provinces, Rhætia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and the Scordisci. As he reduced these by arms, so, by the influence of his name, he made Cappadocia tributary to the Romans. But let us return to the course of our narrative.

XL. Then followed the military exploits of Cnæus Pompey, of which it is hard to tell, whether the glory or the toil was greater. In his victorious career, he traversed Media, Albania, Iberia, and then directed his march to the nations inhabiting the interior and right-hand coasts of the Pontus Euxinus, the Colchians, Heniochi, and Achæans. Mithridates, sinking under the ascendancy of Pompey, and the treachery of his own son Pharnaces, was the last of independent kings, excepting the Parthian[1]. Thus Pompey, victorious over every nation to which he had gone, grown greater than the wish of his countrymen or even than his own, and having in every way exceeded the measure of human fortune, returned to Italy. An opinion that had prevailed rendered his return extremely popular; for most people had asserted that he would not come into the city without his army, and that he would limit the liberty of the people by his own will. The more strongly they were affected by this apprehension, the more grateful was the unassuming manner in which that great commander returned; for, having disbanded his whole army at Brundusium, and retaining nothing of the general but the title, he entered the city with no other retinue than that which was constantly accustomed to attend him. During two days he exhibited a most magnificent triumph over so many kings, and, out of the spoils, brought into the treasury a much larger sum of

[1] XL. Excepting the Parthian] "He means in the East. All other kings, except those of Parthia, owed their kingdoms to the indulgence of the Romans, and were subservient to their will, chiefly by the instrumentality of Pompey." *Krause.*

money than had been known in any former instance, excepting that of Paulus[1]. During the absence of Pompey, Titus Ampius and Titus Labienus, tribunes of the people, got a law passed, that at the games in the Circus he might wear a crown of laurel, and all the dress usual in triumphs; and at exhibitions on the stage, a purple-bordered robe, and laurel crown; but this privilege he never thought proper to use but once, and, in truth, even that was too much. Fortune added to this man's dignity with such large increase, that he triumphed first over Africa, then over Europe, and next over Asia, rendering each part of the world a monument of his victories. But eminent stations are never exempt from envy. Lucullus, who, however, was moved by resentment of the ill-treatment shown him, and Metellus Creticus, who had a just cause of complaint, (for Pompey had taken from him some captive leaders that were intended to grace his triumph,) in conjunction with many of the nobles, laboured to prevent both Pompey's engagements to the several states, and his promises of rewards to the deserving, from being fulfilled according to his direction.

XLI. Next followed the consulship of Caius Cæsar, who arrests me as I am writing, and forces me, though in haste, to bestow some attention on him. He was born of the most noble, and, as all writers admit, most ancient family of the Julii, deriving his pedigree from Anchises and Venus. In personal beauty he was the first of all his countrymen; in vigour of mind indefatigable; liberal to excess; in spirit elevated above the nature and conception of man; in the grandeur of his designs, the celerity of his military operations, and in his cheerful endurance of dangers, exactly resembling Alexander the Great when sober and free from passion. Food he took for the sustenance of life, not for pleasure. Though he was closely connected in relationship with Caius Marius, and was also son-in-law to Cinna, (whose daughter he could by no intimidation be induced to divorce, though Marcus Piso, a man of consular rank, to gratify

[1] Excepting that of Paulus] *Præterquam à Paullo.* Vossius, Burman, Gruter, Ruhnken, and Krause concur in thinking these words spurious; for Pompey, according to Plutarch, Pomp., c. 45, brought into the treasury twenty thousand talents of gold and silver, a sum twice as great as that which was brought by Paulus Æmilius.

Sylla, had divorced Annia, who had been wife of Cinna,) and though he was only about nineteen years old when Sylla assumed the government of the state, yet the ministers and creatures of Sylla, more than himself, made search for him, in order to kill him; on which he changed his clothes, and, putting on a dress far inferior to his rank, escaped out of the city in the night. Afterwards, while he was still very young, he was taken by pirates, and during the whole time that he was detained by them, behaved in such a manner, that he became an object both of terror and veneration to them; nor did he ever, by night or by day, take off his shoes or his girdle, (for why should so remarkable a circumstance be omitted, though it cannot be told with any grace of style?) lest, if he made any alteration in his usual dress, he should render himself suspected by those who watched him only with their eyes[1].

XLII. It would require too much space to speak of all his various and numerous services, or of the conduct of the Roman magistrate, who then governed Asia, and who, through timidity, shrunk from seconding his efforts. Let what follows be mentioned, as a specimen of the conduct of a man soon to become so great. On the night succeeding the day on which he was ransomed by the public money of several states, (which, however, he managed so as to make the pirates give hostages to those states,) he collected a squadron of private vessels hastily fitted out, and sailing to the place where the pirates were, dispersed part of their fleet, sunk part, took several of their ships and men, and then, delighted at the success of his nocturnal expedition, returned to his friends. Having lodged his prisoners in custody, he proceeded to Bithynia, to the proconsul Junius, the governor of Asia, and requested him to give orders for putting the prisoners to death. This he refused, and said he would sell them, (for envy was the concomitant of his baseness of spirit[2],) when Cæsar, with incredible speed, re-

[1] XLI. Watched him only with their eyes] They watched him only with their eyes, says Krause, having no mental communication with him. Had he made any alteration in his dress, they might have supposed that he was preparing for flight, and have laid hands upon him.

[2] XLII. Envy—baseness of spirit] *Sequebatur invidia inertiam.* Oudendorp conjectured *avaritia* for *invidia.* Ruhnken justifies *invidia* by a sentence of

turned to the coast, and before letters from the proconsul about the business could be conveyed to any one, crucified the whole of the prisoners.

XLIII. Returning in haste to Italy, to take on him the priest's office, (for he had been elected a pontifex in his absence, in the room of Cotta, who had been consul; and when almost a boy, indeed, he had been appointed a priest of Jupiter by Marius and Cinna, but had lost that office through the victory of Sylla, who annulled all their acts,) he embarked, in order to escape the notice of the pirates, who covered the whole sea, and were then naturally incensed against him, in a four-oared boat, with two friends and ten servants, and thus crossed the vast gulf of the Adriatic. On his passage, having seen, as he thought, some of the pirates' vessels, he threw off his gown, and fastened his dagger to his side, preparing himself for any event, but soon discovered that his sight had been deceived by a row of trees at a distance presenting the appearance of the rigging of ships. The rest of his acts in the city, his celebrated impeachment of Dolabella, to whom more public favour was shown than is generally extended to persons arraigned; his remarkable political contests with Quintus Catulus, and other eminent men; his victory, before he was prætor, and when he stood for the office of pontifex maximus, over the same Quintus Catulus, who was universally allowed to be the first man in the senate; his repairing, in his ædileship, the monuments of Caius Marius, even in opposition to the nobility; his re-instatement, at the same time, of the sons of the proscribed in the right of standing for office; his wonderful energy and activity in his prætorship and quæstorship in Spain, (where he was quæstor under Antistius Vetus, the grandfather of the present Vetus, who has been consul and is a pontifex, and who is the father of two sons that have been consuls and are priests, a man of as much virtue as human integrity can be conceived to embrace,) all these matters are too well known to require repetition here.

XLIV. In his consulship, there was settled between him,

Seneca, De Tranq. Anim., p. 345, ed. Gronov.: *Alit enim livorem infelix inertia; et omnes destrui cupiunt, quia se non poterunt provehere;* and by another from Cicero, Phil., x., 1: *Verum esse id quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius, qui suæ consuleret, virtuti invidere.*

Cnæus Pompey, and Marcus Crassus, a treaty of alliance in power, which proved of fatal consequence to the city and to the world, and not less so, at subsequent periods, to themselves. Pompey's motive for entering into this plan was, that his acts in the provinces beyond sea, which were opposed by many, as we have already mentioned, might at length be confirmed by means of Cæsar, while consul; Cæsar's, because he imagined, that by yielding for a time to Pompey's power, he should advance his own, and that by throwing on him the jealousy attending their common greatness, he should gain stability to his own strength; while Crassus was filled with the hope of acquiring, through the influence of Pompey, and the support of Cæsar, that pre-eminence which he never could attain by his own single efforts. An affinity had also been contracted by marriage between Cæsar and Pompey; for Pompey had married Cæsar's daughter. In his consulship, Cæsar procured a law to be passed, which was also supported by Pompey, that the lands of Campania should be divided among the people; in consequence of which, about twenty thousand citizens were conducted thither, and the privileges of Rome were restored to that country, about a hundred and fifty-two years after Capua had, in the Punic war, been reduced by the Romans into the condition of a prefecture. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, being more willing than able to obstruct his proceedings, confined himself to his house during the greater part of the year; by which conduct, while he wished to increase the odium against his colleague, he only increased his power. The province of Gaul was then decreed to Cæsar for five years.

XLV. During this period, Publius Clodius, a man of noble birth, eloquent, and daring, who knew no control for his words or actions but his own will, who fearlessly executed what he wickedly conceived, who bore the infamy of an incestuous commerce with his own sister, and who had been publicly accused of having committed adultery amidst the most solemn religious rites of the Roman people; this man, I say, being actuated by a most violent enmity to Marcus Cicero, (for how, indeed, could anything like friendship subsist between characters so dissimilar?) renounced his patrician rank, became a plebeian, was appointed a tribune, and passed a law in his tribunate, that any person who had put

a Roman citizen to death without a judicial sentence, should be sent into banishment[1]. It was Cicero alone, though he was not named in this law, that was meant to be affected by it. Thus a man, who had performed the highest services to the state, received, in return for having saved his country, the penalty of exile. Cæsar and Pompey did not escape suspicion of having abetted this persecution of Cicero, who seemed to have brought it on himself by refusing to be one of the twenty commissioners for dividing the lands of Campania. In less than two years, however, by the late but intrepid exertions of Cnæus Pompey, joined with the wishes of all Italy and the decrees of the senate, and through the energy and efforts of Annius Milo, a tribune of the people, he was restored to his dignity and his country. Nor, since the exile and recal of Numidicus, had the banishment of any one excited more regret, or the return more joy. His house, which had been pulled down with great malice by Clodius, the senate rebuilt with equal magnificence.

The same Publius Clodius removed Marcus Cato from the seat of government, under pretence of giving him a very honourable employment; for he procured a law to be passed, that he should be sent in character of quæstor, but with the authority of prætor, and with another quæstor attending him, into the island of Cyprus, to despoil Ptolemy of his kingdom, who, indeed, deserved such treatment by the general viciousness of his life. But, just before Cato's arrival, he put an end to his own life, and Cato brought home from Cyprus a much larger quantity of treasure than had been expected. To praise Cato for his honesty, would be rather derogatory to him than otherwise; but to accuse him of ostentatiously displaying it, would seem but just; for when all the populace of the city, together with the consuls and the senate, poured forth to salute him as he was sailing up the Tiber, he did not disembark to meet them until he arrived at the spot where the treasure was to be landed.

XLVI. While Cæsar was achieving vast exploits in Gaul, the relation of which would require many volumes, and, not content with numerous and glorious victories, or with killing or taking great multitudes of the enemy, had at last

[1] XLV. Sent into banishment] *Aquâ et igni interdiceretur.* See c. 24.

transported his army into Britain, seeking, as it were, a new world for our government and his own, a remarkable pair of consuls[1], Cnæus Pompey and Marcus Crassus, entered on a second consulship, which they neither acquired by honourable means, nor conducted in a praiseworthy manner. By a law which Pompey proposed to the people, the government of his province was continued to Cæsar for the same length of time as before, and Syria was decreed to Crassus, who now meditated a war with Parthia. This man, in other respects irreproachable, and unstained by dissipation, knew no limits, and imposed no restraint on himself, in his pursuit of wealth and glory. When he was setting out for Syria, the tribunes of the people strove in vain to detain him, by announcing unfavourable omens; and, had their curses taken effect on him alone, the loss of the general, while the army was safe, would have been rather an advantage to the public. Crassus had crossed the Euphrates, and was on his march towards Seleucia, when king Orodes, surrounding him with an immense force of cavalry, slew him, together with the greater part of the Roman army. Caius Cassius, (who was afterwards guilty of a most atrocious crime[2],) being at that time quæstor, preserved the remains of the legions, ably retained Syria under the power of the Romans, and routed, with distinguished success, the Parthians who had invaded it, and compelled them to flee.

XLVII. During this period, that which followed, and the one which we have already mentioned, above four hundred thousand of the enemy were slain by Caius Cæsar, and a greater number taken. He fought often in pitched battles, often on his march, often made sudden attacks; twice he penetrated into Britain; and of nine campaigns, scarcely one passed without his justly deserving a triumph. But near Alesia such achievements were effected as it was scarcely for man to attempt, and for little less than a deity to accomplish. It was in the seventh year of Cæsar's stay in Gaul that Julia, the wife of Pompey the Great, died, the connecting link of concord between Pompey and Cæsar; which,

[1] XLVI. A remarkable pair of consuls] *Invictum par consulum. Invictum* not being satisfactory, Lipsius and Heinsius conjectured *inclitum par*; Ruhnken *unicum par*. I have adopted the former.

[2] Most atrocious crime] The assassination of Julius Cæsar.

through their mutual jealousy of power, had been some time in danger of disruption; and, as if fortune would dissolve every tie between leaders destined to so great a contest, the little son of Pompey and Julia died a short time after. Then, while ambition extended its rage to the sword and civil slaughter, of which neither end nor control could be found, his third consulship was conferred on Cnæus Pompey, he being made sole consul, with the approbation even of those who had formerly opposed his pretensions. In consequence of the distinction conferred on him by this election, by which it appeared that the party of the nobles were reconciled to him, the breach was greatly widened between him and Caius Cæsar. But he employed the whole power of that consulship in laying restraints on bribery. In this year, Publius Clodius was killed by Milo, then a candidate for the consulship, in a quarrel that arose on their meeting near Bovillæ; an act of bad precedent, but beneficial to the public. It was not more the feeling excited against the deed, than the will of Pompey, that caused Milo to be condemned on his trial; though Marcus Cato publicly gave his opinion in favour of his acquittal. Had he given it sooner, several would, doubtless, have followed his example, and have approved of the sacrifice of such a member of the community, than whom there never lived one more pernicious to the state, or a greater enemy to all good men.

XLVIII. In a short time after, the flames of civil war began to blaze, while every man who regarded justice wished both Cæsar and Pompey to disband their armies. For Pompey, in his second consulship, had desired that the province of Spain might be assigned to him; and during three years, while he was absent from the country, and directing affairs in Rome, he administered the government there by his deputies, Afranius of consular, and Petreius of prætorian rank; and while he assented to the judgment of those who insisted on Cæsar's disbanding his army, he opposed those who required the same from himself. Had this man died two years before recourse was had to arms, after he had finished the structures erected at his own expense, his theatre, and the buildings around it, and when he was attacked by a violent disorder in Campania, (at which time all Italy offered prayers for his recovery, an honour never before paid to

any citizen,) fortune would not have had opportunity to work his overthrow, and he would have carried undiminished to the shades below the greatness that he enjoyed in this upper world.

For producing the civil war, and all the calamities that ensued from it, through a space of twenty successive years, there was no one that supplied more flame and excitement than Caius Curio, a tribune of the people. He was of noble birth, eloquent, intrepid, prodigal alike of his own fortune and reputation, and those of others; a man ably wicked, and eloquent to the injury of the public, and whose passions and desires no degree of wealth or gratification could satisfy. At first he took the side of Pompey, that is, as it was then deemed, the side of the Commonwealth; soon after, he pretended to oppose both Cæsar and Pompey, but, in reality, was attached to Cæsar. Whether this attachment was the result of his own choice, or the consequence of a bribe of ten thousand sestertia[1], as has been said, we shall leave undetermined. At last, when salutary conditions, tending to unite all parties in peace, had been very fairly proposed by Cæsar, and were patiently considered by Pompey, this man interrupted and broke off the treaty, while Cicero laboured, with singular zeal, to preserve concord in the state. Of these and the preceding transactions, the detail is given in the larger volumes of others, and will, I trust, be sufficiently set forth in mine.

XLIX. Let my work now resume its intended character; though I would first congratulate Quintus Catulus, the two Luculli, Metellus, and Hortensius, that after having flourished in the state without envy, and enjoyed great eminence without danger, they died in the course of nature before the commencement of the civil broils, and while the state was still quiet, or at least not tending to its fall. In the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus, seven hundred and three years after the foundation of the city, and seventy-eight before the commencement of your consulate, Marcus Vinicius, the civil war blazed forth. The cause of one of the leaders appeared to be the better, that of the other was the stronger. On one side everything was specious, on the other was

[1] XLVIII. Ten thousand sestertia] Something more than 80,000*l.*

greater power. The support of the senate armed Pompey with confidence, that of the soldiery, Cæsar. The consuls and senate conferred supreme authority, not on Pompey, but on his cause. Nothing was omitted by Cæsar that could be tried for the promotion of peace; to nothing would the party of Pompey listen. Of the consuls, Marcellus was more violent than was reasonable; Lentulus saw that his own security[1] was incompatible with that of the state. Marcus Cato insisted that it were better for them to die, than for the state to listen to offers from a private citizen. A man of probity and sound judgment would approve Pompey's party; a man of prudence would rather follow Cæsar's; deeming the former more honourable, the latter more formidable. At length, after rejecting every proposal of Cæsar's, the opposite party decreed that, retaining the mere title of a province, and a single legion, he should come to Rome as a private person, and, in standing for the consulship, should submit himself to the votes of the Roman people; Cæsar then resolved on war, and passed the Rubicon with his army. Cnæus Pompey, the consuls, and the greater part of the senate, withdrawing from the city, and then from Italy, sailed over to Dyrrachium.

L. Cæsar, having got into his power Domitius, and the legions with him at Corfinium, dismissed that general without delay, and every one else who chose to go to Pompey, whom he then followed to Brundusium; thus making it apparent, that he desired to put an end to war while the powers of the state were unimpaired, and negotiation open, rather than to overpower his opponents in their flight. Finding that the consuls had sailed, he returned to the city, and having represented in the senate, and in a general assembly of the people, the motives of his proceedings, and the cruel necessity under which he lay, in being compelled to take arms by the hostility of others, he resolved to go into Spain. His progress, rapid as it was, was for some time retarded by the conduct of Marseilles, which, with more honesty than good policy, unseasonably assumed the arbitration between those great men in arms; a case in which such only ought

[1] XLIX. Lentulus saw that his own security, *&c.*] "He was deeply in debt, from which he could not emerge as long as the state was undisturbed." *Krause.*

to interpose as have power to enforce submission to their award. The army, which was commanded by Afranius, who had been consul, and Petreius, who had been prætor, amazed at the energy and brilliancy of his progress, immediately surrendered itself to his pleasure. Both the commanders, and all men of every description who wished to follow them, were permitted to go to Pompey.

LI. In the year following, when Dyrrachium, and the whole country round it, were occupied by Pompey's camp, (who, by collecting about him legions from all the foreign provinces, auxiliary troops of horse and foot, and forces from kings, tetrarchs, and petty princes[1], had formed a vast army, and had, as he thought, guarded the sea with such a line of ships as would prevent Cæsar from transporting his legions,) Cæsar, proceeding with his usual despatch and success, suffered nothing to hinder him and his army from making good their passage by sea, whithersoever and whensoever he pleased. At first he pitched his camp almost close to Pompey's, and soon after shut him up within a line of circumvallation and forts. Scarcity of provisions, however, began to be felt, and more severely by the besiegers than the besieged. In this state of things, Cornelius Balbus, with a spirit of enterprise almost incredible, went into the enemy's camp, and held frequent conferences with the consul Lentulus, (who was undetermined at what price he would sell himself,) and thus opened the way for himself to those preferments, by which he (not a mere sojourner in Spain, but a native Spaniard,) rose to a triumph and pontificate, and, from a private station, became a consul. Several battles followed with various success; but one of them proved very favourable to Pompey's party, Cæsar's troops meeting a severe repulse.

LII. Cæsar then led his army into Thessaly, the destined scene of his future victory. Pompey, though his friends advised a very different course, (most of them recommending him to transfer the war into Italy; and indeed no movement could have been more beneficial to his party; others persuading him to protract the contest, a plan which, from the increasing popularity of his cause, would daily be

[1] LI. Kings, tetrarchs, and petty princes] *Regumque et tetrarcharum et dynastarum.* See Sall., Cat., c. 20.

more and more productive of good,) yet, yielding to his natural impetuosity, marched in pursuit of the enemy. The day of battle at Pharsalia, so fatal to the name of Rome, the vast effusion of blood on both sides, the two heads of the state meeting in deadly conflict, the extinction of one of the luminaries of the Commonwealth, and the slaughter of so many and so eminent men on the side of Pompey, the limits of this work do not allow me to describe at large. One thing must be observed, that as soon as Cæsar saw Pompey's line give way, he made it his first and principal care (if I may use a military expression to which I have been accustomed) to disband[1] from his breast all considerations of party. O immortal gods! what requital did this merciful man afterwards receive for his kindness then shown to Brutus? Nothing would have been more admirable, more noble, more illustrious, than this victory, (for the nation did not miss one citizen, except those who fell in battle,) had not obstinacy defeated the exertions of compassion, as the conqueror granted life more freely than the vanquished received it.

LIII. Pompey, having fled with the two Lentuli, who had been consuls, his son Sextus, and Favonius, formerly a prætor, all of whom chance had assembled in his company, (some advising him to retreat to Parthia, others to Africa, where he would find king Juba a most faithful supporter of his party,) determined at last to repair to Egypt; a course to which he was prompted by his recollection of the services which he had rendered to the father of Ptolemy, who, rather a boy than a man, was now seated on the throne of Alexandria. But who, when his benefactor is in adversity, remembers his benefits? Who thinks that any gratitude is due to the unfortunate? Or when does a change of fortune not produce a change in attachments? Men were despatched by the king, at the instigation of Theodotus and Achillas, to

[1] LII. Use a military expression—disband, *&c.*] The text is here corrupt and defective. Ruhnken ridicules the notion of *dimitteret* being the *verbum militare*, as most critics have supposed, and thinks that Velleius wrote something like this: *Neque prius neque antiquius quicquam habuit quàm ut in omnes partes præcones clamantes, parce civibus, ut militari et verbo et consuetudine utar, dimitteret.* For a confirmation of this conjecture he refers to Appian, B. C., ii., p. 788; Suet. Cæs., c. 75; Flor., iv., 2. The translation which I have given is borrowed from Baker.

meet Pompey on his arrival, (who was now accompanied in his flight by his wife Cornelia, having taken her on board at Mitylene,) and to desire him to remove from the transport-ship into a vessel which was come to receive him. No sooner had he done so, than he, the chief of all that bore the name of Roman, was murdered by the order and direction of an Egyptian slave; an event which took place in the consulship of Caius Cæsar and Publius Servilius. Such was the end of a most upright and excellent man, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and on the day before his birthday, after three consulships and as many triumphs, after subduing the whole world, and after reaching a degree of exaltation beyond which it is impossible to ascend; fortune having made such a revolution in his condition, that he who lately wanted earth to conquer, could now scarcely find sufficient for a grave.

Of those who have made a mistake of five years in the age of this great man, who lived almost in our own times, what can I say but that they have not given due attention to the matter, especially as the succession of years, from the consulship of Atilius and Servilius, was so easy to settle? This I mention, not to censure others, but to escape censure myself.

LIV. Yet the king, and those by whose influence he was governed, showed no more attachment to Cæsar than they had shown to Pompey; for, at his coming, they made a treacherous attempt on his life, and afterwards were daring enough to make open war on him; but they soon atoned for their conduct to both those great commanders, the living and the deceased, by suffering well-merited deaths.

Pompey was no longer on earth, but his name still had influence everywhere. A strong devotion to his cause excited a formidable war in Africa, conducted by king Juba, and by Scipio, who had been consul, and whom Pompey, two years before his death, had chosen for a father-in-law; their strength being augmented by Marcus Cato, who brought some legions to them, though with the utmost difficulty, by reason of the badness of the roads, and the scarcity of provisions, and who, when the soldiers offered him the supreme command, chose rather to act under a person of superior dignity.

LV. My promise to be brief reminds me with what haste

I must pursue my narrative. Cæsar, pushing his good fortune, and sailing to Africa, of which the army of Pompey's party, after killing Curio, the leader of Cæsar's adherents, had taken possession, fought there at first with various success, but afterwards with such as usually attended him, and the enemy's forces were obliged to yield. His clemency to the vanquished, on this occasion, was such as he had shown to those whom he had previously defeated. But when he had finished the war in Africa, another still more formidable demanded his attention in Spain, (as to his conquest of Pharnaces, it scarcely added anything to his renown,) for Cnæus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, a young man of great energy in war, had formed there a powerful and formidable opposition; as multitudes, still revering the great fame of his father, flocked to his aid from every quarter of the earth. His usual fortune accompanied Cæsar into Spain; but no field of battle, more perilous or desperate, had he ever entered; for, on one occasion, when his prospect of success seemed worse than doubtful, he dismounted from his horse, placed himself before the line of his retreating troops, and, after reproaching fortune for having preserved him for such an end, declared to his soldiers that he would not retire a step; bidding them therefore consider the character and circumstances of the general whom they were going to desert. The battle was restored by the effect of shame rather than of courage; and greater efforts were made by the leader than by his men. Cnæus Pompey, who was found grievously wounded in a desert place, was slain. Labienus and Varus fell in the engagement.

LVI. Cæsar, victorious over all opposition, came home to Rome, and, what is almost incredible, granted pardon to all who had borne arms against him, and delighted the city with most magnificent exhibitions of gladiators and representations of sea-fights, and of battles with cavalry, infantry, and even with elephants; celebrating a feast, too, at which he entertained the people, and which lasted several days. He had five triumphs; the figures displayed in that for Gaul were made of citron wood; in that for Pontus, of acanthus wood[1]; in

[1] LVI. Acanthus wood] *Acantho.* The *acanthus* was a tree of the *acacia* kind, now generally supposed to be the same as the *Mimosa Nilotica* of Linnæus, or "Egyptian thorn." See Plin., H. N., xxiv., 12; Miller's Gardener's Dict., Art. Acacia; Martyn on Virg. Georg., ii., 119.

that for Alexandria, of tortoise-shell[1]; in that for Africa, of ivory; and in that for Spain, of polished silver. The money arising from the spoils was somewhat more than six hundred thousand sestertia[2]. But this great man, who had used all his victories with so much mercy, was not allowed peaceable possession of supreme power more than five months; for after returning to Rome in the month of October, he was killed on the ides of March by a band of conspirators under Brutus and Cassius; the former of whom, though he had promised him a second consulship, he had not by that means secured to his interest, and the latter he had offended by putting him off to another time. They had even drawn into their murderous plot Decimus Brutus and Caius Trebonius, the most intimate of all his adherents, men who had been raised to the highest dignity by the success of his party, with several others of great note.

Mark Antony, however, his colleague in the consulship, a man always ready for any daring deed, had excited a strong feeling against him, by placing on his head, as he was sitting in the Rostrum at the festival of Pan, a royal diadem, which Cæsar indeed pushed away, but in such a manner that he did not seem offended.

LVII. By this event was shown the excellence of the advice of Hirtius and Pansa, who had always warned Cæsar to preserve by arms the sovereignty which by arms he had acquired; but he constantly declared, that he would rather die than live in constant fear of death; and thus, while he expected to meet the same good feeling that he had shown to others, he was cut off by the ungrateful men around him. The immortal gods had given him many presages and signs of his approaching danger; for the aruspices had forewarned him carefully to beware of the ides of March; his wife Calpurnia, terrified by a vision in the night, besought him to stay at home that day; and he received a paper from one that met him, containing an account of the conspiracy, but which he did not read. Surely the resistless power of fate,

[1] Tortoise-shell] "We must suppose that the *fercula*, or frames on which the articles were carried in the procession, were inlaid with tortoise-shell, as is now the case with many articles of furniture." *Krause.*

[2] Six hundred thousand sestertia] Something more than 4,800,000*l.*

when it determines to reverse a man's fortune, confounds his understanding!

LVIII. The year that they perpetrated this deed, Brutus and Cassius were prætors, and Decimus Brutus consul elect. These, with the body of the conspirators, attended by a band of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus, seized on the Capitol. On this Mark Antony the consul convened the senate. Cassius had proposed that Antony should be killed at the same time with Cæsar, and that Cæsar's will should be annulled; but this was overruled by Brutus, who insisted that the citizens ought to seek no more than the blood of the tyrant; for so, to palliate his own conduct, he thought proper to call Cæsar. In the mean time, Dolabella, whom Cæsar had destined for his successor in the consulship, laid hold on the fasces and badges of that office; and Antony, as wishing to preserve peace, sent his own sons into the Capitol as hostages, and pledged his faith to the murderers of Cæsar, that they might come down with safety. Then was proposed by Cicero, and approved by a resolution of the senate, the imitation of that famous decree of the Athenians, enacting a general oblivion of the past.

LIX. Cæsar's will was then opened, by which he had adopted Cnæus Octavius, grandson of his sister Julia, of whose origin, though he himself has anticipated me[1], * * * I must yet say a few words. Caius Octavius, his father, was of a family which, though not patrician, was of a highly honourable equestrian rank. He possessed a sound understanding and a virtuous disposition; his conduct was distinguished by probity, and his wealth was great. In standing for the prætorship, he was chosen first among competitors of the highest character; and this honourable distinction gained him Atia, daughter of Julia, in marriage. On the expiration of his prætorship, the lots gave him the province of Macedonia, where he was honoured with the title of Imperator. On his way home to stand for the consulship he died, leaving a son, who was under the age of manhood. This youth, who was brought up in the house of his step-

[1] LIX. He himself has anticipated me] *Prævenit, et * * * &c.* "Vossius and Bœcler rightly refer *prævenit* to Augustus himself, and his commentaries on his life mentioned by Suetonius, Aug., c. 2." *Krause.* Some words, which introduce the account of Octavius's father, have been lost.

father Philippus, Caius Cæsar loved as if he were his own son; and at the age of eighteen, as he had followed him to Spain, he made him his constant companion in the Spanish war; not suffering him to use any other quarters, or to travel in any other carriage than his own; and, even while he was yet a boy, honoured him with the office of pontiff. When the civil wars were ended, in order to improve the young man's excellent capacity by a liberal education, he sent him to Apollonia to study, proposing afterwards to take him to the wars which he meditated against the Getæ and Parthians. When the news of the murder of his uncle reached him, he received from the centurions of the legions in that neighbourhood an offer of their support, and that of the troops; which Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him not to reject. Hastening to Rome, he found at Brundusium full accounts of the fall of Cæsar, and of his will. On his approach to the city, he was met by immense crowds of his friends; and when he was entering the gate, the orb of the sun over his head was seen regularly curved[1] into a circular form, and coloured like a rainbow, as if setting a crown on the head of a man who was soon to become so great.

LX. His mother Atia and his step-father Philip were of opinion that he should not assume the name of Cæsar, as being likely to excite jealous feelings towards him; but the propitious fates of the state, and of the world, claimed him, under that name, as the founder and preserver of the Roman nation. His celestial mind accordingly spurned human counsels, determined to pursue the loftiest designs with danger rather than a humble course with safety, and choosing to follow the direction of an uncle, and that uncle Cæsar, in preference to that of his step-father; observing that it would be impious to think himself unworthy of a name of which Cæsar had thought him worthy.

The consul Antony at first met him with haughtiness, not

[1] The orb of the sun—regularly curved, *&c.*] *Solis orbis—curvatus æqualiter rotundatusque, in colorem arcûs.* It is not possible to explain these words at all satisfactorily. Suetonius, in speaking of the same occurrence, Aug., c. 95, says, *Circulus ad speciem cœlestis arcûs orbem solis ambiit;* and Seneca, Q. N., i., 2; Dion Cassius, xlv., 4; and Plin., H. N., ii., 28, allude to the matter in a similar way. Hence Hottinger, a friend of Herelius, conjectured that we should read *curvatum æqualiter rotundatumque versicolorem arcum, &c.*

indeed from contempt, but from fear; and after granting him an interview in Pompey's gardens, scarcely allowed him time to speak with him. Soon after, he spread malicious insinuations that Octavius was plotting against him; the falsehood of which was detected to his disgrace.

The madness of the consuls Antony and Dolabella soon burst forth into open acts of abominable tyranny. The sum of seven hundred thousand sestertia[1], deposited by Caius Cæsar in the temple of Ops, was seized by Antony, under colour of false insertions which he made in Cæsar's registers[2]. Everything had its price, the consul setting the Commonwealth to sale. He even resolved to seize on the province of Gaul, which had been decreed to Decimus Brutus, consul elect; while Dolabella allotted the provinces beyond sea to himself. Between parties so discordant in their natures, and so opposite in their views, mutual hatred continually increased; and Caius Cæsar, in consequence, was exposed to daily machinations on the part of Antony.

LXI. The state, oppressed by the tyranny of Antony, lost all vigour; every man felt indignation and grief, but none had courage to make resistance; when Caius Cæsar, in the beginning of his nineteenth year, by his wonderful exertions, and accomplishment of the most important measures, displayed, while acting in a private character, a greater spirit than the senate in support of the republic. He called out his father's veterans, first from Calatia, and then from Casilinum; and their example was followed by others, who came together in such numbers as quickly formed a regular army; and when Antony met the troops, which he had ordered to come from the foreign provinces to Brundusium, a portion of them, consisting of the Martian and the fourth legions, having learned the wish of the senate, and the abilities of Cæsar, took up their standards, and went off to join him. After honouring him with an equestrian statue, which at this day stands on the Rostrum, and testifies his age by its inscription, a compliment which, during three hundred years, was paid to none but Lucius

[1] LX. Seven hundred thousand sestertia] Something more than 5,650,000*l.*

[2] False insertions—in Cæsar's registers] *Actorum ejusdem insertis falsis, civitatibusque * * * corrupti commentarii.* I have omitted the last three words. Various emendations of the passage have been suggested, but to little purpose.

Sylla, Cnæus Pompey, and Caius Cæsar, the senate commissioned him, in the character of proprætor, and in conjunction with the consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, to make war on Antony. This charge, he in his twentieth year executed with the greatest bravery in the neighbourhood of Mutina. Decimus Brutus was relieved from a siege; and Antony was forced to quit Italy in disgraceful and solitary flight. One of the consuls, however, fell in the field, and the other died of a wound a few days after.

LXII. Before Antony was obliged to flee, the highest honours were decreed by the senate, chiefly at the suggestion of Cicero, to Cæsar and his army; but, as soon as their fears were removed, their real feeling discovered itself, and their favour to Pompey's party was renewed. To Brutus and Cassius were decreed those provinces, which they themselves, without any authority from the senate, had already seized; those who furnished them with troops were commended, and all the foreign settlements were committed to their direction. For Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, at one time fearing the arms of Antony, at another time counterfeiting fear in order to increase the odium against him, had published declarations, that they would willingly live even all their lives in exile, if harmony could by that means be established in the republic; that they would never afford occasion for a civil war, but were satisfied with the honour which they enjoyed in the consciousness of what they had done; and, leaving Rome and Italy, with settled and similar intentions, they had, without any public commission, possessed themselves of the provinces and armies; and pretending that wherever they were, there was the Commonwealth, had received from such as were willing to gratify them, the sums of money which used to be transmitted to Rome from the foreign provinces by the quæstors. All these proceedings were recited and approved in decrees of the senate. To Decimus Brutus, because he had escaped with life by the kindness of another, a triumph was even voted. The bodies of Hirtius and Pansa were honoured with a funeral at the public expense. So little regard was paid to Cæsar, that the deputies who were sent to the army, were directed to address themselves to the soldiers in his absence. But the army was not so ungrateful as the senate; for, though

Cæsar bore the affront, pretending not to notice it, the soldiers refused to listen to any directions unless their general were present. It was at this time that Cicero, out of his rooted love of Pompey's party, gave his opinion, that Cæsar was "laudandus et tollendus[1];" saying one thing while he wished that another should be understood.

LXIII. Meanwhile Antony, having fled across the Alps, and meeting a repulse in a conference with Lepidus, (who had been clandestinely made pontifex maximus in the room of Caius Cæsar, and though appointed to the government of Spain, still delayed in Gaul,) came afterwards frequently before the eyes of the soldiers, by whom, as any commander was preferable to Lepidus, and Antony, when sober, was superior to many, he was admitted at the rear of the camp through a breach which they made in the rampart; but while he took the entire direction of affairs, he still yielded to Lepidus the title of commander. About the time that he entered the camp, Juventius Laterensis, a man whose life was consistent with his death, having earnestly dissuaded Lepidus from joining Antony, who had been proclaimed a rebel, and finding his counsel disregarded, ran himself through with his sword. Plancus, with his usual duplicity, after long debating in his mind which party he should follow, and with much difficulty forming a resolution, supported for some time Decimus Brutus, (who was consul elect, and his own colleague,) boasting of acting thus in letters to the senate; but soon after betrayed him. Asinius Pollio was steadfast in his purpose, faithful to the Julian party, and adverse to that of Pompey. Both these officers made over their troops to Antony.

LXIV. Decimus Brutus, being first deserted by Plancus, and then endangered by his plots, and seeing his troops, too, gradually forsaking him, betook himself to flight, and was slain by some of Antony's emissaries, in the house of a friend, a nobleman named Camelus, thus suffering just punishment for his conduct to Caius Cæsar, to whom he was under the greatest obligations. For, though he had

[1] LXII. Laudandus et tollendus] The play on the word *tollendus* cannot be rendered. *Tollo* means not only *to raise* or *extol*, but *to take out of the way*. It is as if we should say of a man that merits hanging, that he deserves to be exalted.

been the most intimate of all his friends, he became his murderer, and threw on his benefactor the odium of that fortune of which he had reaped the benefit. He thought it just that he should retain the favours which he had received from Cæsar, and that Cæsar, who had given them, should perish. It was during these times that Marcus Tullius, in a series of orations, branded the memory of Antony with eternal infamy. He, indeed, assailed Antony in splendid and noble language, but Canutius, a tribune, attacked him with constant abuse. Their defence of liberty cost both of them their lives; the proscription commenced with the blood of the tribune, and ended with that of Cicero, as if even Antony were satiated with the death of such a man. Lepidus was then declared an enemy by the senate, as had previously been the case with Antony.

LXV. A correspondence by letter was then commenced between Lepidus, Cæsar, and Antony. Hints were thrown out of an accommodation, while Antony frequently reminded Cæsar how hostile to him Pompey's party was, to what a height of power it had already arisen, and with what zeal, on the part of Cicero, Brutus and Cassius were extolled; declaring that if Cæsar disdained to come to terms with him, he would join his power to that of Brutus and Cassius, who were already at the head of seventeen legions; at the same time remarking, that Cæsar was under stronger obligations to revenge a father[1] than he to revenge a friend. Hence a league of partnership in power was concluded; and in compliance with the exhortations and entreaties of the armies, an affinity was contracted between Cæsar and Antony, the step-daughter of Antony being betrothed to Cæsar. Cæsar entered on the consulship with Quintus Pedius, on the day before he completed his twentieth year, the twenty-second of September, seven hundred and eleven years after the building of the city, and seventy-two before the beginning of your consulate, Marcus Vinicius. This year saw Ventidius assume the consular robe, immediately after wearing the prætorian, in that city through which he

[1] LXV. To revenge a father, &c.] It was more incumbent on Octavius to revenge the death of Julius Cæsar than on Antony; Cæsar being his adopted son, Antony only his friend.

had been led in triumph among other Picenian prisoners. He had afterwards also a triumph.

LXVI. While Antony and Lepidus were greatly enraged, both of them having, as we have said, been declared public enemies, and while both were better pleased at hearing what they had suffered, than what they had gained, the practice of proscription, on the model given by Sylla, was, in spite of Cæsar's opposition, which was vain against the two, revived. Nothing reflects more disgrace on that period, than that either Cæsar should have been forced to proscribe any person, or that Cicero should have been proscribed by him, and that the advocate of the public should have been cut off by the villany of Antony, no one defending him, who for so many years had defended as well the cause of the public as the causes of individuals. But you have gained nothing, Mark Antony, (for the indignation bursting from my mind and heart, compels me to say what is at variance with the character of this work,) you have gained nothing, I say, by paying the hire for closing those divine lips, and cutting off that noble head, and by procuring, for a fatal reward, the death of a man, once so great as a consul, and the preserver of the Commonwealth. You deprived Marcus Cicero of a life full of trouble, and of a feeble old age; an existence more unhappy under your ascendancy, than death under your triumvirate; but of the fame and glory of his actions and writings you have been so far from despoiling him that you have even increased it. He lives, and will live in the memory of all succeeding ages. And as long as this body of the universe, whether framed by chance, or by wisdom, or by whatever means, which he, almost alone of the Romans, penetrated with his genius, comprehended in his imagination, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall continue to exist, it will carry the praise of Cicero as its companion in duration. All posterity will admire his writings against you, and execrate your conduct towards him; and sooner shall the race of man fail in the world, than his name decay.

LXVII. The calamity of this whole period no one can sufficiently deplore; much less can any one find language to express it. One thing demands observation, that there prevailed towards the proscribed the utmost fidelity in their wives, a moderate share of it in their freedmen, some portion

in their slaves, and in their sons none at all; so intolerable to men is the delay of hope, on whatever grounds it be conceived. That nothing, however, should be left inviolate, Antony, as if for an attraction and excitement to atrocities, proscribed his uncle Lucius Cæsar, and Lepidus his brother Paulus. Plancus, too, had interest enough to procure a like sentence upon his brother Plotius Plancus. Among the jests of the soldiers, accordingly, who, amidst the curses of their countrymen, followed the chariots of Lepidus and Plancus, they made use of this expression, "The consuls triumph over Germans," (*that is*, brothers[1],) "not over Gauls."

LXVIII. Let us here mention an affair which was omitted in its proper place; for the character of the agent does not allow a screen to be cast over his act. While Cæsar was deciding by arms the fate of the empire at Pharsalia, Marcus Cælius, a man nearly resembling Curio in eloquence and ability, but his superior in both, and not less ingeniously vicious, proposed in his prætorship, as he could not be saved by quiet and moderate means, (for his property was in a more desperate state than even his mind,) a law for the relief of debtors; nor could he be deterred from his purpose by the influence of the senate or the consul, but called to his aid Annius Milo, (who was incensed against the Julian party, because he had not obtained a repeal of his banishment,) and endeavoured to raise a sedition in the city, and secretly to stir up war in the country; however, by the authority of the senate, he was first banished, and soon after cut off by the arms of the consuls near Thurii. Similar fortune attended Milo in a similar attempt; for while he was besieging Compsa, a town of the Hirpini, he was killed by the stroke of a stone, and paid the penalty of his offences against Publius Clodius, and against his country, on which he was making war. He was a restless character, and carried his bravery even to rashness. But since I am reverting to things omitted, let me observe, that Marullus Epidius and Flavius Cæsetius, tribunes of the people, having used intemperate and unseasonable liberties in prejudice of Caius Cæsar, and having charged him with aspiring to royalty,

[1] LXVII. Germans, (*that is*, brothers,) *&c.*] *De Germanis.* A play on the Latin word *Germanus.*

were very near feeling the force of absolute power. Yet the anger of the prince, though often provoked, went no further than this, that, satisfied with a sentence of disgrace from the censors, instead of the punishment which a dictator might inflict, he banished them from the country, declaring that it was a great unhappiness to him, to be obliged either to depart from his nature, or suffer his dignity to be violated. But I must return to the course of my narrative.

LXIX. In Asia, Dolabella, having by a stratagem deluded Caius Trebonius, who had been consul, and with whom he was at enmity, had slain him at Smyrna. Trebonius was a man most ungrateful for the kindnesses of Cæsar, and a participator in the murder of him by whom he had been raised to the dignity of consul. In Syria, Caius Cassius, having received some legions from Statius Murcus and Crispus Marcius, who had been prætors, and were at the head of a very powerful force, shut up Dolabella in Laodicea, (for he, finding Asia pre-occupied, had proceeded into Syria,) and, having taken the town, put him to death, (Dolabella, with spirit enough, holding out his neck to the stroke of his slave,) and thus acquired the command of ten legions in that country. In Macedonia, Marcus Brutus had drawn over to his side the legions of Caius, the brother of Mark Antony, and those of Vatinius, near Dyrrachium, who willingly joined him. Antonius he had attacked in the field; Vatinius he had overawed by the dignity of his character; as Brutus was reckoned preferable to any leader of the times, and Vatinius was considered inferior to every one; a man in whom deformity of person vied with depravity of mind, so that his soul seemed lodged in an habitation perfectly adapted to it. He was seven legions strong.

By the Pedian law, which the consul Pedius, Cæsar's colleague, had proposed, a sentence of banishment had been passed on all persons concerned in the murder of Cæsar his father. At that time, Capito, my uncle, a man of senatorial rank, seconded Agrippa in the prosecution of Caius Cassius. While these transactions were passing in Italy, Cassius by active and successful operations, had got possession of Rhodes, an enterprise of extreme difficulty. Brutus had subdued the Lycians, and both of them had then marched their armies into Macedonia, while Cassius, on every occa-

sion, acting against his nature, exceeded even Brutus in clemency. You cannot find two men whom fortune more propitiously attended, or whom, as if tired of them, she sooner deserted, than Brutus and Cassius.

LXX. Cæsar and Antony then transported their armies into Macedonia, and near the city of Philippi came to a general engagement with Brutus and Cassius. The wing that Brutus commanded, driving the enemy from the field, took Cæsar's camp; for Cæsar himself, though in a very weak state of health, performed the duties of a commander; notwithstanding he was urged by his physician, Artorius, who had been alarmed by a plain warning in a dream, not to remain in the camp. But the wing which Cassius commanded, being routed with great loss, retreated to higher ground; when Cassius, judging of his colleague's fortune by his own, despatched a veteran, with orders to bring him an account what body of men it was that were coming towards him; but the veteran being slow in bringing the intelligence, and the band of men, marching hastily up, being just at hand, (neither their faces nor their standards being distinguishable by reason of the dust,) Cassius, supposing them enemies ready to rush on him, covered his head with his robe, and intrepidly presented his extended neck to his freedman. The head of Cassius had fallen, when the veteran returned with intelligence, that Brutus was victorious; and, seeing the body of his general extended on the earth, he exclaimed, "I will follow him whom my tardiness has killed," and immediately fell on his sword. In a few days after, Brutus engaged the enemy again, and, being worsted in the field, and retreating to a hill in the night, he prevailed on Strato of Ægeum, an intimate friend, to lend him his hand in effecting his death; when, raising his left arm over his head, and holding the point of his sword in his right hand, he applied it to the left side of his breast, at the very spot where the heart beats, and throwing himself on the weapon, was transfixed by the one effort, and immediately expired.

LXXI. Messala Corvinus, a young man of shining character, who, next to Brutus and Cassius, possessed the greatest influence of any in the camp, and whom some solicited to take the command, chose to be indebted for safety to Cæsar's kindness, rather than to try any further the

chance of arms. Nor did any circumstance attending his victories afford greater joy to Cæsar, than the saving of Corvinus; nor was there ever an instance of greater gratitude, or more affectionate attachment, than Corvinus showed to Cæsar in return. No war was ever more stained with the blood of illustrious men. The son of Cato fell in it; and the same fate carried off Lucullus and Hortensius, sons of the most eminent men in the state. Varro, when ready to die, predicted with great freedom of speech, in mockery of Antony, several circumstances respecting his death, which were well suited to his character, and which really came to pass. Livius Drusus, father of Julia Augusta, and Quintilius Varus, did not even try the mercy of the enemy; for Drusus slew himself in his tent; and Varus, after decking himself with all the insignia of his honours, was slain by the hand of a freedman, whom he compelled to be his executioner.

LXXII. Such was the end assigned by fortune to the party of Marcus Brutus, who was then in his thirty-seventh year, and whose mind had been incorrupt till the day which obscured all his virtues by the rashness of one act. Cassius was as much the better commander, as Brutus was the better man. Of the two, you would rather have Brutus for a friend; as an enemy, your would stand more in dread of Cassius. In the one there was greater ability, in the other greater virtue. Had they been successful, it would have been as much for the interest of the state to have had Brutus for its ruler rather than Cassius, as it was to have Cæsar rather than Antony. Cnæus Domitius, father of Lucius Domitius, whom we lately saw[1], and who was a man of very eminent and distinguished integrity, and grandfather of the present excellent youth of the same name, seized several ships, and, with a numerous train of such as chose to follow his guidance, committed himself to flight and fortune, looking for no other leader of the party than himself. Statius Murcus, who commanded a fleet, and had charge of the sea, deserted with all the troops and ships entrusted to him, and joined Sextus Pompey, son of Cnæus the Great; who, on his return from Spain, had by force gained possession of Sicily. The proscribed, whom fortune had rescued from im-

[1] LXXII. Whom we lately saw] *Nuper à nobis visi.* He had died a little before.

mediate danger, flocked to him from the camp of Brutus, from Italy, and from other parts of the world; for to those who had no position in the state[1], any leader appeared sufficient, as Fortune did not give them an option, but merely pointed out a refuge; and to those who are fleeing from a destructive tempest, any anchoring-place serves for a harbour.

LXXIII. Sextus was quite illiterate, and in his language barbarous; but he was of a bold spirit, prompt to act, and quick to judge. In sincerity, however, he was very unlike his father. He was a freedman among his own freedmen[2]; a slave to his slaves; envying men of dignity, to become subservient to the meanest. To this young man, who had been recalled, after Antony quitted Mutina, from Spain, where Asinius Pollio, who had been prætor, had carried on the war against him with much honour, the senate, which consisted almost wholly of Pompey's partisans, restored, at the same time that they decreed the transmarine provinces to Brutus and Cassius, the possession of his father's property, and gave him the command of the sea-coast. Having possessed himself of Sicily, as we have just said, he filled up, by receiving slaves and vagabonds into his troops, a complement of several legions; and having, by the aid of Menas and Menecrates, two of his father's freedmen who commanded his fleet, ravaged the sea with piracies and rapine, he made use of the plunder to support himself and his followers, without being ashamed to disturb with the atrocities of freebooters those seas which had been cleared of them by the arms and exertions of his father.

LXXIV. The party of Brutus and Cassius being crushed, Antony stayed behind, for the purpose of settling the foreign provinces, while Cæsar returned to Italy, which he found in a much more turbulent state than he had expected. For the consul Lucius Antony, a partaker in all his brother's vices, but destitute of the virtues which sometimes appeared in him, had, sometimes, by inveighing against Cæsar in the hearing of the veterans, and sometimes by inciting those to arms, who had not been included in the regular distribution of lands and the nomination of colonists, collected a large army. On the other side, Fulvia the wife of Antony, in

[1] No position in the state] *Nullum habentibus statum.* See note on ii., 2.

[2] LXXIII. A freedman among his own freedmen] *Libertorum suorum libertus.* He lowered himself, and laid himself under obligations to them.

whom there was nothing feminine but the form, was throwing everything into confusion and tumult. She had chosen Prænestè as the seat of war. Lucius Antony, forced to give way in every quarter to Cæsar's superior strength, retired to Perusia; while Plancus, a favourer of Antony's party, rather held out hopes of assistance than afforded him any. Cæsar, relying on his courage, and pursuing his good fortune, took Perusia, and dismissed Antony unhurt. On the Perusians great severities were inflicted, rather through the violence of the soldiers than with the consent of their commander. The city was burnt; but of this conflagration Macedonicus, one of the principal inhabitants, was the author, who, after setting fire to his house and effects, stabbed himself, and fell amid the flames.

LXXV. At the same time an insurrection broke out in Etruria, which, under pretence of serving those who had lost their lands, Tiberius Claudius Nero, who had been prætor and was then pontifex, and who was the father of Tiberius Cæsar, and a man of great spirit, accomplishments, and abilities, employed himself in fomenting. This party was dispersed and quelled on the arrival of Cæsar. Who can sufficiently wonder at the changes of fortune, and the uncertain vicissitudes of human affairs? Who must not either hope, or fear, some alteration in his present circumstances, or something contrary to what is expected? Livia, the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, a man of the highest distinction and courage; Livia, I say, the most eminent in birth, virtue, and beauty, of all the Roman ladies, whom we subsequently saw the wife of Augustus, and, after his translation to the gods, his priestess and daughter[1], was now flying from the troops of Cæsar, who was soon to be her consort, carrying in her bosom a child scarcely two years old, the present Tiberius Cæsar, the supporter of the Roman empire; and thus, passing through unfrequented roads, to avoid the swords of the soldiers, accompanied only by a single attendant, that her flight might the more easily be concealed, she made her way to the sea, and sailed, with her husband Nero, over to Sicily.

LXXVI. The testimony which I would give to a stranger, I will not withhold from my own grandfather. Caius Vel-

[1] LXXV. Daughter] By adoption into the Julian family according to the will of Augustus. Tacit. Ann., i., 8; Suet. Aug., 101.

leius had been chosen by Cnæus Pompey in the most honourable place among the three hundred and sixty judges; he had been præfect of the artificers under him, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, and was a man inferior to none. Being in Campania, at the departure of Nero from Naples, whose party, through intimate friendship for him, he had supported, and being unable, from the pressure of age and weakness of body to follow him, he run himself through with his own sword.

Cæsar allowed Fulvia to depart from Italy in safety, and Plancus to accompany her in her flight. Asinius Pollio, with seven legions, had long retained Venetia in subjection to Antony, and had performed many and brilliant exploits at Altinum, and in other parts of that country; and, as he was now marching toward Antony, he prevailed on Domitius (who, having, as we said before, quitted the camp of Brutus on the death of that general, was still undecided in his movements, and at the head of a fleet of his own,) to join Antony's party; Domitius being induced to take this step by Pollio's representations and solemn assurances. By this proceeding, whoever forms a fair judgment, must allow that no less benefit was conferred by Pollio on Antony than had been bestowed by Antony on Pollio. Antony's arrival in Italy soon after, and Cæsar's preparations to oppose him, excited apprehensions of war; but an accommodation was effected near Brundusium. About this time, the wicked schemes of Salvidienus Rufus were detected. This man, sprung from the most obscure parentage, was not satisfied with having received the highest honours, with being the next after Cnæus Pompey and Cæsar, and with having been raised from the equestrian rank to the consulship, but would even have mounted to such an height, as to see both Cæsar and the Commonwealth beneath him.

LXXVII. In consequence of the general expostulations of the people, who were sorely distressed by a scarcity of provisions occasioned by the depredations committed at sea, a treaty was likewise concluded with Sextus Pompey at Misenum; who, entertaining Cæsar and Antony on board his ship, observed with some humour, that he was giving a supper in his own *Carinæ*[1], alluding to the name of the

[1] LXXVII. In his own *Carinæ*] *In Carinis suis.* A pun on *carinæ*, ships,

street in which stood his father's house, then occupied by Antony. In this treaty it was resolved to assign Sicily and Achaia to Pompey; but with this his restless mind could not be long content; and the only advantage that his coming produced to his country was, that he stipulated for the recal and safety of all the proscribed, and of others who, for various reasons, had taken refuge with him. This stipulation restored to the republic, among other illustrious men, Claudius Nero, Marcus Silanus, Sentius Saturninus, Aruntius, and Titius. Statius Murcus, who, by joining Pompey with his famous fleet, had doubled his strength, he loaded with false accusations, because Menas and Menecrates had disdained such a man as a colleague, and put him to death in Sicily.

LXXVIII. At this period, Mark Antony married Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Pompey returned to Sicily, Antony to the transmarine provinces, which Labienus, who had gone from the camp of Brutus to the Parthians, had brought an army of that people into Syria, and had put to death Antony's deputy, had disturbed with violent commotions; but, through the courage and good conduct of Ventidius, he was cut off, together with the Parthian troops, and their king's son Pacorus, a young prince universally celebrated. Meanwhile, Cæsar, lest, in such quiet times, idleness, the greatest foe to discipline, should debilitate the soldiery, made frequent excursions throughout Illyricum and Dalmatia; and, by inuring the men to hardships, and training them in action, confirmed their strength. At this time Domitius Calvinus, being, on the expiration of his consulship, made governor of Spain, gave an instance of strict discipline, comparable to the usage of old times; for he put to death by the bastinado a centurion of the first rank, named Vibillius, for having shamefully fled in the field of battle.

LXXIX. As the fleet and fame of Pompey increased daily, Cæsar resolved to take on himself the weight of the war against him. To build ships, to collect soldiers and seamen, and to train them in naval exercises and evolutions, was the charge of Marcus Agrippa, a man of distinguished courage, proof against toil, watching, and danger; who knew

which was also the name of an open place, or street, in Rome. *Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.* Virg. Æn., viii., 361.

perfectly well how to obey, that is, to obey one; others, he certainly wished to command: a general, in all his proceedings, averse to delay, and making action keep pace with deliberation. Having built a very fine fleet in the Avernian and Lucrine lakes, he brought, by daily practice, both soldiers and seamen to a thorough knowledge of military and naval business. With this fleet, Cæsar (having first, however, with omens, propitious to the state, espoused Livia, who was given to him in marriage by Nero her former husband,) commenced hostilities against Pompey and Sicily. But Fortune, on this occasion, gave a severe shock to him who was invincible by human power; for a storm, arising from the south-west, shattered and dispersed the greater part of his fleet near Velia and the promontory of Palinurus. This event occasioned a delay in the prosecution of the war, which was afterwards carried on with uncertain success on Cæsar's part, and sometimes with danger. For his fleet suffered severely in a second storm at the same place, and although in the first naval engagement at Mylæ, in which Agrippa commanded, the issue was favourable, yet in consequence of the unexpected arrival of the enemy's fleet, a heavy loss was sustained at Tauromenium under Cæsar's eye, nor was his person unmenaced by danger; as the legions, which had been landed with Cornificius, his lieutenant-general, were nearly surprised by Pompey. But the fortune of this hazardous juncture was amended by steady courage; for in a general engagement at sea, Pompey lost nearly all his ships, and was forced to fly to Asia, where, by order of Mark Antony, to whom he applied for succour, while he was acting a confused part between the general and the suppliant, at one time supporting his dignity, at another begging his life, he was slain by Titius; who, some time afterwards, when he was celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, was driven out by the execrations of the people, so strong had continued the detestation which he had incurred by such a deed, from the exhibition which he himself had given.

LXXX. In prosecuting the war against Pompey, Cæsar had summoned Lepidus from Africa, with twelve legions containing half their complement of men. This man, the vainest of human beings, who merited not by a single good quality so long an indulgence of fortune, had taken the com-

mand, as he happened to be nearer to them than any other leader, of the troops of Pompey, who, however, were attracted, not by his influence or honour, but by Cæsar's; and inflated with vanity at the number of the legions, which was more than twenty, he proceeded to such a degree of madness, that, though he had been a useless attendant on another's victory, which he had long retarded by dissenting from Cæsar's plans, and constantly urging measures different from those recommended by others, he yet claimed the whole credit of the success as his own, and even had the assurance to send notice to Cæsar to quit Sicily. But neither by the Scipios, nor by any of the ancient Roman commanders, was a more resolute act ever attempted or executed, than was now performed by Cæsar. For, though he was unarmed and in his cloak, carrying with him nothing but his name, he went into the camp of Lepidus, and avoiding the weapons which were thrown at him by the order of that infamous man, one of which pierced through his mantle, he boldly seized the eagle of a legion. Then might be seen the difference between the commanders. The armed troops followed the unarmed leader, and Lepidus, in the tenth year after he had arrived at a height of power not at all merited by his conduct, being deserted by Fortune and his troops, wrapped himself up in a black cloak, and, passing unobserved among the hindmost of the crowd that flocked about Cæsar, prostrated himself at his feet. His life, and the disposal of his property, were granted to his entreaties; his dignity, which he was ill qualified to support, was taken from him.

LXXXI. A sudden mutiny then broke out in the army; for when troops consider their own great numbers, they are apt to revolt from discipline, and to scorn to ask what they think themselves able to obtain by force; but it was soon quelled, partly by the firmness, and partly by the liberality of the prince. A grand addition was made at this time to the colony of Capua. Its lands were public property; and, in exchange for these, others, producing revenues of much larger value, to the amount of twelve hundred sestertia[1], were assigned them in the island of Crete; a promise was also given to them of the aqueduct, which to this day is an

[1] LXXXI. Twelve hundred sestertia] About 10,000*l.*

exceedingly fine ornament, productive of both health and pleasure.

Agrippa, for his singular services in this war, was rewarded with the distinction of a naval crown, an honour never before conferred on any Roman. Cæsar then returned victorious to Rome, and a great number of houses having been purchased by his agents, for the purpose of enlarging his own, he declared that he intended them for public uses, and announced his purpose of building a temple to Apollo, surrounded with porticos, which he afterwards erected with extraordinary magnificence.

LXXXII[1]. During this summer, in which Cæsar so happily quelled the war in Sicily, fortune changed in the east, as well to his prejudice as that of the Commonwealth. For Antony, at the head of thirteen legions, having entered Armenia and Media, and marching through those countries against the Parthians, had to encounter their king in the field. At first he lost two legions, with all their baggage and engines, with Statianus, one of his lieutenant-generals; afterwards, he himself, to the great hazard of the whole army, became often involved in difficulties from which he despaired of escape; and when he had lost no less than a fourth part of his soldiers, he was saved by the advice and fidelity of a captive Roman. This man had been made a prisoner when the army of Crassus was cut off, but as this change in his condition had produced no alteration in his feelings, he came by night to an outpost of the Romans, and gave them warning not to proceed by the road which they intended, but to make their escape through a woody part of the country. This proved the preservation of Mark Antony and his legions, out of which, however, and the whole army, was lost, as we have said, one fourth part of the soldiers, and one third of the servants and slaves; while of the baggage hardly anything was saved. Yet Antony called this flight of his, because he escaped from it with life, a victory. In the third year

[1] LXXXII. The commencement of this chapter, in which Krause retains the old, unintelligible reading, is translated according to the emendation of Ruhnken: *Quâ æstate Cæsar tam prospere sepelivit in Siciliâ bellum, fortuna in Cæsare et republicâ mutavit ad Orientem.* This is the best of all the corrections that have been proposed; though the words *in Cæsare et republicâ*, as a Gottingen reviewer observes, (Ephem. Lit., 1799, p. 120,) will hardly satisfy every reader.

after, having returned into Armenia, and having, by some artifice, got its king Artavasdes into his power, he threw him into chains, which, not to fail in respect for him, he made of gold. But his passion for Cleopatra daily increasing, as well as the strength of those vices which are ever nourished by wealth, licence, and flattery, he determined to make war upon his country. Previously, however, he had given orders that he should be called the new Father Bacchus; after riding in his chariot, in the character of Bacchus, through the city of Alexandria, with a chaplet of ivy on his head, a golden-coloured robe, a thyrsus in his hand, and buskins on his feet.

LXXXIII. While Antony was making preparations for war, Plancus, not from a belief that he was choosing the right side, or from love of Cæsar or of the Commonwealth, for to both he was ever a foe, but from being infected with treason as a disorder, (having previously been the meanest flatterer of the queen, more obsequious than any slave, the letter-carrier of Antony, the prompter and actor of the vilest obscenities, venal to all men and for all purposes, and having at a banquet represented Glaucus in a dance, naked and painted green, carrying on his head a chaplet of reeds, dragging a tail after him, and crawling on his knees,) formed the resolution, on being coldly regarded by Antony, because of certain plain proofs of his dishonesty, to desert to Cæsar. He afterwards construed the clemency of the conqueror into a proof of his own merit, alleging that Cæsar had approved what he had only pardoned. Titius soon followed the example of this uncle of his. One day, when Plancus, in the senate, charged Antony in his absence, whom he had but recently deserted, with many foul enormities, Coponius, who had been prætor, and was a man of high character, observed with some humour, "Surely Antony did a great many things *the day before* you left him."

LXXXIV. Soon after, in the consulate of Cæsar and Messala Corvinus, the decisive contest was fought at Actium, where, long before the engagement, the victory of the Julian party was certain. On one side, both the soldiers and the commander were full of energy; on the other, everything showed want of spirit; on the one, the seamen were in full strength; on the other, they were greatly weakened by want

of provisions; on the one, the ships were moderate in size and active; on the opposite, more formidable only in appearance. From the one side not a man deserted to Antony; from the other, deserters came daily to Cæsar. Besides, in the very presence and view of Antony's fleet, Leucas was stormed by Marcus Agrippa, Patræ taken, Corinth seized, and the enemy's fleet worsted twice before the final decision. King Amyntas[1], adopting the better and more profitable side, (for Dellius[2], adhering to his usual practice * * * *,) and Cnæus Domitius, a man highly esteemed, and the only one of Antony's party who never addressed the queen but by her name[3], came over to Cæsar through great and imminent dangers.

LXXXV. At length arrived the day of the great struggle, when Cæsar and Antony, with their fleets drawn up, came to a general engagement; one fighting to save, the other to ruin the world. The right wing of Cæsar's fleet was intrusted to Marcus Lurius, the left to Aruntius; to Agrippa was committed the management of the whole action. Cæsar himself, ready to go wherever he should be called by fortune, might be said to be present everywhere. On Antony's side, the direction of the fleet was given to Publicola and Sosius. Of the troops stationed on the land, Taurus commanded Cæsar's, and Canidius Antony's. When the engagement began, there was everything ready on one side, the commander, the seamen, the soldiers; on the other, nothing but the soldiers. Cleopatra first began the flight, and Antony chose rather to be the companion of a flying queen than of a fighting soldiery; and the general, whose duty it had been to punish deserters, became a deserter from his own army. The courage of his men, though deprived of their head, held out a long time in a most determined struggle; despairing of victory, they sought death in the conflict. Cæsar, wishing to soothe with words those whom he might have slain with the

[1] LXXXIV. Amyntas] The successor of Deiotarus in the kingdom of Galatia.

[2] Dellius] Quintus Dellius, to whom Horace addresses Od. ii., 3. He deserted from Dolabella to Cassius, from Cassius to Antony, and from Antony to Cæsar. Sen. Suasor., i. The text is here imperfect, and a few words are omitted in the translation.

[3] By her name] *Nomine.* Not saluting her as a queen, but calling her merely Cleopatra.

sword, and calling and pointing out that Antony had fled, asked them for whom, and against whom, they were fighting. At last, after a long effort in favour of their absent leader, they reluctantly laid down their arms, and yielded the victory; and Cæsar granted them life and pardon more readily than they could be persuaded to ask them of him. It was universally allowed, that the soldiery acted the part of an excellent commander, and the commander that of a most dastardly soldier. Who can doubt, therefore, whether he who took to flight at the will of Cleopatra, would, in case of success, have regulated his conduct by her will or his own? The army on land submitted in like manner, Canidius having precipitately fled to join Antony.

LXXXVI. What blessings that day procured to the world, what an improvement it produced in the state of the public welfare, who would attempt to recount in such a hasty narrative as this abridgment? The victory was attended with the greatest clemency; only a few were put to death; and these were such as would not deign to sue for mercy. From this lenity of the leader, a judgment may be formed of the limits which he would have prescribed to himself in success, had he been allowed, both at the beginning of his triumvirate and in the plains of Philippi. The faithful friendship of Lucius Aruntius, a man remarkable for integrity like that of old, was the means of saving the life of Sosius, though Cæsar had a long struggle against his inclination to spare him. Let us not pass unnoticed the memorable conduct and language of Asinius Pollio. Having, after the peace of Brundusium, stayed at home in Italy, having never seen the queen, nor, after Antony's mind was enervated by his passion for her, ever interfered in the business of his party, he replied to a request from Cæsar to accompany him to the battle at Actium, "My services to Antony are too great; his kindnesses to me are too notorious; I will therefore keep aloof from your contest, and be the prey of the conqueror."

LXXXVII. In the next year, Cæsar, pursuing the queen and Antony to Alexandria, brought the civil wars to a conclusion. Antony killed himself courageously enough, so as to compensate by his death for many faults of effeminacy. Cleopatra, eluding the vigilance of her guards, and causing

an asp to be brought in to her, put an end to her life by its bite, showing no signs of womanish fear. It reflected honour on Cæsar's success, and his merciful disposition, that not one of those who had borne arms against him was put to death by him. The cruelty of Antony took off Decimus Brutus; and the same Antony deprived Sextus Pompey of life, though, on conquering him, he had pledged his honour to secure to him even his rank. Brutus and Cassius died voluntary deaths, without waiting to make trial of the disposition of the conquerors. The end of Antony and Cleopatra I have just related. Canidius died in a more cowardly manner than was consistent with his frequent professions. Of the murderers of Cæsar, Cassius Parmensis was the last victim of vengeance, as Trebonius had been the first.

LXXXVIII. While Cæsar was employed in putting the last hand to the Actian and the Alexandrine wars, Marcus Lepidus, a young man more amiable in person than in mind, son of that Lepidus who had been triumvir for regulating the government, by Junia a sister of Brutus, formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar, as soon as he should return to Rome. The guardianship of the city was then in the hands of Caius Mæcenas, who was of equestrian rank, but of a highly honourable family; a man who, when any affair demanded vigilance, showed the greatest alacrity, foresight, and judgment, but who, when relaxation from business could be obtained, indulged himself in indolence and pleasure to an excess of effeminacy. He was no less beloved by Cæsar, than was Agrippa, but he was not so highly promoted, because, through life, he was fully contented with the narrow purple[1]; he might have obtained equal preferment, but he had not equal desire for it. On this occasion, making not the least stir, but dissembling his knowledge of the matter, he watched the proceedings of this hot-headed young man, and then crushing him with wonderful despatch, and without any disturbance either of men or business, he stifled the direful seeds of a

[1] LXXXVIII. Fully contented with the narrow purple] The text has *angusti clavi pene contentus*, which is manifestly corrupt, for any trustworthy example of *contentus* with a genitive is not to be found. Ruhnken thinks that *pene* is a corruption of some substantive. The Basil editor gives *angusto clavo*. For *pene*, Krause proposes *bene* or *planè*. The *angustus clavus* was the badge of a knight.

new and fast reviving civil war, the author meeting the punishment due to his criminal purposes. Here we may produce an instance of conjugal affection parallel to that of Calpurnia, wife of Antistius, whom we have mentioned above[1]; Servilia, the wife of Lepidus, swallowed burning coals, and thus gained immortal fame as a compensation for a premature death.

LXXXIX. How great the concourse was, and how ardent the welcome from men of all ages and ranks, with which Cæsar was met on his return to Italy and Rome; how magnificent, too, were his triumphs and donations, cannot be fully related even in the compass of a regular history, much less in so brief a work as this. There is no good which men can desire of the gods, none that the gods can bestow on men, none that can be conceived in wishes, none that can be comprised in perfect good fortune, which Augustus on his return did not realise to the state, to the Roman people, and to the world. The civil wars, which had lasted twenty years, were ended, foreign wars were suppressed, peace was recalled, the fury of arms everywhere laid asleep, energy was restored to the laws, authority to the courts of justice, and majesty to the senate; the power of the magistrates was confined within its ancient limits, only two prætors being appointed in addition to the former eight; the old and original form of the Commonwealth was re-established; the culture of the lands was revived; reverence was restored to religion, security to men's persons, and to every man safe enjoyment of his property; the old laws received useful emendations, and others of a salutary nature were introduced; and the senate was chosen without severity, though not without strictness. The principal men, who had enjoyed triumphs and the highest honours, were induced by the encouragement of the prince to add to the decorations of the city. He himself could only be persuaded to accept of the consulship, which he was prevailed upon to hold, though he made many endeavours to prevent it, for eleven years; the dictatorship, which the people resolutely pressed upon him, he as resolutely refused. A recital of the wars waged under his command, of his victories that gave peace to the world, and

[1] Calpurnia—mentioned above] See c. 26.

of his numerous works both in Italy and abroad, would give full employment to a writer, who should dedicate the whole of his life merely to those subjects. Mindful of our declared purpose, we have laid before our readers only a general view of his administration.

XC. When the civil wars were composed, as we have said, and the parts of the state, which a long succession of contests had lacerated, began to coalesce, Dalmatia, which had continued rebellious for two hundred and twenty years, was reduced to make a full acknowledgment of the Roman supremacy. The Alps, inhabited by fierce and barbarous nations, were entirely subdued. Spain, after much fighting with various success, was completely subjugated, partly by Cæsar in person, and partly by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the prince raised to a third consulship, and afterwards to be his colleague in the tribunitial power. Into this province a Roman army was first sent in the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, in the first year of the second Punic War, and two hundred and fifty years from the present time, under the command of Scipio, the uncle of Africanus; and a war was maintained there for two hundred years, with so much bloodshed on both sides, that, while Rome lost several armies and generals, the struggle was often attended with dishonour, and sometimes even with danger, to her empire. This province brought death to the Scipios; this province employed our forefathers in a disgraceful contest of twenty years with the general Viriathus; this province shook Rome itself with the terror of the Numantine war. In this province was made the scandalous treaty of Quintus Pompeius, and the more scandalous one of Mancinus, which the senate rescinded by delivering up that commander with ignominy. This province caused the loss of many generals of consular and prætorian rank, and, in the time of our fathers, exalted Sertorius to such power in arms, that during five years it was impossible to judge whether the Romans or the Spaniards were the stronger in the field, or which nation was destined to obey the other. This province, then, so extensive, so populous, and so warlike, Augustus Cæsar, about fifty years ago, reduced to such a state of pacification, that the country, which had never been free from most violent wars, was thenceforward, first under Caius

Antistius, then under Publius Silius, and afterwards under other governors, perfectly exempt from the disturbances even of marauders.

XCI. While means were employed for establishing peace in the west, the Roman standards which Orodes had taken when Crassus was cut off, and those which his son Phraates had captured when Antony was driven from the country, were sent back from the east, by the king of the Parthians, to Augustus, the name which the general voice of the senate and people of Rome had, on the motion of Plancus, conferred upon Cæsar. Yet there were some who felt dissatisfied with this most happy state of affairs. Lucius Murena and Fannius Cæpio, men of different characters, (for Murena, setting aside his present misconduct, might be esteemed a good man; Cæpio, even before this, had shown himself one of the worst,) formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar, but, being found guilty on a public trial, they suffered from justice that which they had intended to inflict on another by violence. Not long after, Rufus Egnatius, a man, who, in every respect, was more like a gladiator than a senator, but who, in the office of ædile, had acquired a considerable share of popularity, which he had increased by occasionally extinguishing fires with the aid of his own servants; so that from that office he succeeded to the prætorship, and afterwards had the assurance to stand for the consulate, though he was conscious of being sunk in every kind of vice and infamy; nor was his property in better condition than his mind; this man, I say, having collected a number of accomplices like himself, resolved to effect Cæsar's death, being willing to die himself, if he could but cut off the man during whose life he could not hope to prosper. For it is frequently the case, that a desperate man chooses to fall amidst public ruin, rather than to sink by himself, and desires, if he must perish, to escape notice among a multitude. But he was not more successful in keeping the secret than the former conspirators; for being thrown into prison, he suffered, with his accomplices, the death best suited to his life.

XCII. Let us not defraud of due commemoration the very meritorious conduct of an excellent man, Caius Sentius Saturninus, who was consul at this time. Cæsar was absent, being employed in regulating the affairs of Asia, and of the

east, and dispensing by his presence to every part of the world the blessings of that peace, of which he was the author. Sentius, in Cæsar's absence, happened to be sole consul; and, after giving other instances of conduct distinguished by primitive strictness and the greatest firmness of mind[1], such as dragging into light the frauds of the revenue farmers, punishing their avarice, and replacing the public money in the treasury, he also, when presiding at the elections, supported the character of consul with extraordinary dignity; for whatever persons he judged unworthy to stand for the quæstorship, he forbade to declare themselves candidates for it; and, if they persisted in doing so, he threatened to make them feel the power of a consul, should they appear in the Campus Martius. And when Egnatius, elated by his popularity, conceived hopes, that as he had advanced immediately from the office of ædile to that of prætor, so he would proceed from the prætorship to the consulate, he ordered him to withdraw from the field, and, on failing to obtain compliance from him, he assured him with an oath, that even if he should be elected by the votes of the people, he would not return him. Such conduct I think comparable to any of the celebrated acts of the early consuls; but such is our nature, that we more readily bestow praise on actions of which we hear, than on those which we see; we view present merit with envy, and past with veneration; thinking ourselves obscured by the one, but stimulated by the other.

XCIII. Three years before the discovery of the plot of Egnatius, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Cæpio, fifty years from the present time, Marcus Marcellus, son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, (whom people generally supposed, if Cæsar should die, to be likely to succeed to his station, but suspected that that dignity would not be conferred on him without opposition from Marcus Agrippa,) died very young, after having, in the office of ædile, exhibited games with the greatest magnificence. He is said to have been a youth of excellent natural qualities, happy in temper and ability, and capable of filling the high station

[1] XCII. By primitive strictness and the greatest firmness of mind] *Priscâ severitate et summâ constantiâ.* The words which follow these, *vetere consulum more ac severitate,* are not translated, being, as Krause observes, a manifest interpolation.

for which he was educated. After his death, Agrippa, who had gone to Asia under pretence of acting as deputy to the prince, but, as fame says, choosing to be out of the way during the present state of affairs, on account of private misunderstandings between him and Marcellus, returned home and married Cæsar's daughter Julia, who had been the wife of Marcellus, a woman whose offspring promoted neither her own nor her country's happiness.

XCIV. During this period, Tiberius Claudius Nero, (who, as we have said, was three years old when Livia, daughter of Claudianus Drusus, became the wife of Cæsar, being contracted to him by Nero her former husband,) a youth who had been trained in the noblest principles, who possessed in the highest degree birth, beauty, dignity of mien, valuable knowledge, and superior capacity, and who from the beginning gave hopes of becoming the great man that he now is, and by his look announced himself a prince, began to act in a public character, being made quæstor in his nineteenth year; and, under the direction of his stepfather, took such judicious measures, both in Rome and at Ostia, to remedy the exorbitant price of provisions and the scarcity of corn, that from what he did on that occasion, it plainly appeared how great he was to become. Not long after, being sent with an army, under a commission also from his stepfather, to inspect and regulate the provinces in the east, he displayed in those countries instances of every kind of virtue; and, having marched his legions into Armenia, and reduced it under the power of the Roman people, he bestowed the government of it, [which had been taken from] Artavasdes[1], on [Tigranes.] Even the king of the Parthians, awed by the fame of his great character, sent his own sons as hostages to Cæsar.

XCV. When Nero returned from those parts, Cæsar determined to try his abilities in supporting the weight of a difficult war, giving him, as an assistant in the business, his own brother Claudius Drusus, whom Livia had borne in the house of Cæsar. The two brothers attacked the Rhætians and Vindelicians on different sides, and having accomplished the sieges of many cities and forts, as well as some successful actions in the field, they completely subdued those nations,

[1] XCIV. Artavasdes, *&c.*] There is here a *hiatus* in the text. The words in brackets are a suggestion of Lipsius.

(though strongly protected by the nature of the country, difficult of access, abounding in numbers, and of savage fierceness,) with more danger than loss on the side of the Romans, but with great bloodshed on that of the enemy.

Some time before this, the censorship of Plancus and Paulus was spent in quarrelling with each other, producing neither honour to themselves nor advantage to the public; for one of them wanted the requisite capacity, the other the requisite character, for a censor. Paulus could hardly fill the office; and Plancus ought to have shrunk from it; for he could not charge young men, or hear others charge them, with any crime of which he in his old age was not guilty.

XCVI. Soon after, the death of Agrippa, who had ennobled his original obscurity by many honours, and had advanced so far as to become father-in-law to Nero, whose sons the emperor Augustus, being his own grandsons, had adopted, prefixing the names Caius and Lucius to their own, brought Nero into closer connexion with Cæsar, for Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been the wife of Agrippa, married Nero. The war in Pannonia, which had commenced in the consulate of Agrippa and Marcus Vinicius your grandfather, and which, raging with great fury, threatened Italy with imminent danger, was then conducted by Nero. The Pannonian nations, the tribes of the Dalmatians, the situations of the countries and rivers, the numbers of their people and the extent of their strength, the numerous and most glorious victories gained in that war by this consummate general, we shall describe in another place. Let this work preserve its character. In consequence of this success Nero enjoyed the honour of an ovation.

XCVII. But while all things on this side of the empire were conducted with the greatest success, a severe loss was sustained by the troops in Germany, under the command of the lieutenant-general Marcus Lollius, a man who was always more anxious to get money than to discharge his duty, and, while he carefully concealed his vices, was extremely profligate. The loss of the eagle of the fifth legion called Cæsar from the city into Gaul. The change and management of the German war was then delegated to Claudius Drusus the brother of Nero, a youth of as many and as great virtues as human nature can cherish, or industry acquire; and of

whose genius it is doubtful whether it was better adapted for the arts of war or of peace. His sweet and engaging manners, his courteous and unassuming demeanour[1] towards his friends, are said to have been inimitable. The comeliness of his person approached very near to that of his brother. But, when he had conquered a great part of Germany, after shedding a profusion of the blood of the inhabitants in various parts, the cruelty of the fates snatched him from the world while he was consul, and in the thirtieth year of his age. The burden of the war then devolved on Nero, who executed it with his usual valour and success; and, carrying his victorious arms over every part of Germany, without any loss of the troops committed to his charge, (an object always of great solicitude with this commander,) he subdued it so effectually as to reduce it nearly to the state of a tributary province. Another triumph, and another consulship, were in consequence conferred upon him.

XCVIII. While the transactions which we have mentioned passed in Pannonia and Germany, the military exertions of Lucius Piso, whom we behold at present the mildest guardian of the city's safety, suppressed a furious war that broke out in Thrace, where all the tribes of the nation had arisen in arms. As lieutenant-general to Cæsar, he carried on the war against them for three years; and partly by engagements in the field, partly by taking their towns, with great destruction on their side, he reduced those ferocious people to submission on the former terms of peace; by which achievement he restored security to Asia, and peace to Macedonia. Of this man, every one must think and acknowledge that his character is a composition of vigour and gentleness, and that it is hard to find any person, either more fond of ease, more ready to undergo the fatigue of business, or more anxious to despatch what is required of him, without any display of activity.

XCIX. Not long after, Tiberius Nero, having now enjoyed two consulships, and as many triumphs, having been raised to an equality with Augustus in the partnership of the tribunitian power, having become the most eminent of all his countrymen excepting one, and being inferior to him

[1] XCVII. Unassuming demeanour] *Par sui æstimatio.* "Just estimation of himself."

only because he wished to be so; the greatest of commanders, the most distinguished in fame and fortune, the second luminary and head of the Commonwealth, requested (out of a surprising, incredible, and unspeakable effort of affection, the causes of which were afterwards discovered, as he considered that Caius Cæsar had already assumed the manly gown, and that Lucius was now grown up to manhood, and apprehended that his own splendour might obstruct the progress of the rising youths,) leave of absence from his father-in-law and stepfather, that he might rest from a continual course of labours, but without discovering the true reasons for such a resolution. An account of the sentiments of the people on this occasion, of the feelings of individuals, of the tears shed by every one on taking leave of this great man, and how near his country was to insisting on his stay, must be reserved for my history at large. But one thing must be mentioned even in this hasty narration; that he spent seven years at Rhodes in such a manner, that all proconsuls and legates going into the transmarine provinces waited on him there with compliments, lowering their fasces to him always even in his private character, (if such majesty was ever private,) and acknowledging his retirement more to be respected than their high employments.

C. The whole world was sensible that Nero had withdrawn from the guardianship of the city. Not only the Parthians, renouncing the alliance of Rome, laid their hands on Armenia; but Germany, when the eyes of its conqueror were turned away, rose up in rebellion. But in the city, in that same year, (thirty from the present time,) in which the emperor Augustus, being consul with Caninius Gallus, gratified the eyes and minds of the Roman people, on occasion of dedicating a Temple to Mars, with most magnificent spectacles of gladiators and a sea-fight, a calamity disgraceful to mention, and dreadful to call to mind, fell upon his own house. His daughter Julia, utterly regardless of the dignity of her father and husband, indulged in every excess which a woman can practice or allow at the instigation of luxury and libidinousness, measuring her licence to be vicious by the eminence of her station, and pronouncing everything lawful that gratified her desires. On this occasion Julius

Antonius[1], who from being a conspicuous example of Cæsar's mercy became a violator of his house, was himself the avenger of his own guilt. To this man, after the overthrow of his father, Cæsar had granted not only life, but a priest's office, a prætorship, a consulate, and the government of provinces, and had even admitted him to the closest affinity, by giving him in marriage the daughter of his own sister. And Quintius Crispinus, who covered exorbitant wickedness under a morose austerity of countenance, with Appius Claudius, Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio, and others of less note, of both orders, suffered only such punishment as they would have incurred for corrupting any ordinary person's wife; though they had defiled the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Nero. Julia was banished to the island [of Pandataria], and thus removed from the sight of her country and her parents; though, indeed, her mother Scribonia accompanied her, and remained a voluntary sharer in her exile.

CI. A short time had intervened, when Caius Cæsar, after making a progress through other provinces to inspect their condition, was sent to Syria, and made, on his way, a visit to Tiberius Nero, paying every mark of respect to him as to a superior; but, during his stay in the province, his conduct was so variable, that neither would abundant matter be wanting to him who would praise it, nor a sufficiency to him who would censure it. This noble youth had an interview with the king of the Parthians in an island of the Euphrates, each having an equal number of attendants. This grand and memorable spectacle, of the Roman army standing on one side, and the Parthian on the other, while the most illustrious heads of the greatest empires in the world held their meeting, I had the good fortune to behold, soon after my entrance into the army, being then a military tribune. This rank I attained, Marcus Vinicius, while serving under your father and Publius Silius in Thrace and Macedonia; and having since seen Achaia, Asia, all the provinces in the east, and the mouth and both shores of the Pontic sea, I now receive much pleasure from the recollection of so many events, places, nations, and cities. The Parthian was first

[1] C. Julius Antonius] Son of Mark Antony, by Fulvia.

entertained at a banquet by Caius, on our bank; then Caius by the king, on the bank opposite.

CII. On this occasion, some treacherous schemes, full of artifice and deceit, which had been formed by Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus had chosen director of the youth of his son, were revealed to Cæsar by the Parthian prince; and they were afterwards made public by common fame. Whether Lollius's death, which followed in a few days, was fortuitous or voluntary, I have not discovered; but the joy, which people felt at his decease, was counterbalanced by their grief for the loss of Censorinus, who died soon after in the same province, a man formed by nature to captivate the affections of mankind. Caius then marched into Armenia, and, at the beginning, conducted everything well; but afterwards, in a conference near Artigera, where he had rashly exposed himself, being severely wounded by a man named Adduus, he became, in consequence, less active in body, and mentally less capable of benefiting the public. He had about him, also, a crowd of courtiers, who encouraged his vices by adulation; for flattery is always an attendant on high station, and, by this means, he was so far perverted, that he wished to spend his life in the most retired and distant corner of the globe, rather than return to Rome. However, after many struggles he consented, and having reluctantly set out for Italy, he fell sick and died at a town in Lycia, which they call Limyra. His brother, Lucius Cæsar, had died a year before at Marseilles, as he was going to Spain.

CIII. But Fortune, though she had frustrated the hopes entertained of those illustrious names, had already restored to the republic its own peculiar safeguard. For before the death of either, Tiberius Nero coming home from Rhodes, in the consulate of Publius Vinicius, your father, had filled his country with incredible joy. Augustus Cæsar did not long hesitate as to his adoption; not having to seek one whom he might elect, but to elect him who was most worthy. What he had purposed, therefore, after the death of Lucius, while Caius was yet alive, but had been diverted from doing by the earnest opposition of Nero, he, on the decease of the two young men, determined to execute; and accordingly constituted Nero his partner in the tribunician power, though the latter used many arguments against the measure,

both at home and in the senate; and moreover, in the consulship of Ælius Catus and Sentius, seven hundred and fifty-seven years after the building of the city, twenty-seven from the present time, and on the twenty-seventh of June, he adopted him as his son. The joy of that day, the concourse of all ranks of men, the prayers offered by people stretching their hands, as it were, up to heaven itself, and the hopes then conceived of perpetual security, and of the eternal duration of the Roman empire, we shall scarcely be able to represent fully in our large work, much less can we attempt to do justice to them here. I must be content with observing that he was all in all to every one[1]. Then shone forth to parents a certain hope of security for their children, to husbands of provision for their wives, to landowners of retaining their patrimony, and to all men, of safety, quiet, peace, and tranquillity; so that nothing further could be hoped, nor could hope have a happier prospect of fulfilment.

CIV. On the same day he adopted Marcus Agrippa, of whom Julia was delivered after Agrippa's death. But in the adoption of Nero an addition was made to the formula in these very words of Cæsar: "This I do for the good of the Commonwealth." His country did not long detain in the city the champion and guardian of its empire, but speedily sent him into Germany, where a most violent war had broken out three years before, when Marcus Vinicius, your grandfather, a man of the highest reputation, was governor there, who had engaged the enemy in some places, and in others had made an honourable defence; for which merits triumphal ornaments were decreed him, with a noble inscription reciting his performances. This year made me a soldier in the camp of Tiberius Cæsar, having previously held the office of tribune. For shortly after his adoption, being sent with him into Germany in the post of præfect of cavalry, succeeding my father in that office, I was, for nine successive years, either as præfect, or lieutenant-general, a spectator, and, as far as the mediocrity of my ability allowed, an assistant in his glorious achievements. Nor do I think that any human

[1] CIII. That he was all in all to every one] *Quàm in illo* [*omnia*] *omnibus fuerint.* "How much all things were in him for all." The *omnia* is an insertion of Krause's, borrowed by him from Lipsius's conjecture, *quàm ille omnia omnibus fuerit.*

being can have an opportunity of enjoying another spectacle like that which I enjoyed, when, throughout the most populous part of Italy, and the whole length of the Gallic provinces, the people, on seeing again their former commander, who in merit and power was Cæsar, before he was so in name, congratulated themselves even more warmly than they congratulated him. At the very sight of him, tears of joy sprung from the eyes of the soldiers, and there appeared in their salutations an unusual degree of spirit, a kind of exultation, and an eager wish to touch his hand. Nor could they restrain themselves from adding, "General, we see you, we once more receive you in safety;" and again, "General, I was with you in Armenia," "I in Rhætia," "I was rewarded by you in Vindelicia," "I in Pannonia," "I in Germany;" all this cannot be described in words, and perhaps will scarcely gain belief.

CV. Germany was entered without delay; the Caninefates, the Attuarii, the Bructeri, were subdued; the Cherusci were again received into submission; the river Visurgis, afterwards rendered remarkable by a disaster of our troops, was crossed; the parts beyond it were penetrated; while Cæsar assumed to himself all the most laborious and dangerous parts of the war, employing, in those which were attended with less hazard, the services of Sentius Saturninus, who was then his father's deputy in Germany; a man of manifold virtues, diligent, active, provident, able to sustain military duties, as well as eminently skilled in them; but who, when business gave place to leisure, wasted his time in expensive indulgences, yet in such a manner, that he might rather be called splendid and gay, than luxurious or indolent. Of his meritorious and celebrated consulship we have already spoken. The campaign of that year was protracted to the month of December, and rewarded our exertions with abundant success. His filial affection drew Cæsar to Rome, though the Alps were rendered almost impassable by the winter; but in the beginning of spring the necessity of protecting the empire recalled him to Germany, in the heart of which country, at the source of the river Lupia[1], the general at his departure had fixed his winter quarters.

[1] CV. Lupia] Now called *Lippe;* a river of Westphalia, rising in the bishopric of Paderborn, and running into the Rhine near Wesel.

CVI. Good gods! For how large a volume did we achieve sufficient exploits in the following summer, under the command of Tiberius Cæsar! The whole extent of Germany was traversed by our army; nations were conquered that were almost unknown to us even in name. The tribes of the Cauchians were reduced to submission; all their youth, infinite in number, gigantic in size, strongly guarded by the nature of the country, delivered up their weapons, and, with their leaders, surrounded by troops of our soldiers glittering in arms, prostrated themselves before the general's tribunal. The Longobardi, a nation exceeding even the Germans in fierceness, were crushed. In fine, what had never before been hoped, much less attempted, the Roman army carried its standards to the distance of four hundred miles from the Rhine, as far as the Elbe, which flows along the borders of the Semnones and Hermunduri; and, by singular good fortune, the care of the general, and a proper attention to the seasons, a fleet which had sailed round the bays of the Ocean, came from a sea, previously unheard of and unknown, up the Elbe to the same place, and, crowned with victory over many nations, and supplied with a vast abundance of all things, joined Cæsar and his army.

CVII. I cannot forbear inserting the following incident, whatever may be thought of it, among affairs of so much greater magnitude. While we were encamped on the hither bank of the last-mentioned river, and while the farther bank glittered with the armour of the enemy's troops, who, be it observed, always drew back at the least movement of our ships, one of the barbarians, far advanced in years, of extraordinary stature, and, as his dress indicated, of the highest dignity, embarked in a canoe formed of a tree hollowed out, such as is common among those nations; and, managing this vessel alone, he advanced as far as the middle of the stream, requesting to be allowed, without danger to himself, to land on the bank which we occupied with our army, and to see Cæsar. This request was granted. Having then brought his canoe to the shore, and contemplated Cæsar a long time in silence, he said, "Our young men are certainly mad; they worship your divinity in your absence; yet, in your presence, choose rather to dread your arms, than to trust your faith. For my part, Cæsar, I have this day, by your per-

mission and favour, seen the gods, of whom I had before only heard, and I never in my life either wished for, or experienced, a day of greater happiness." Then, having obtained leave to touch his hand, he re-embarked in his little vessel, and continually looking back at Cæsar, sailed away to the bank occupied by his countrymen. Victorious over every nation and place that he had approached, Cæsar, with his army safe and unimpaired, for it had been only once attacked, and then by a stratagem on the part of the enemy, and with great loss to themselves, led back his legions to winter quarters, and returned to Rome with as much haste as he had used in the preceding year.

CVIII. Nothing now remained to be conquered in Germany, except the nation of the Marcomanni, who, under the command of Maroboduus, had forsaken their original abode, and having retired into the interior parts of the country now dwelt in plains surrounded by the Hercynian forest. No haste could be an excuse for passing this chieftain without notice. Maroboduus was of distinguished birth, of great bodily strength, of a bold, daring spirit, and though a barbarian by birth, was no barbarian in understanding. He held a sovereignty over his nation, not gained by party struggles or by chance, nor variable at the will of his subjects, but steady and firmly established; and animated by a kingly spirit, he determined to lead away his people far from the Romans, and to proceed to some place, where, being beyond the reach of more powerful arms, he might render his own supreme.

CIX. Accordingly, having taken possession of the country above mentioned, he brought all the neighbouring tribes under his dominion, either by force, or on terms of agreement. He had a guard for the protection of his person; and his army being brought, by continual practice, to a close resemblance to the discipline of the Romans, he advanced his power to such a height as to become formidable even to our empire. Towards the Romans he so conducted himself, that, though he did not attack us, he plainly showed, that if he should be attacked, he had abundance of strength and inclination to make resistance. The ambassadors, whom he sent to the Cæsars, sometimes presented his respects, as if he were their humble suppliant, and sometimes spoke for

him as their equal. For nations and individuals revolting from us, there was with him a safe refuge; and he acted the part, wholly or with but little dissimulation, of a rival. His army, which he had raised to seventy thousand foot, and four thousand horse, he prepared, by constant exercise in warfare against his neighbours, for more important business than he had then in hand. He was formidable likewise on this account, that having Germany on his left and front, Pannonia on the right, and Noricum at the back of his territory, he was dreaded by them all, as being always ready to attack them. Nor did he allow Italy to be unconcerned at the growth of his power; for the frontier of his dominions was distant little more than two hundred miles from the summit of the Alps, which form the boundary of Italy. This man and his country, Tiberius Cæsar resolved to attack in the following year, on different sides. Sentius Saturninus was accordingly directed, after cutting a passage through the Hercynian forest, to march his legions through the Catti to Boiohœmum, (so the country of Maroboduus is called,) and Cæsar himself proceeded to lead the army, which was then serving in Illyricum against the Marcomanni, by the way of Carnuntum, the nearest place in the kingdom of Noricum on that side.

CX. Fortune sometimes frustrates, sometimes retards, the purposes of men. Cæsar had already prepared winter quarters on the Danube, had brought his army within five days' march of the enemy's frontier, and had ordered Saturninus to bring up his forces, (which were at nearly an equal distance from the enemy, and were ready to form a junction with Cæsar in a few days, at the place already mentioned[1],) when the whole of Pannonia, which had become impatient of control from long enjoyment of peace, and Dalmatia, now grown up to full strength, having drawn into a confederacy all the nations of that region, took up arms in concert. The commands of necessity were consequently preferred to the call of glory; for it was not thought safe to keep the army at such a distance in the interior country, and leave Italy open to an enemy so near it. Of the states and nations which rose in insurrection, the number of men amounted to

[1] CX. At the place already mentioned] *In prædicto loco.* Apparently Carnuntum, c. 109, *fin.*

more than eight hundred thousand; two hundred thousand foot were assembled, well appointed with arms, and nine thousand horse. Of this immense multitude, commanded by very active and able leaders, one part was intended to march against Italy, which joins their country at the confines of Nauportum and Tergeste; another part had already made an irruption into Macedonia, and a third was appointed to guard their own countries. The chief command was vested in three leaders, the two Batones and Pinnes. With regard to the Pannonians, they had all some knowledge, not only of the discipline, but also of the language of the Romans; and most of them understood something of letters, and were no strangers to exercises of the mind. No other nation ever entered on war so soon after resolving on it, or so speedily put its determinations in execution. Roman citizens were murdered, traders slain, and, in that quarter of the country most remote from the general, a vast number of soldiers[1] cut off. All Macedonia was reduced by their arms, and everything in every part wasted with fire and sword. So powerful, indeed, were the apprehensions excited by this war, that they shook and alarmed even the steady mind of Augustus Cæsar, strengthened as it was by experience in wars of such magnitude.

CXI. Troops were accordingly levied; all the veterans were everywhere called out; and not only men, but women, were compelled to furnish freedmen for soldiers, in proportion to their income. The prince was heard to say in the senate, that, unless they were on their guard, the enemy might in ten days come within sight of the city of Rome. The services of Roman senators and knights were required, according to their promises, in support of the war. But all these preparations we should have made in vain, had there been no one to direct. The Commonwealth, therefore, requested of Augustus to give the command in that war to Tiberius, as their best defender.

In this war, likewise, my humble ability found a post of honourable employment. After completing my service in

[1] A vast number of soldiers] *Magnus numerus vexillariorum.* What the *vexillarii* were, is not quite certain. Ernesti, in his Excursus on the subject, subjoined to Tacitus's History, thinks that they were *tirones*, and the same as the *hastati*.

the cavalry, and being appointed quæstor, and, though not yet a senator, set on an equal footing with senators, and with the tribunes of the people elect[1], I led from the city a detachment of the army, intrusted to me by Augustus, to join his son. Then, in my quæstorship[2], having given up my chance of a province, I was sent by Augustus as his legate to his son; and what prodigious armies of the enemy did we behold[3] in that first year! What opportunities did we improve, through the wisdom of our leader, so as to exhaust the fury of their whole force by dividing it! With what attention[4] to the convenience of the men did we see business managed, under the orders of the commander! With what wisdom were the winter quarters regulated! How laboriously was the enemy surrounded with guards of our troops, so that they might not make their way out, but, destitute of provisions, and raging in their confinement, might waste their spirit and their strength!

CXII. An exploit of Messalinus, in the first campaign of this war, happy in the issue, as well as resolute in the effort, deserves to be recorded. This man, more noble in spirit than even in birth, most worthy of having Corvinus for his father, and of leaving his surname to his brother Cotta, being appointed to command in Illyricum, and, in a sudden insurrection, being surrounded by an army of the enemy, and having with him only the twentieth legion, which had then but half its complement of men, routed and put to flight a force of twenty thousand; an achievement for which he was honoured with triumphal decorations.

So little confidence had the barbarians in their numbers, and so little reliance on their strength, that wherever Cæsar

[1] CXI. With the tribunes of the people elect] *Designatis tribunis plebis.* According to Lipsius, the tribunes of the people were at this period chosen only from the senators. If so, some particular favour was shown to Velleius on this occasion, allowing him, though not yet a senator, to stand on an equality with the tribunes.

[2] In my quæstorship, *&c.*] After taking the detachment of the army into Germany, says Krause, Velleius seems to have returned to Rome to enter upon his quæstorship; and then, during the time that he held that office, to have been again despatched to Germany by Augustus in the quality of legate, without waiting to take a province at the expiration of his quæstorship.

[3] Did we behold] *Vidimus.* Krause's text has *fudimus*, a conjecture of Heinsius. Burman holds to *vidimus*, as savouring less of boastfulness.

[4] With what attention, *&c.*] The text is here mutilated and obscure.

appeared they could not be sure of making any effectual effort against him. The division of their army opposed to him, being cut off from provisions at our pleasure or convenience, and reduced to mortal famine, and neither daring to withstand us when we assailed them, nor to engage with us when we offered battle and drew up in line before them, took post at last on mount Claudius, and protected themselves with a fortification. But another division, which had poured out to meet an army brought from the transmarine provinces by Aulus Cæcina and Plautius Silvanus, both of whom had been consuls, surrounding five of our legions, with the auxiliary troops and royal cavalry, (for Rhæmetalces, king of Thrace, had joined these two generals, bringing a large body of Thracians to assist in the war,) gave them such a blow as had nearly proved fatal to them all. The king's cavalry was routed; the horse of the allies put to flight; the cohorts were forced to retreat; and even at the standards of the legions[1] some confusion took place. But the courage of the Roman soldiers, on that occasion, gained them more honour than they left to their officers, who, widely differing from the practice of the commander-in-chief, found themselves in the midst of the enemy, before they had ascertained from their scouts in which direction they lay. In this perilous emergency, (when some of the military tribunes were slain, with one prefect of the camp, and some prefects of the cohorts, the centurions, also, not having escaped, for some of the first rank were killed,) the legions, encouraging one another, made a charge upon the enemy, and, not content with standing their ground against them, broke their line, and gained an unexpected victory.

About this time, Agrippa[2], who had been adopted by his natural grandfather, on the same day with Tiberius, and had in the two last years begun to discover his real character, plunging into profligacy with extraordinary depravity of mind and feeling, alienated from himself the affection of his father by adoption, who was also his grandfather[3]; and soon

[1] CXII. At the standards of the legions] *Apud signa—legionum.* Krause takes *signa* for *interior acies.* Is *apud signa* the same as *apud vexillarios*, in Ernesti's sense of *vexillarii?* See note on c. 110.

[2] Agrippa] See c. 104, *init.*

[3] Also his grandfather] An inadvertent repetition; "natural grandfather" occurring above.

after, sinking every day deeper into vice, he met an end suitable to the madness of his conduct.

CXIII. You may now, Marcus Vinicius, conceive Cæsar as great in the character of a leader in war, as you see him in that of a prince in peace. When he had united his forces, those under his immediate command, and those who had joined him as auxiliaries, and had brought into one camp, ten legions, more than seventy auxiliary cohorts, fourteen squadrons of horse, more than ten thousand veterans, a great number of volunteers, and the numerous cavalry of the king, (in short, so great an army, as had never been seen in one place since the civil wars,) every one was rejoiced at the sight, feeling the utmost confidence of success from their numbers. But the general, the best judge of his own proceedings, preferring the advantageous to the showy, and, as I always saw him act in every war, pursuing what was eligible in itself, not what was generally recommended, having allowed the army that had joined him to rest a few days, to recruit the strength of the men after their march, and having decided that it rendered his force too large to be kept in order, and too unwieldly to be properly managed, he resolved to send it away; and, after accompanying it through a long and most fatiguing march, the difficulty of which can hardly be described, (in order that as none would venture to attack the whole, so the whole, each nation from apprehension for its own territories, might abstain from attacking either of the parties on their separation,) he sent it back to the parts from which it came, and returning himself to Siscia[1], in the beginning of a very severe winter, appointed lieutenant-generals, of whom I was one, to command the several divisions in winter quarters.

CXIV. His conduct was truly amazing, not ostentatious, but distinguished by real and solid virtue and usefulness, most delightful to experience, most exemplary in its humanity. During the whole time of the German and Pannonian wars, not one of us, or of those who preceded or followed our steps, was at any time sick, but his recovery and health were promoted by Cæsar with as much care, as if his thoughts, which were obliged to attend to such an infinite variety of

[1] CXIII. *Siscia*] In Pannonia, now Sisseck, at the confluence of the Save and Colapis.

laborious business, had no employment but this alone. There was a carriage kept always in readiness for such as wanted it, and a litter for general use, of which I, as well as others, experienced the benefit. Physicians, too, proper kinds of food, and the warm bath, introduced for that sole purpose, contributed to the health of all. Houses and domestics, indeed, were wanting, but no accommodation that could either be afforded or desired in them. To this I shall add what every one, who was present on the occasions, will readily acknowledge to be true, as well as the other circumstances that I have mentioned. The general alone always travelled on horseback[1]; he alone, with those whom he invited during the greater part of the summer campaigns, sat at meals[2]. To such as forbore to follow this strict mode of living, he was very indulgent, provided they did no harm by their example; he frequently admonished and reproved, very rarely punished; acting a middle part, dissembling his knowledge of most faults, and preventing the commission of others. The winter contributed much to bring the war to a conclusion. In the following summer, all Pannonia begged for peace; so that the remains of war were confined to Dalmatia. So many thousands of brave men who had lately threatened Italy with slavery, surrendering their arms, (which they had employed at a river called Bathinus[3]), and prostrating themselves at the knees of Cæsar, together with Bato and Pines, leaders of high reputation, one captive, the other submitting, formed a scene which I hope to describe at large in my regular history. In autumn, the victorious army was led back into winter quarters; and the command in chief of all the troops was given by Cæsar to Marcus Lepidus, a man in fame and fortune nearest to the Cæsars; and every one, the longer and better he knows and becomes acquainted with him, the more he loves and admires him, and acknowledges him to be a credit to the great names from which he is descended.

CXV. Cæsar now turned his thoughts and arms to the

[1] CXIV. On horseback] "Not in any carriage, or *lectica*." Ruhnken.

[2] Sat at meals] *Cœnavit sedens.* Not reclining on a couch.

[3] Bathinus] As this name for a river occurs in no other writer, Krause suggests that we should read Bacuntius, now Bosset, a river running into the Save.

remaining part of the war in Dalmatia; in which country, how useful an assistant and lieutenant-general he found in my brother, Magius Celer Velleianus, is testified by his own and his father's declaration; and the record of the high honours conferred on him by Cæsar at his triumph, confirms it. In the beginning of the summer, Lepidus, having drawn out the army from winter quarters, and making his way to join his general Tiberius, through nations unimpaired in strength, still free from the calamities of war, and, in consequence, daring and ferocious, he succeeded, after struggling with the difficulty of the passes, and the force of the enemy, and making great havoc of those who opposed him, cutting down their corn, burning their houses, and slaughtering their men, in reaching the quarters of Cæsar, before whom he appeared exulting with victory and laden with spoil. In reward for these services, which, if performed on his own account, would have entitled him to a triumph, he was honoured with triumphal decorations; the will of the senate concurring with the judgment of the princes. That summer brought this important war to a conclusion, for the Perustæ and Desitiates of Dalmatia, notwithstanding that they were almost impregnably secured by their mountainous countries, by the fierceness of their temper, by their surprising military skill, and more especially by the narrow passes of their forests, were at length, after being brought to the utmost extremities, reduced to quiet, not by the orders, but by the arms and personal exertions, of Cæsar himself. In all this great war in Germany, I could observe nothing more noble, nothing more deserving of admiration, than that the general never thought any opportunity of success so attractive as to justify a squandering of the lives of his soldiers; he ever judged the safest means the most honourable, and preferred the approbation of his conscience to the acquisition of fame; nor were the counsels of the general ever swayed by the feelings of the army, but the army was always guided by the wisdom of the general.

CXVI. In the Dalmatian war, Germanicus, being sent forward into various places of difficulty and danger, exhibited great proofs of courage; and Vibius Postumus, who had been consul, and was governor of Dalmatia, obtained, by his activity and diligence in the service, the distinction of triumphal decora-

tions; which honour, a few years before, Passienus and Cossus, men celebrated for certain virtues of opposite kinds, had attained in Africa. But Cossus converted this testimony of his success into a surname for his son[1], a youth formed by nature as a pattern of every virtue. Lucius Apronius, who shared in the actions of Postumus, merited, by his excellent conduct in that service, those honours which he afterwards obtained. I wish that it were not proved by more remarkable instances how much Fortune rules in everything; but in cases of this kind her power may be abundantly recognised; for Ælius Lamia, a man of primitive manners, who always tempered with humanity the severity of old times, failed, after discharging the most honourable employments in Germany, Illyricum, and Africa, not of deserving, but of an opportunity of obtaining triumphal honours. Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus, too, son of Publius Silius, a man whom not even those who knew him could sufficiently admire, was prematurely snatched away by fate, (all the hopes of an excellent citizen and most upright commander being cut off,) and prevented from enjoying the fruit of the prince's distinguished friendship, and from attaining a height of exultation as lofty as that of his father. If any one shall say that I looked for a place for mentioning these men, he will but charge me with what I readily admit; for candidly to do justice, without exceeding the truth, is no subject of accusation in the eyes of the right-minded.

CXVII. Cæsar had but just concluded the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia, when, within five days after the final termination of it, mournful news [arrived[2]] from Germany; that Varus was killed, three legions cut to pieces, as many troops of cavalry, and six cohorts; the only favour allowed to us by Fortune being, that [this calamity did not happen] while the commander-in-chief was still engaged [in the Dalmatic war, when the rebellious Germans might have formed a junction with the enemy in that country.] But the occasion, and the character of the leader, demand some attention. Quintilius Varus was born of a noble rather than illustrious family, was of a mild disposition, of sedate man-

[1] CXVI. A surname for his son] He left to his son the surname *Cætulicus*.

[2] CXVII. Arrived] The verb is wanting in the original, as well as the words inclosed in brackets below, which are suggested by Vossius.

ners, and, being somewhat indolent as well in body as in mind, was more accustomed to ease in a camp than to action in the field. How far he was from despising money, Syria, of which he had been governor, afforded proof; for, going a poor man into that rich province, he became a rich man, and left it a poor province. Being appointed commander of the army in Germany, he imagined that the inhabitants had nothing human but the voice[1] and limbs, and that men who could not be tamed by the sword, might be civilised by law. With this notion, having marched into the heart of Germany, as if among people who delighted in the sweets of peace, he spent the summer in deciding controversies, and ordering the pleadings before a tribunal.

CXVIII. But those people, though a person unacquainted with them would hardly believe it, are, while extremely savage, exquisitely artful, a race, indeed, formed by nature for deceit; and, accordingly, by introducing fictitious disputes one after another, by sometimes prosecuting each other for pretended injuries, and then returning thanks for the decision of these suits by Roman equity, for the civilisation of their barbarous state by this new system, and for the termination by law of disputes which used to be determined by arms, they at length lulled Quintilius into such a perfect feeling of security, that he fancied himself a city prætor dispensing justice in the forum, instead of the commander of an army in the middle of Germany. It was at this time that a youth of illustrious birth, the son of Segimer, prince of that nation, named Arminius, brave in action, quick in apprehension, and of activity of mind far beyond the state of barbarism, showing in his eyes and countenance the ardour of his feelings, (a youth who had constantly accompanied our army in the former war, and had obtained the privileges of a Roman citizen, and the rank of a knight,) took advantage of the general's indolence to perpetrate an act of atrocity, not unwisely judging that no man is more easily cut off than he who feels no fear, and that security is very frequently the commencement of calamity. He communicated his thoughts at first to a few, and afterwards to more, stating to them, and assuring them, that the Romans might be cut off by sur-

[1] Nothing human but the voice, *&c.*] "He thought them mere brutes, and therefore undertook their transformation into men." *Krause.*

prise; he then proceeded to add action to resolution, and fixed a time for carrying a plot into effect. Notice of his intention was given to Varus by Segestes, a man of that nation, worthy of credit, and of high rank; but fate was not to be opposed by warnings, and had already darkened the mental vision of the Roman general. Such, indeed, is the nature of things, that, in general, when the gods[1] design to reverse a man's good fortune, they perplex his thoughts, and, what is most distressing, make it appear that his sufferings happen to him through his own fault, so that accident is laid to the account of guilt. Varus refused to credit the information, asserting that he felt a trust in the good-will of the people, proportioned to his kindness towards them. However, after this first premonition, there was no time left for a second.

CXIX. The circumstances of this most dreadful calamity, than which none more grievous ever befel the Romans in a foreign country, since the destruction of Crassus in Parthia, I will endeavour to relate in my larger history, as has been done by others. At present we can only lament the whole. An army unrivalled in bravery, the flower of the Roman troops in discipline, vigour, and experience in war, was brought, through the supineness of its leader, the perfidy of the enemy, and the cruelty of Fortune, into a situation utterly desperate, (in which not even an opportunity was allowed the men of extricating themselves by fighting, as they wished, some being even severely punished by the general, for using Roman arms with Roman spirit,) and, hemmed in by woods, lakes, and bodies of the enemy in ambush, was entirely cut off by those foes whom they had ever before slaughtered like cattle, and of whose life and death the mercy or severity of the Romans had always been the arbitrator. The leader showed some spirit in dying, though none in fighting; for, imitating the example of his father and grandfather, he ran himself through with his sword. Of two prefects of the camp, Lucius Eggius gave as honourable an example of valour as Ceionius gave of baseness; for, after the sword had destroyed the greater part of the army, Ceionius advised a surrender, choosing to die by the hand of an executioner

[1] CXVIII. When the gods, &c.] A repetition of the sentiment at the end of c. 57.

rather than in battle. Numonius Vala, a lieutenant-general under Varus, who in other cases conducted himself as a modest and well-meaning man, was, on this occasion, guilty of abominable treachery; for, leaving the infantry uncovered by the cavalry, he fled with the horse of the allies, and attempted to reach the Rhine. But Fortune took vengeance on his misdeed; for he did not survive his deserted countrymen, but perished in the act of desertion. The savage enemy mangled the half-burnt body of Varus; his head was cut off, and brought to Maroboduus, and being sent by him to Cæsar, was at length honoured with burial in the sepulchre of his family.

CXX. On receiving this intelligence, Cæsar hurried home to his father; and the constant patron of the Roman empire undertook its cause as usual. He was despatched to Germany, he secured the peace of Gaul, arranged the troops, fortified garrisons, and estimating himself by his own greatness, not by the confidence of the enemy who threatened Italy with an invasion like that of the Cimbri and Teutones, crossed the Rhine with his army. He thus made war upon a nation whom his father and his country would have been satisfied with keeping at a distance; he penetrated into the interior, opened roads, wasted the lands, burned the houses, overthrew all opposition, and then, with abundance of glory, and without losing a man of those who crossed the river, returned to winter quarters. Let due credit be given to Lucius Asprenas, who, serving as lieutenant-general under his uncle Varus, saved, by his manly and active exertions, a body of two legions which he commanded, from sharing in that dreadful calamity; and by going down speedily to the lower winter quarters, confirmed the allegiance of the nations on the hither side of the Rhine, which had now begun to waver. But some people, while they allow that he saved the living, are still of opinion, that he dishonestly possessed himself of the property of those slain with Varus, and, as far as he pleased, made himself the heir of the slaughtered army. The bravery of a prefect of the camp, too, named Lucius Cæditius, and of a party with him who were surrounded by a vast multitude of Germans at Alison, is much to be praised; for, by forming their plans with judgment, using vigilant foresight, and watching their opportunity, they sur-

mounted difficulties which want rendered insupportable, and the force of the enemy almost insuperable, and opened for themselves with the sword a passage to their friends. Hence it is evident, that Varus, in other cases certainly a man of character and of good intentions, lost himself, and that noble army, rather through want of conduct in the commander, than through deficiency of courage in the soldiery. While the Germans were venting their rage on the prisoners, an act deserving of renown was performed by Cælius Caldus, a youth who did credit to his ancient family; he took hold of a part of the chains with which he was bound, and dashed it against his head with such force, that his blood and brains gushed out together, and he immediately expired.

CXXI. The same courage and good fortune which had animated Tiberius at the beginning of his command, still continued to attend him. After he had broken down the force of the enemy in various expeditions by land and sea, and had settled important affairs in Gaul, and composed, by coercion more than by punishment, the most violent commotions of the populace at Vienne; and after the senate and people of Rome, on a request being made by his father, that he might be invested with authority equal to his own in all the provinces and armies, had passed a decree to that effect, (for it would indeed have been unreasonable, if what he had secured should not be under his command, and if he, who was the first to bring succour, should not be thought entitled to a share of honour,) he returned to Rome, and celebrated his triumph over Pannonia and Dalmatia, which had been long due to him, but had been deferred on account of the continuance of the wars. His triumph was magnificent, but who can be surprised at magnificence in a Cæsar? Who, however, will not admire the kindness of Fortune in this, that fame did not tell us, as was usual, that all the greatest leaders of the enemy were slain, but that the triumph displayed them to us in chains? On this occasion my brother and I had the happiness of accompanying him, among the most eminent personages, and those honoured with the principal distinctions.

CXXII. Among other instances in which the singular moderation of Tiberius Cæsar shines forth conspicuously, this claims our admiration, that although, beyond all doubt,

he merited seven triumphs, he was yet satisfied with three. For who can doubt that, for reducing Armenia, fixing a king on its throne, (on whose head he placed the diadem with his own hand,) and for regulating the affairs of the east, he ought to have enjoyed a triumph? Or that, for his victories over the Rhæti and Vindelici, he deserved to enter the city in a triumphal car? And when, after his adoption, he exhausted the strength of Germany in three years of continued war, the same honour ought to have been offered him, and accepted by him. Again, after the disaster of the army of Varus, the rapid subjugation of the same Germany ought to have furnished a triumph for the same consummate general. But with respect to him you can hardly determine whether you should admire more his extraordinary exertions amid toil and danger, or his moderation with regard to honours.

CXXIII. We have now arrived at a period in which very great apprehension prevailed. For Augustus Cæsar, having sent his grandson Germanicus to finish the remainder of the war in Germany, and intending to send his son Tiberius into Illyricum, to settle in peace what he had subdued in war, proceeded with the latter into Campania, with the design of escorting him, and at the same time to be present at the exhibition of athletic sports, which the Neapolitans had resolved to give in honour of him. Although he had before this felt symptoms of debility and declining health, yet, as the vigour of his mind withstood them, he accompanied his son, and, parting from him at Beneventum, proceeded to Nola; where, finding that his health grew worse every day, and well knowing whose presence was requisite to the accomplishment of his wish to leave all things in safety after him, he hastily recalled his son, who hurried back to the father of his country, and arrived earlier than was expected. Augustus then declared that his mind was at ease; and being folded in the embrace of Tiberius, to whom he recommended the accomplishment of his father's views and his own, he resigned himself to die whenever the fates should ordain. He was in some degree revived by the sight and conversation of the person most dear to him; but the destinies soon overpowering every effort for his recovery, and his body resolving itself into its first principles, he restored to heaven his celestial

spirit, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the consulate of Pompey and Apuleius.

CXXIV. The universal apprehensions excited by this event; the alarm of the senate, the consternation of the people, the fears of the world, and the narrow line between safety and destruction on which we stood on that occasion, I have neither leisure to describe in this hasty narrative, nor can he, who has leisure, describe satisfactorily. One thing I can join with the voice of the public in declaring, that whereas we had dreaded the total ruin of the world, we did not perceive that it felt the slightest shock; and so powerful was the majesty of one man, that there was no occasion for arms, either to protect the good, or restrain the bad. Yet there was one struggle, as it may be called, in the state, between the senate and people of Rome on one side, insisting on Cæsar's assuming his father's station, and himself on the other, desiring leave to stand on a level with his countrymen, instead of acting in the exalted character of a prince. At length he was overcome by reason, not by the attractions of honour; because he saw that whatever he did not take under his care would be lost. His case was singular in this, that he refused the sovereignty almost as long as others fought to obtain it. After he had seen his father restored to heaven, and had paid respect to his body with human, and to his name with Divine honours, the first act of his administration was the regulation of the elections, on a plan left by the deified Augustus in his own handwriting. At this time, my brother and I had the honour, as Cæsar's candidates[1], of being elected prætors, in the places next to men of the highest rank, and the priests; and we were remarkable in being the last recommended by Augustus, and the first by Tiberius Cæsar.

CXXV. The Commonwealth quickly reaped the fruit of its determination and its wish; and we soon learned what we must have suffered if that wish had not been complied with, and how greatly we had gained by its being fulfilled. For the army which was serving in Germany under the command of Germanicus, and the legions which were in Illyricum, being both seized at the same time with a kind of outrageous fury, and a violent passion for spreading universal disorder,

[1] CXXIV. Cæsar's candidates] *Candidatis Cæsaris.* That is, brought forward and recommended by Cæsar. See Suet. Aug., c. 56; Quintil., vi., 3.

demanded a new leader, a new constitution, a new republic; they even had the confidence to threaten that they would give laws to the senate, and to the prince; and they attempted to fix the amount of their pay, and the period of their service. They proceeded even to use their arms; the sword was drawn; and the impunity which was allowed them broke forth almost into the extremity of violence. They wanted, indeed, a head, to lead them against their country, but there were numbers ready to follow. However, the mature wisdom of the veteran emperor, who, refusing most of their demands, promised some indulgences without lowering his dignity, soon allayed and suppressed all these outrageous proceedings; severe vengeance being inflicted on the authors of the mutiny, and milder punishment on the rest. On this occasion, as Germanicus exerted his usual activity, so Drusus, who was sent by his father expressly to extinguish the flame of this military tumult, blazing, as it was, with enormous fury, enforced the ancient and primitive discipline, and by strong measures, though not without danger to himself[1], put a stop to those excesses, so pernicious both in the act and in the example; and reduced to obedience the soldiers that pressed around him, by the aid of the very swords with which he was beset. In these efforts he found an excellent assistant in Junius Blæsus, a man of whom it is difficult to decide whether his services were greater in the camp or in the city. A few years after, being proconsul in Africa, he gained triumphal decorations, and the title of *imperator*. And being entrusted with the presidency of Spain, and the command of the army there, he was able, by his excellent abilities, and with the reputation which he had gained in the war in Illyricum, to keep the province in perfect peace and tranquillity; for while his fidelity to the emperor led him to adopt the most salutary measures, he had likewise ample authority to carry into execution what he planned. His care and fidelity were closely copied by Dolabella, a man of the noblest simplicity of character, when he commanded on the coast of Illyricum.

CXXVI. Of the transactions of the last sixteen years, which have passed in the view, and are fresh in the memory

[1] CXXV. Not without danger to himself] *Ancipitia sibi.* These words are in some way corrupt; and the sentence is otherwise defective.

of all, who shall presume to give a full account? Cæsar deified his parent, not by arbitrary authority, but by paying religious respect to his character. He did not call him a divinity, but made him one. In that time, credit has been restored to mercantile affairs, sedition has been banished from the forum, corruption from the Campus Martius, and discord from the senate-house; justice, equity, and industry, which had long lain buried in neglect, have been revived in the state; authority has been given to the magistrates, majesty to the senate, and solemnity to the courts of justice; the dissensions in the theatre[1] have been suppressed, and all men have had either a desire excited in them, or a necessity imposed on them, of acting with integrity. Virtuous acts are honoured, wicked deeds are punished. The humble respects the powerful, without dreading him; the powerful takes precedence of the humble without contemning him. When were provisions more moderate in price? When were the blessings of peace more abundant? Augustan peace, diffused over all the regions of the east and the west, and all that lies between the south and north, preserves every corner of the world free from all dread of predatory molestation. Fortuitous losses, not only of individuals, but of cities, the munificence of the prince is ready to relieve. The cities of Asia have been repaired; the provinces have been secured from the oppression of their governors. Honour promptly rewards the deserving, and the punishment of the guilty, if slow, is certain[2]. Interest gives place to justice, solicitation to merit. For the best of princes teaches his countrymen to act rightly by his own practice; and while he is the greatest in power, is still greater in example.

CXXVII. It is seldom that men who have arrived at eminence, have not had powerful coadjutors in steering the course of their fortunes; thus the two Scipios had the two Lælii, whom they set in every respect on a level with them-

[1] CXXVI. Dissensions in the theatre] These were not of so small importance as might be supposed, being sometimes attended with great bloodshed. See Suet. Tib., c. 57; Tacit. Ann., i., 77.

[2] If slow, is certain] *Sera, sed aliqua.* Lipsius would read *sed æqua*, but Gruter and others think that *aliqua* may be right; i. e. *some* punishment is sure to follow.

selves; thus the emperor Augustus had Marcus Agrippa, and after him Statilius Taurus. The newness of these men's families proved no obstruction to their attainment of many consulships and triumphs, and of sacerdotal offices in great numbers. For great affairs demand great co-operators; (in small matters[1], the smallness of assistance does not mar the proceedings;) and it is for the interest of the public, that what is necessary for business should be eminent in dignity, and that usefulness should be fortified with influence. In conformity with these examples, Tiberius Cæsar has had, and still has, Ælius Sejanus, a most excellent coadjutor in all the toils of government, a man whose father was chief of the equestrian order, and who on his mother's side is connected with some of the most illustrious and ancient families, ennobled by high preferments; who has brothers, cousins, and an uncle, of consular rank; who is remarkable for fidelity in the discharge of his duties, and for ability to endure fatigue, the constitution of his body corresponding with the vigour of his mind; a man of pleasing gravity, and of unaffected cheerfulness; appearing, in the despatch of business, like a man quite at ease; assuming nothing to himself, and hence receiving every honour; always deeming himself inferior to other men's estimation of him; calm in looks and conversation, but in mind indefatigably vigilant.

CXXVIII. In esteem for Sejanus's virtues, the judgment of the public has long vied with that of the prince. Nor is it at all new with the senate and people of Rome, to consider the most meritorious as the most noble. The men of old, before the first Punic war, three hunded years ago, exalted to the summit of dignity Titus Coruncanius, a man of no family, bestowing on him, beside other honours, the office of chief pontiff; they promoted Spurius Carvilius, a man of equestrian birth, and afterwards Marcus Cato, another new man, (not a native citizen, but born at Tusculum,) as well as Mummius Achaicus, to consulships, censorships, and triumphs. And they who considered Caius Marius, a man of the most obscure origin, as unquestionably the first in the Roman nation, before his sixth consulship; who had so high an esteem for Marcus Tullius, that he could obtain,

[1] CXXVII. In small matters, *&c.*] "If the words be Velleius's, the observation is trifling, and utterly unworthy of him." *Krause.*

almost by his sole recommendation, the highest offices for whomsoever he chose; and who refused nothing to Asinius Pollio, which men of the noblest birth had to obtain with infinite labour, were certainly of opinion that he who possessed the greatest virtues, was entitled to the greatest honours. The natural imitation of other men's examples led Cæsar to make trial of Sejanus, and occasioned Sejanus to bear a share of the burdens of the prince; and induced the senate and people of Rome cheerfully to call to the guardianship of their safety him whom they saw best qualified for the charge.

CXXIX. Having exhibited a general view of the administration of Tiberius Cæsar, let us now enumerate a few particulars respecting it. With what wisdom did he bring to Rome Rhascuporis, the murderer of Cotys, his own brother's son, and partner in the kingdom, employing in that affair the services of Pomponius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, naturally inclined to all that is honourable, and by pure virtue always meriting fame, but never eagerly pursuing it! With what solemnity as a senator and a judge, not as a prince, does he * * * hear[1] causes in person! How speedily did he crush * * * *[2] when he became ungrateful, and attempted innovations! With what precepts did he form the mind of his Germanicus, and train him in the rudiments of war in his own camp, so that he afterwards hailed him the conqueror of Germany! What honours did he heap on him in his youth, the magnificence of his triumph corresponding to the grandeur of his exploits! How often has he honoured the people with donations! How readily has he, when he could do it with the sanction of the senate, supplied senators with property suitable to their rank, neither encouraging extravagance, nor suffering honourable poverty to be stripped of dignity! In what an honourable style did he send his Germanicus to the transmarine provinces! With what energy, employing Drusus as a minister and coadjutor in his plans, did he force Maroboduus, who

[1] CXXIX. Does he * * * hear] *Pressius audit.* The word *pressius*, which can hardly be sound, though Perizonius tries to defend it, I have not attempted to translate.

[2] Did he crush * * *] Whose name should fill this blank is doubtful. Krause thinks that of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

was clinging to the soil of the kingdom which he had possessed, to come forth, like a serpent concealed in the earth, (let me speak without offence to his majesty,) by the salutary charms of his counsels! How honourably, yet how far from negligently, does he keep watch over him! How formidable a war, excited by the Gallic chief Sacrovir and Julius Florus, did he suppress, and with such amazing expedition and energy, that the Roman people learned that they were conquerors, before they knew that they were at war, and the news of victory outstripped the news of the danger! The African war too, perilous as it was, and daily increasing in strength, was quickly terminated under his auspices and direction.

CXXX. What structures has he erected in his own name, and those of his family! With what dutiful munificence, even exceeding belief, is he building a temple to his father! With how laudable a generosity of disposition is he repairing even the buildings of Cnæus Pompey, that were consumed by fire! Whatever has been at any time conspicuously great, he regards as his own, and under his protection. With what liberality has he at all times, and particularly at the recent fire on the Cælian Mount, repaired the losses of people of all conditions out of his own property! With what perfect ease to the public does he manage the raising of troops, a business of constant and extreme apprehension, without the consternation attendant on a levy! If either nature allows us, or the humility of man may take upon itself, to make a modest complaint of such things to the gods, what has he deserved that, in the first place, Drusus Libo should form his execrable plots; and, in the next, that Silius and Piso should follow his example, one of whom he raised to dignity, the other he promoted? That I may pass to greater matters, (though he accounted even these very great,) what has he deserved, that he should lose his sons in their youth, or his grandson by Drusus? But we have only spoken of causes for sorrow, we must now come to occasions of shame. With what violent griefs, Marcus Vinicius, has he felt his mind tortured in the last three years! How long has his heart been consumed with affliction, and, what is most unhappy, such as he was obliged to conceal, while he was compelled to grieve, and to feel indignation and shame, at the conduct of his daughter-

in-law[1] and his grandson[2]! And the sorrows of this period have been aggravated by the loss of his most excellent mother, a woman who resembled the gods more than human beings; and whose power no man ever felt but in the relief of distress or the conferring of honour.

CXXXI. Let our book be concluded with a prayer. O Jupiter Capitolinus, O Jupiter Stator! O Mars Gradivus, author of the Roman name! O Vesta, guardian of the eternal fire! O all ye deities who have exalted the present magnitude of the Roman empire to a position of supremacy over the world, guard, preserve, and protect, I entreat and conjure you, in the name of the Commonwealth, our present state, our present peace, [our present prince[3]!] And when he shall have completed a long course on earth, grant him successors to the remotest ages, and such as shall have abilities to support the empire of the world as powerfully as we have seen him support it! All the just designs of our countrymen * * * *

[1] CXXX. Daughter-in-law] Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus.

[2] Grandson] Nero, the son of Germanicus. Velleius merely echoes the calumnies of Tiberius on both these characters.

[3] CXXXI. [Our present prince!] The words *hunc principem*, which the text requires, are supplied from a conjecture of Lipsius. The conclusion of the prayer is imperfect.

INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS.—C., Conspiracy of Catiline; J., Jugurthine War; Fr., Fragments of Sallust's History; Ep. i., ii., Pseudo-Sallust's Epistles to Cæsar; Fl., Florus; V., Velleius Paterculus.

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